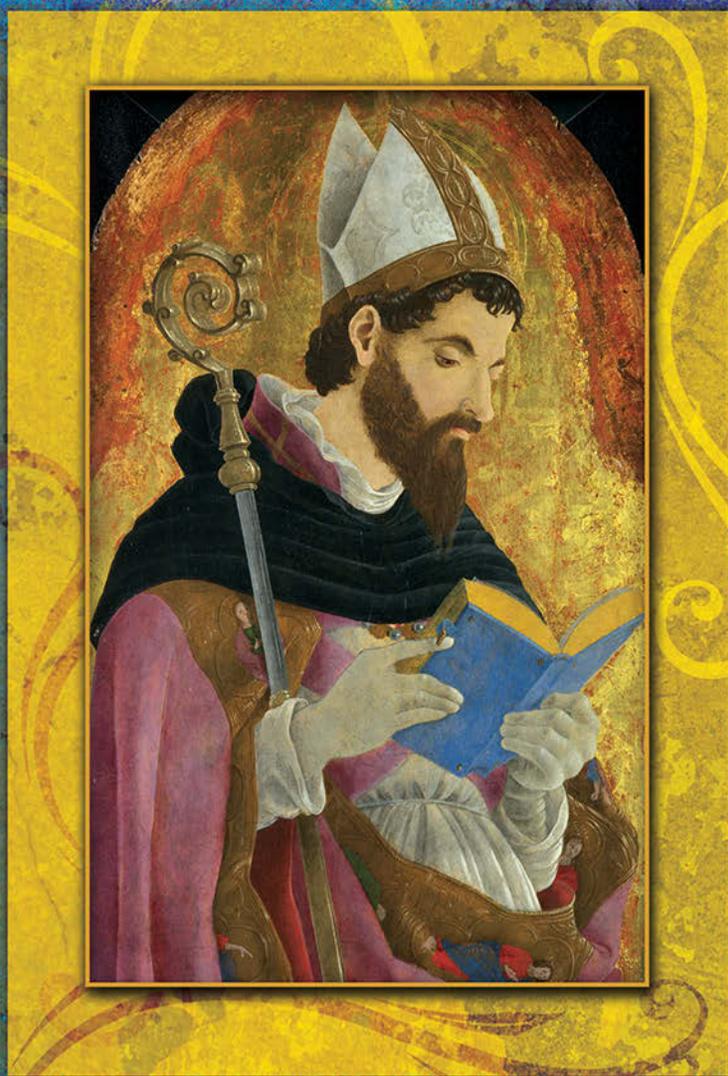


EPISCOPAL
REFORM AND POLITICS
IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE



EDITED BY
JENNIFER MARA DESILVA

Habent sua fata libelli

EARLY MODERN STUDIES SERIES

GENERAL EDITOR

MICHAEL WOLFE
St. John's University

EDITORIAL BOARD OF EARLY MODERN STUDIES

ELAINE BEILIN Framingham State College	RAYMOND A. MENTZER University of Iowa
CHRISTOPHER CELENZA Johns Hopkins University	CHARLES G. NAUERT University of Missouri, Emeritus
BARBARA B. DIEFENDORF Boston University	ROBERT V. SCHNUCKER Truman State University, Emeritus
PAULA FINDLEN Stanford University	NICHOLAS TERPSTRA University of Toronto
SCOTT H. HENDRIX Princeton Theological Seminary	MARGO TODD University of Pennsylvania
JANE CAMPBELL HUTCHISON University of Wisconsin–Madison	JAMES TRACY University of Minnesota
MARY B. MCKINLEY University of Virginia	MERRY WIESNER-HANKS University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

EPISCOPAL
REFORM AND POLITICS
IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

EDITED BY
JENNIFER MARA DESILVA



Early Modern Studies 10
Truman State University Press
Kirksville, MO

Copyright © 2012 Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri, 63501
All rights reserved
tsup.truman.edu

Cover art: Marco Zoppo (1433–78), *A Bishop Saint, perhaps Saint Augustine*. Tempera on wood, probably ca. 1468. National Gallery, London. Used with permission of Art Resource, NY.

Cover design: Teresa Wheeler

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Episcopal reform and politics in early modern Europe / edited by Jennifer Mara DeSilva.

p. cm. — (Early modern studies ; 10)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-61248-072-5 (pbk. : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-61248-074-9 (ebook)

1. Catholic Church—Bishops—History. 2. Episcopacy—History. 3. Clergy—Office—History.
4. Christianity and politics—Catholic Church—History. 5. Christianity and politics—Europe—
History. 6. Council of Trent (1545–1563) 7. Europe—Church history. I. DeSilva, Jennifer Mara,
1976–

BX1905.E63 2012

262'.1224—dc23

2012030760

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any format by any means without written permission from the publisher.

The paper in this publication meets or exceeds the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1992.

Contents

Illustrations	vii
Foreword	ix
The Local Nature of Episcopal Reform in the Age of the Council of Trent <i>William V. Hudon</i>	
Introduction	1
A Living Example <i>Jennifer Mara DeSilva</i>	
Part 1: Episcopal Authority	
A Hierarchy that <i>Had</i> Fought	26
Episcopal Promotion during the Reign of Mary I (1553–58) and the Roots of Episcopal Resistance to the Elizabethan Religious Settlement <i>Raymond A. Powell</i>	
Bishops in the Habsburg Netherlands on the Eve of the Catholic Renewal, 1515–59	46
<i>Hans Cools</i>	
Office and Patronage in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Tortona	63
<i>Antonella Perin and John Alexander</i>	

Part 2: Pastoral Practice

- The Absentee Bishop in Residence 88
Paris de' Grassi, Bishop of Pesaro, 1513–28
Jennifer Mara DeSilva
- Papal Authority, Episcopal Reservation, and Abortion in
Sixteenth-Century Italy 110
John Christopoulos
- Ministering to Catholics and Protestants Alike 128
The Preaching, Polemics, and Pastoral Care of François de Sales
Jill Fehleison

Part 3: Clerical Reform

- Gender, Resistance, and the Limits of Episcopal Authority 147
Sébastien Zamet's Relationships with Nuns, 1615–55
Linda Lierheimer
- Challenges to Episcopal Authority in Seventeenth-Century Padua 173
Celeste McNamara
- Trials that Should Have Been 194
The Question of Judicial Jurisdiction over French Bishops
in the Seventeenth Century and the Self-Narration of
the Roman Inquisition
Jean-Pascal Gay
- Contributors 215
- Index 217

Illustrations

Bishops in the Habsburg Netherlands on the Eve of the Catholic Renewal, 1515–59 (Cools)	
Table 1. Bishops in the Netherlands, 1515–59	58
Office and Patronage in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Tortona (Perin and Alexander)	
Figure 1. Seventeenth-century view of Tortona	65
Figure 2. Exterior of the cathedral of Tortona, showing the modern façade	66
Figure 3. Plan and section of the cathedral	66
Figure 4. Interior of the cathedral	67
Figure 5. Exterior of the episcopal palace of Tortona	67
Figure 6. Historical property map of Tortona	68
The Absentee Bishop in Residence (DeSilva)	
Figure 1. The modern Chapel of San Terenzio in the cathedral of Pesaro, showing the saint’s remains	99
Figure 2. Exterior of the cathedral of Pesaro	100
Ministering to Catholics and Protestants Alike (Fehleison)	
Figure 1. <i>St. François de Sales Preaching in the Chablais</i>	134

Foreword

The Local Nature of Episcopal Reform in the Age of the Council of Trent

William V. Hudon

In 1935, the man who would later become the fifty-fifth Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neill (1912–94), lost an election for a seat on the Cambridge (Massachusetts) city council. He allegedly then came to the conclusion embodied in his best-known phrase: “All politics is local.”¹ The idea that most people make political choices more out of concern for what affects them locally than for broader state, national, and constitutional issues has become a truism in American political culture, but a truism with considerable implications. Under this way of thinking, local politics may not so much reflect wider trends at state and national levels as it reflects the ways in which people negotiate their commitment to broader political positions in light of practical realities closer to home. Might it be useful to consider all religious reform—and particularly that of the Roman church in the age after the Council of Trent—a local story? Recent historical consideration of the Reformation, including analysis of the implementation of Tridentine and post-Tridentine reforms at the local diocesan level, such as the studies contained in this volume, suggest that this consideration may indeed be useful.

Scholars in the last century and in the early part of this one have engaged in a profound reconsideration of the character of the age of Reformation, and of the religious entities that emerged from its tumult. The reconsideration began

1. Late in life, O’Neill used the phrase in the title of a political memoir: O’Neill and Hymel, *All Politics Is Local*.

in an effort to find a less polemical, more historically accurate account of a religious history that was polemicized from the beginning. Many historians, on both sides of the Atlantic, struggled to find adequate terminology to apply to the rich diversity of religious thought and behavior that led into—and emerged from—the Council of Trent. They hoped to leave behind the confessional polemics that drove historical accounts of Roman Christianity from the age of Paolo Sarpi to that of Jacob Burckhardt, Francesco De Sanctis, and Benedetto Croce. They also hoped to move past what some considered the continuation of these polemics among mid-twentieth-century historians, and even later ones, among them Hubert Jedin, Paolo Simoncelli, Eric Cochrane, John O'Malley, and Massimo Firpo. Old terms like “Counter-Reformation,” “Catholic Reform,” “evangelismo,” “spirituali,” and “intransigenti,” and new ones like “social disciplining” and “confessionalization” have all come under fire. While those engaged in the debate undertook reconsideration that was hardly fruitless, it would be an understatement to say that no consensus emerged among historians on suitable replacement terminology.²

A host of scholars in more latter days, including those whose essays are contained in this volume, have adopted a slightly different approach, one that perhaps the late Speaker would find admirable. While never turning completely aside from the larger historiographic implications of their investigations, they have focused on local “individuals,” that is, individual bishops, individual dioceses, individual episcopal visitations, individual local tribunals, individual social practices, individual religious behaviors, individual reformers, and individual reform initiatives. They have traced the action of these local individuals and local actions in the half-century or so before the opening sessions at Trent, and the more than approximately one hundred and fifty years after the council closed, in many dozens of articles and books. What they have found, of course, is that the individual local stories reveal deep complexities in the history of religious reform in the early modern era. The complexities are so striking that all attempts to construct overview characterizations that will adequately account for the stunning array of local variations are rendered fairly—maybe even completely—vain. What they have found, moreover, is that what appeared to be one-size-fits-all ecclesiastical legislation from the Council of Trent simply did not operate in local practice. The Tridentine legislation may have been reinforced and even amplified by popes

2. For some useful overviews of the historiography, see Alberigo, “Dinamiche religiose del Cinquecento italiano”; Cochrane, “Counter Reformation or Tridentine Reformation?”; Simoncelli, “Inquisizione romana e riforma in Italia”; Hudon, “Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy”; Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 1–24; O'Malley, *Trent and All That*; Hudon, “Black and White and Re-read All Over.”

who backed the decrees with additional directives of their own, but all of these collided head-on with competing, legitimate, and well-recognized religious and social values in the diocesan contexts where local administrators tried to apply the rules. Penalties threatening clerics under investigation were mitigated in reality by numerous factors. Local diocesan populations had much more in common with the clerics under threat than with the bishops and tribunals threatening them, and they took sides accordingly. Monolithically written conciliar, papal, and curial decrees could be, and regularly were, dispensed with in the face of local episcopal appeals, and even in the face of petitions from individual members of the laity. Historians have found vivid concern for practical, day-to-day realities, like protecting family patrimony and galvanizing patron-client relationships, trumping any fear of ecclesiastical penalties for failure to follow Tridentine rules on marriage and choosing godparents. They have also found local bishops with impeccable “reform” credentials operating in perfectly unreformed ways at times, on matters ranging from the acquisition of benefices and the appointment of family members in lucrative service positions to “policing”—or it might be better to say “looking the other way” when encountering—potentially heretical preachers.

The historiographic background for both this recent rethinking of the characteristics of early modern Roman Christianity, plus this late focusing on local stories is rich. That background should not be ignored, for while recent investigations have yielded profound insights and data that are surely critical to fuller understanding of the era, in some ways we are merely deepening furrows first plowed long ago. It has been more than sixty years since Hubert Jedin wrote an essay challenging the standard image of Roman action in the age of reform as a simple, monolithic “counter” to Protestant initiatives.³ When he did, he had combed considerable archival material scattered locally across Europe, not just the massive conciliar documentation gathered by the Görres Gesellschaft in thirteen folio volumes. He found far more complexity than the terminology associated with the old image of early modern Roman religiosity could explain, and so, he followed his famous essay with what became a definitive history of the Council of Trent.⁴ He found that there were plenty of individuals to blame—and outside, not just inside, the papal curia—when looking for persons and causes obstructing the opening of the reform council we still imagine to have been ardently

3. Jedin, *Katholische Reformations oder Gegenreformation?*

4. *Concilium tridentinum* (13 vols.) for the documentation, and of course, Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* (4 vols.) for the definitive retelling. Jedin and some collaborators provided a very useful overview that includes both his basic insights on the council, plus developed consideration of initiatives within the Roman church after Trent. See Iserloh, *History of the Church*, Vol. 5, *Reformation and Counter Reformation*, 431–645.

desired by everyone in Europe. He found conciliar debates consistently complicated by positions adopted among relatively small political, religious, social, and economic groupings of prelates attending; they simply were not driven by anti-Lutheran sentiment alone. He found some well-informed, humanist-educated prelates with sophisticated theological commitments. But he also found poorly prepared attendees, ignorant of the history of Christian doctrine and likely more concerned about subsidies providing them food and shelter in that often inhospitable city than about battling Protestants, or about arguing whether their episcopal authority came from the pope or directly from the Holy Spirit. He found a plethora of particular—including local—concerns profoundly affecting the conciliar proceedings. It should come as no surprise that in the end, Jedin left the impression that the Tridentine decrees were a set of compromises hashed out among myriad competing personalities, interests, and pressures attendant at the council. But “compromise” was never a word regularly associated with early modern Roman Catholicism, and so while Jedin’s intellectual heirs may have been numerous, his detractors have been also.

Likewise, those who study local reformers and reform initiatives, especially those in an episcopal setting, were preceded by a mid-twentieth-century pioneer, the late Giuseppe Alberigo (1926–2007). In his brilliant 1959 work on bishops at the Council of Trent, he privileged local conditions, regional problems, and other particularisms when considering the actions taken and positions held by Italian bishops attending the first Tridentine sessions.⁵ He found them most comprehensible after subdividing them by the regions they represented. But, he indicated, even the common interests held by Venetians, or by Tuscans, or by those from Spanish holdings in southern Italy at the council were complicated by the educational background, economic assets, familial commitments, and pastoral experience—or lack thereof—among them. He implied in this analysis, of course, that to understand Italian clerics at the council, the first thing that must be abandoned are any presumptions about their homogeneity. Alberigo, rightly lionized for his central role in *Istituto per le scienze religiose* in Bologna and for the definitive analysis of another council, Vatican II, that the *Istituto* provided under his leadership, was for some just as polarizing a figure as some found in Jedin.⁶ Still, in many ways we continue to struggle with the reconsiderations recommended by both of these scholars.

5. Alberigo, *I vescovi italiani al Concilio di Trento*.

6. There is an English edition of the *Istituto* volumes on Vatican II: *History of Vatican II*, eds. Alberigo and Komonchak (5 vols.). Alberigo is still regularly attacked on the Internet by conservative analysts disconcerted

Today, with a new generation of historians mining the rich veins of ecclesiastical documentation preserved from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is more to fit into the reconsideration than Jedin or Alberigo likely ever imagined. Now, adding the massive records of local bishops, local reformers, and local tribunals scattered in episcopal, municipal, and confraternal archives—not to mention the records of central administrative offices (like the Roman Inquisition, the Datary, and the Penitentiary) detailing negotiations with local petitioners—we find still more human realities necessary for any sensitive, nuanced retelling of the early modern past. Jedin and Alberigo were peculiarly sensitive to the complex of ideas, personalities, and agendas feeding into the creation of the Tridentine rules. That sensitivity made it impossible for them to see the emergence of Roman Catholicism in the early modern period resembling the standard images associated with its history, and led them to highlight some local and individual realities behind the broader development of the Roman church as an institution. We are now peculiarly sensitive not just to the complex that they identified, but also to the daily compromises, negotiations, disagreements, examples of subservience—and of independent self-assertion—revealed in the slow, decades-long process of episcopal implementation of Tridentine legislation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. How these laws were implemented depended on the relative value in any local community of competing authorities. It depended on the ability of those contesting religious, social, and political authorities in any local community to manipulate the rules, and the skills of their fellow contestants. The studies contained in this volume beautifully illustrate the fits and starts, the ugliness and the beauty, the inconsistencies and the regularizations that were—all of them—part of the early modern past. Taken together, they contribute to the profound truth revealed over the last twenty-five years through local studies on reform activity after the Council of Trent: conciliar and curial plans for centralized reform, not to mention plans for control of thought and behavior, did not operate with any consistent effectiveness at the local level, at least not with the effectiveness that the plan makers seem to have envisioned. Of course, we all can hope one day to fully comprehend that past in which the plan-makers, the administrators, the bishops, those inclined to follow the directions of their pastors, and those inclined to oppose it, lived. We may reach such a full comprehension, it seems to me, if we remember that all religious reform—especially the episcopal—is fundamentally a local story.

with his view of Vatican II as a break from the ecclesiology of the age of the Council of Trent.

Works Cited

Printed Primary Sources

Concilium tridentinum. 13 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1901–38.

History of Vatican II. 5 vols. Edited by Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak. New York: Orbis, 1995–2006.

Secondary Sources

Alberigo, Giuseppe. “Dinamiche religiose del Cinquecento italiano tra Riforma, Riforma cattolica, Controriforma.” *Cristianesimo nella storia* 6 (1985): 543–60.

———. *I vescovi italiani al Concilio di Trento*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1959.

Bireley, Robert. *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999.

Cochrane, Eric W. “Counter Reformation or Tridentine Reformation? Italy in the age of Carlo Borromeo.” In *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, edited by John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro, 31–46. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1988.

Hudon, William V. “Black and White and Re-read All Over: Conceptualizing Reform across the Long Sixteenth Century, 1414–1633.” In *Reassessing Reform: An Historical Investigation in Church Renewal*, edited by Christopher M. Bellitto and D. Zachariah Flanagin, 254–77. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012.

———. “Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy—Old Questions, New Insights.” *American Historical Review* 101 (1996): 783–804.

Iserloh, Erwin, Joseph Glazik, and Hubert Jedin, *History of the Church*. Vol. 5, *Reformation and Counter Reformation*. New York: Seabury Press, 1980.

Jedin, Hubert. *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*. 4 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1949–75.

———. *Katholische Reformations oder Gegenreformation? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Begriffe nebst einer Jubiläumsbetrachtung über das Trienter Konzil*. Lucerne: Josef Stocker, 1946.

O’Malley, John W. *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

O’Neill, Thomas P., and Gary Hymel. *All Politics Is Local and Other Rules of the Game*. New York: Random House, 1994.

Simoncelli, Paolo. “Inquisizione romana e riforma in Italia.” *Rivista storica italiana* 100 (1988): 1–125.

Introduction

A Living Example

Jennifer Mara DeSilva

The early modern period is arguably the age of the bishop. Just as historians have debated whether to call Catholicism *post* 1517 the Counter-Reformation or the Catholic Reformation, one might debate whether to cite it as “the age of episcopal crisis” or “the age of episcopal reform.” In each title there is implicit judgement, just as there was in Europe through the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Prior to the Council of Trent (1545–63), which is sometimes called the Council of Bishops, critics decried the venality, ambition, absenteeism, and ignorance of bishops, and marshaled the example of Antonino Pierozzi of Florence or Pietro Barozzi of Padua to encourage reform. After the Council of Trent, critics pointed to the conciliar decrees enjoining episcopal residence, visitations, synods, and seminaries, and invoked the example of Gian Matteo Giberti of Verona or Carlo Borromeo of Milan as a model.¹ Contemporary sources suggested a convenient dichotomy of corruption succeeded by reform, urged by the elite Catholic Church, yearned for by the diocesan faithful, and embraced by enthusiastic bishops.

In fact, there were enthusiastic men committed to diocesan work long before the Council of Trent and men without pastoral vocations long afterwards. This introductory essay’s title, “A Living Example,” originates with the Latin phrase “*exemplum vivum*,” used by the Camaldolese reformers Paolo Giustiniani and Pietro Quirini in their program of reform (*Libellus ad Leonem X*) sent to Pope Leo X in 1513, and by many other reformers after them.² Giustiniani and Quirini considered the ideal

1. Gios, *L'attività pastorale del vescovo Pietro Barozzi*; Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma*; Alberigo, “Carlo Borromeo”; Headley and Tomaro, *San Carlo Borromeo*.

2. Giustiniani and Quirini, *Lettera al Papa*, 124–29; Alberigo, “Reform of the Episcopate.”

bishop to be focused exclusively on his diocese and its salvation, and that the chief issues in episcopal reform were non-residence and disinterest. In contrast to this view, the contributors to this volume have shown that bishops indeed acted as living examples of the challenges met by Christian clergy, but that they modeled a variety of behaviors, substantial interest in reform, and many preoccupations beyond salvation. As these essays show, the key to the early modern episcopate is privileging the local needs and challenges when transposing reform models and hierarchical directives from the elite center to the parish church.³ In this volume, “local” is interpreted variously as geographically within the bishop’s diocese, interpersonally through his relations with individuals and local institutions, or professionally in terms of challenges to his immediate mandate and practical authority. As this collection of essays shows, a deeper examination of the early modern episcopate reveals a spectrum of behaviors and backgrounds that do not easily divide into groups traditionally labeled “corrupt” and “reformed.”⁴ A similar diversity existed in the plethora of challenges that bishops faced in fulfilling their duties. Notwithstanding this reality, one of the Tridentine conclusions that all members acknowledged was the importance of the bishop in creating an orthodox community of virtuous and active Christians that would serve as a bulwark against the further encroachment of Protestantism.⁵ Perhaps the disagreement that appeared in other Tridentine discussions encouraged the conciliar fathers to assert their unity on what had become a universally accepted issue: the ideal bishop.

While there is little to surprise the reader in the discussion of the Tridentine episcopal ideal, the vehemence surrounding episcopal reform is striking. This emphasis on the bishop as the linchpin in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, connecting the salt of the earth to the princes of the Catholic Church, portrays the bishop as a Janus figure. Caught between the demands and politics of his superiors and the salvation and demands of local individuals and groups, the bishop might appear two-faced, looking both up and down the hierarchy and prepared to minister in both directions. This would be an oversimplification of the situation. However, as the essays in this collection indicate, the bishop was everything to everyone, functioning in fundamentally different spheres (ecclesiastical and secular), just as he might have spoken different languages to the elites in Rome and to the faithful in

3. Ditchfield, “In Search of Local Knowledge,” 256, 291–95.

4. In addition to the examples of bishops that acted “between” those labels presented in this volume, see Murphy, *Ruling Peacefully*; Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 179–85.

5. Note that not all Protestant churches dispensed with the episcopate; in Great Britain and Scandinavia bishops worked with secular rulers to implement ecclesiastical reform campaigns; Grell, *Scandinavian Reformation*; Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, chaps. 9–11.

his diocese. In many areas the bishop held secular rights and responsibilities that naturally grew out of his historic role as a local landowner and judge. Rather than two heads, the bishop needed many eyes, ears, and mouths to watch over, listen to, and negotiate with his clergy, confraternities, monastic orders, secular governors, local patrons, and many other diverse groups involved in early modern life.

Following the exhortation of Jesus and Peter to the apostles and disciples (Acts 2:14–47), the fabled precursors of the episcopate, to preach the gospel, teach the Christian lifestyle, and aid the indigent,⁶ the literature, letters, and conciliar decrees of the early modern period urged bishops to do the same. John Colet's "Convocation Sermon," preached at the opening of the Convocation of Clergy in the English province of Canterbury in 1512, is infused with scriptural invocations to reform that assert the enduring challenges in achieving the episcopal ideal. Through a combination of scriptural exegesis and exhortation to his audience, Colet reveals that both in spirit and in actions the bishops were considered a motley crew whose reform was of great consequence for the health of the church.⁷ Across the centuries and the continent, Colet's words would reverberate:

Let the laws be rehearsed concerning the residence of bishops in their dioceses, which command that they watch over the salvation of souls, that they disseminate the word of God, that they personally appear in their churches at least on great festivals, that they sacrifice for their people, that they hear the causes of the poor, that they sustain the fatherless and widows, that they exercise themselves always in works of piety.⁸

Yet, as H. Outram Evennett argued, corruption and reform existed side by side in the period before Trent: "the fifteenth century—so full of contradictions—was full of reforms and reformers who between them could not make a reformation."⁹ Notwithstanding several examples of excellent episcopal virtue, who likely witnessed Colet's sermon,¹⁰ his exhortation shows that, by 1512, the corrupt bishop, the absentee bishop, the bureaucrat bishop, and the pluralist bishop had become rhetorical standards that were familiar to most Christians.¹¹ As mediators between

6. Sullivan, *From Apostles to Bishops*. This is echoed in the *Pastoral Rule* (ca. 590) of Pope Gregory I that became the foundation of the "mirror of bishops" literature; Evans, *Thought of Gregory the Great*, 123–30.

7. Carleton, *Bishops and Reform in the English Church*, 31–32.

8. Colet, "Colet's Convocation Sermon, 1512," 37.

9. Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 25.

10. Haigh, *English Reformations*, 8–11.

11. Francesco C. Cesareo has written that "by the beginning of the sixteenth century the Italian episcopacy was in a state of degeneration"; Cesareo, "Episcopacy in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 67. Oliver Logan's study of the Venetian "mirror of bishops" literature supports this contemporary perception; Logan, "Ideal of the Bishop

A Hierarchy that *Had* Fought *Episcopal Promotion during the Reign of Mary I* *(1553–58) and the Roots of Episcopal Resistance* *to the Elizabethan Religious Settlement*

Raymond A. Powell

The Marian Episcopate and Resistance to the Elizabethan Religious Settlement

When the Catholic confessional historian Philip Hughes told the story of English bishops and the religious settlement of Elizabeth I, he entitled his article “A Hierarchy that Fought.”¹ All but one of the men on Elizabeth’s bench suffered deposition rather than submit to her Protestant establishment, a remarkable feat in an era in which senior churchmen frequently followed lockstep the twists and turns of the Crown’s religious policy. Hughes largely credited this unexpected act of unified resistance to the stiffening formerly wavering Catholics received during Mary’s brief Catholic restoration. In doing so, he seems remarkably prescient; the majority of more recent scholars similarly credit Marian Catholicism for creating subsequent Catholic resistance.²

Yet the significance of the English bishops’ principled stand is not as obvious as the bald facts might suggest. Presuming Marian Catholicism did have such a bracing effect, it is curious that while all but one of the bishops resisted, at the next rank of clergy—suffragans, cathedral canons, archdeacons—a large percentage accepted the new state of affairs. And at all layers save the top, even the majority of

1. Hughes, “Hierarchy that Fought.”

2. Eamon Duffy argues for this position; his claims will be discussed below.

future recusants initially conformed. Indeed, in one or two puzzling cases, such as that of bishop nominate to Salisbury, Francis Mallet, important ecclesiastical officials who had been jailed or exiled rather than conforming under Edward VI never did reject the Elizabethan settlement.³ It was only upon reflection, and after some time, that most Catholics committed themselves to various forms of resistance. So what made the difference for the bishops? Why were they so swift to stand firm when other equally devout Catholics were slower to follow their lead or never followed it at all?

There are two simple answers. The first is that Mary had some luck in death's lottery. Yes, untimely demise robbed the Catholics of champions such as Cardinal Reginald Pole or Bishop Stephen Gardiner who might otherwise have led the resistance to the Elizabethan settlement.⁴ But equally, death stripped the bench of those Henrician bishops retained by Mary who were most likely to conform to the new settlement. If Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely, had lived longer, Anthony Kitchin of Landaff would certainly not have been alone when he took the oath, and the two might well have been joined by bishops such as John Chambers of Peterborough, Robert King of Oxford, John Capon of Salisbury, Robert Aldrich of Carlisle, or even Maurice Griffin, Mary's bishop of Rochester, or Robert Parfew, whom Mary herself translated from St. Asaph's to Hereford.⁵

The second, and more important, answer is that Mary chose and promoted as bishops the sort of men liable to have resisted Protestant innovation in the past and who were, accordingly, most likely to take a stand in the future. But Mary did not select her bishops solely on this criterion of past resistance to Protestant settlements. Indeed, she passed over some obvious candidates and selected others of somewhat dubious commitment to serve as leaders in her restored Catholic Church.

This paper will examine the basis for episcopal promotion in Marian England. It will suggest that the queen did in fact personally choose most of her bishops, analyze the grounds for her choices, and show that while Mary did not necessarily select candidates for their previous resistance to Protestantism, the

3. Mallet remained as dean of Lincoln until his death in 1570; the Edwardian exile Thomas Neale offers another prominent example of resistance followed by conformity. Neale, Bishop Edmund Bonner's chaplain and end-of-the-reign regius professor of Hebrew at Marian Oxford, remained in England under the Elizabethan settlement, held his chair until 1569, and afterwards (at least occasionally) conformed; Aston, *Collegiate University*, 3:357, 382, 414.

4. Pole died in 1558, according to tradition, succumbing within hours of the death of Queen Mary; Gardiner had died in 1555.

5. Goodrich died in 1554; Aldrich in 1555; Chambers in 1556; Capon and Parfew (alias Warton) in 1557; and Griffin and King in 1558.

factors behind her decision making favored candidates who had resisted herodox settlements in the past and were likely to do so in the future. Using this information, this essay will try to explain the basis for initial resistance to the Elizabethan settlement, perhaps providing a new perspective on the actual achievements of the Marian restoration.

The Queen and Episcopal Promotion

In studying the leadership of the Marian church, it is crucial to realize that Queen Mary personally chose her bishops. The majority of the men nominated to the episcopate by the queen can be shown to have had some personal tie with her before their promotion. The number is seventeen out of twenty-seven, with five more moving in circles that almost certainly merited a personal introduction to Princess Mary during Edward's reign. Thus only five of her candidates for the episcopate do not appear to have had any personal link to the queen—and one of these was an exile who had no opportunity for personal contact, but who earned Mary's gratitude through his defense of her mother.⁶

The most important and obvious personal tie between the queen and her nominees was service as her chaplain. John Hopton of Norwich, John Holyman of Bristol, John Christopherson of Chichester, Thomas Wood, nominated for St. Asaph's, and several others were all former chaplains of Mary's, many of them from her difficult days as princess when the office was sometimes more a burden than a sinecure, and relationships were apt to be close.⁷ One former chaplain, Gilbert Bourne, elevated to Bath and Wells in 1554, could claim another link. He was also the nephew of Mary's principal secretary, Sir John Bourne, a critical supporter during the Edwardian regime.⁸ Thomas Goldwell, initially raised by the queen to St. Asaph's, had been Cardinal Pole's envoy to Mary early in her reign and may have acted as her Latin secretary.⁹ Shared resistance to Henrician and

6. The percentage of those demonstrably known to the queen might well be higher if more information were available on the careers of some of the more obscure nominees; the number twenty-seven includes all candidates nominated to the episcopate as well as any bishops translated by Mary from one see to another.

7. Mary elevated both Hopton and Holyman to the episcopate in 1554, and both died in 1558. Christopherson also died in 1558, only a year after assuming his diocese. The exact date and details of Wood's death are unknown, though he was alive and in custody as late as 1580.

8. The relationship between the two Bournes is discussed in Hill, "Marian 'Experience of Defeat,'" 535. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* disagrees with Hill, following the traditional assumption that Sir John Bourne was indeed the uncle of Bishop Gilbert Bourne; Louisa, "Bourne, Gilbert." Cf. David Loades, "Marian Episcopate," 40–41.

9. Mayer, "Goldwell, Thomas." Goldwell was another of the Marian appointees of 1554—he would die in 1585, the last survivor of Queen Mary's bench.

Bishops in the Habsburg Netherlands on the Eve of the Catholic Renewal, 1515–59

Hans Cools

In May 1559 Pope Paul IV Carata (r. 1555–59) issued the bull *Super Universas*, an act that thoroughly changed the ecclesiastical map of the Low Countries.¹ Before that date all these lands (an area roughly corresponding to modern Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and northern France), an area of roughly 90,000 square kilometers and with a population of about three million people, were divided into only six bishoprics. Utrecht, the youngest of these sees, had been created in the eighth century. Its territory corresponded more or less with the actual kingdom of the Netherlands. The five remaining sees, Arras, Cambrai, Liège, Théroutanne, and Tournai, dated back to late antiquity and they were all situated at the southern edges, if not across the borders of the Netherlands. Four of the six Low Countries bishoprics (Arras, Cambrai, Tournai, and Théroutanne) were part of the French archbishopric of Reims. The other two, Liège and Utrecht, were under the authority of the German archbishop of Cologne. The proclamation of *Super Universas* can be considered as the apogee of a century-long struggle by the Burgundian dukes and their Habsburg successors to create a “national” church for their Netherlands dominions. Since the early fifteenth century and in

1. For a recent sketch of ecclesiastical life in the Netherlands prior to 1559, see Bijsterveld and Caspers, “Voorgeschiedenis,” 15–61. The most comprehensive reconstruction of the introduction of the new Netherlands bishopric scheme remains Dierickx, *De oprichting*. An abridged translation in French was published as *L'érection*. In the past decades valuable updates have been provided, among others, by Marnef, “The Netherlands,” 344–64; Postma, “Nieuw licht,” 10–27; and Gielis, “Utinam,” 194–207.

the wake of conciliarism, they had gradually succeeded in providing ever more benefices and had obtained the right to intervene in the electoral processes of most monastic houses in the Low Countries. By then, they finally controlled the hierarchy of virtually all ecclesiastical institutions.²

After May 1559, the Habsburg Netherlands was divided into three archbishoprics: Mechelen, Cambrai, and Utrecht. Fifteen episcopal sees, most newly created, completed the ecclesiastical structure of the Low Countries. Under *Super Universas*,³ the Habsburg prince obtained the privilege of proposing nominees for each of these sees. After that time, the papal administration only had to ensure that the candidates met the canonical requirements and then could effect their nomination.⁴ The introduction of this new bishopric scheme met with huge resistance. Aristocrats feared that their scions would lose access to ecclesiastical wealth, and abbots objected that their revenues would be used to provide the new bishops with an income. Both groups feared the loss of political influence. Within society at large, many thought the bishopric scheme prepared the ground for the introduction of a Spanish-styled inquisition.⁵ The fact that the Habsburg ruler filled several vacant bishoprics with men who had previously acted as inquisitors contributed to that fear.⁶

Thus the introduction of the new bishopric scheme was one of the causes for the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt (1566). Due to that revolt, the scheme was only partially successful. Since the 1580s, all sees within the territories of the United Provinces had remained vacant. Catholic communities in those territories were administered by so-called apostolic vicars, who for many decades resided in exile, first in Cologne and later in Brussels.⁷ Nevertheless, the new bishopric scheme was of vital importance for Catholic renewal in provinces that had stayed loyal or had returned to Habsburg obedience.

2. Cauchies, "Église," 193–209; Van Peteghem, "Les rôles," 229–46.

3. The bull has been published in *Romeinsche bronnen*, ed. Brom and Hensen, 69–74; and in *Recueil des Ordonnances*, ed. Terlinden and Bolsée, 435–39, no. 205. Among others, it has been analyzed by Dierickx, *De oprichting*, 62–69.

4. Marnef, "Een maat voor niets?" 67.

5. This story has been told often, yet the most recent and authoritative way has been by Juliaan J. Woltjer who has summarized decades of his own scholarship and that of others; Woltjer, *Op weg*, 332–35.

6. Woltjer, *Op weg*, 333; Gielis, "Utinam," 206. Nicolaus de Castro, Franciscus Sonnius, and Wilhelmus Lindanus, respectively the first bishops of Middelburg, 's-Hertogenbosch, and later onwards Antwerp, and the bishop of Roermond had previously acted as inquisitors.

7. Ackermans, *Herders*, 12–17; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 1–37; Spiertz, *L'Église catholique*, 9–30.

In recent decades, several biographies of Counter-Reformation bishops in the Habsburg Netherlands have been published.⁸ Although the social origins and career paths of these men varied, all of them conformed to the image of the post-Tridentine prelate as university-trained and zealous. As these bishops had been selected by Habsburg rulers and their officials, relationships with government circles could be tense from time to time, but most often both parties cooperated well.⁹ Jointly they strived to transform the Habsburg Netherlands into an exemplary outpost of the worldwide Catholic community.¹⁰

In contrast, far less is known about the men who preceded the first generations of Counter-Reformation bishops. Where did they come from? To which social groups did they belong? To what extent were they government nominees? This essay will address these questions and briefly compare the results with research that has been carried out on the French episcopacy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thereby, this essay focuses upon the twenty-two bishops who served in the Netherlands between 1515 and 1559, and thus between the start of Charles V's personal rule and the proclamation of the bull *Super Universas*.¹¹

Just as the medieval border between the Holy Roman Empire and France had straddled the Netherlands, the six old bishoprics belonged to these various polities. Cambrai, Liège, and Utrecht were part of the empire. At the start of the period under investigation, the prelates who resided in these cities were not only spiritual pastors, but they also administered some territories as secular princes. However, these territories were vulnerable possessions. Already in the 1470s, the Burgundian duke Charles the Bold had plundered the city of Liège and incorporated its principality into his lands.¹² That bond was severed in the turmoil that followed the duke's untimely death, but the principality of Liège continued to exist, until it was suppressed in the wake of the French Revolution.¹³ The two other ecclesiastical principalities in the Low Countries, however, did not maintain their independence. In 1528, Emperor Charles V annexed the principality of

8. For two excellent examples, see among others, Harline and Put, *A Bishop's Tale*; Marinus, *Laevinus Torrentius*.

9. Compare for instance the portraits of bishops in *Het aartsbisdom*, ed. De Maeyer et al.; *Het bisdom Brugge*, ed. Cloet; *Het bisdom Gent*, ed. Cloet.

10. Van Bruaene, "Habsburg Theatre State," 136–43; Duerloo, "Pieta Albertina," 1–18.

11. Appended to this study is a list of all the bishops discussed. More biographical information can be found in Cools, *Mannen*, 310–17. A complete list of all medieval and early modern bishops in the Netherlands has been published by Strubbe and Voet, *De chronologie*, 225–317.

12. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 11–40.

13. Bijsterveld and Caspers, "Voorgeschiedenis," 60–61.

Office and Patronage in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Tortona

Antonella Perin and John Alexander

One often conceives of the bishop as the leading religious authority in a diocese. Indeed, the edicts of the Council of Trent (1545–63) entrusted most of the reforms to the bishop, empowering him to be the agent for change in the Catholic Church. However, in the sixteenth century, the bishop's ideal power and autonomy were often sharply curtailed by other ecclesiastical entities, by local political bodies, or by the nobility. The decades immediately following the conclusion of the Council of Trent were filled with conflict among the competing parties, as reflected in the architectural and urbanistic developments in Tortona. While the council gave the local bishop responsibility for churches in his diocese, the project for the new cathedral, episcopal palace, and cathedral square in that northern Italian city pitted the bishop against a variety of secular and ecclesiastical authorities who eventually overruled him. Interestingly, the bishop did *not* support those projects, which brings this history into marked contrast with other, perhaps more typical examples in which the local bishop inaugurated and promoted projects to renovate or construct *ex novo* cathedrals. While the historical trend was clearly toward greater episcopal control over cathedrals, the story of Tortona's ecclesiastical center complicates that seemingly clear pattern but allows for greater nuance in understanding the Tridentine era.

Tortona was a small city in northwestern Italy, located where the northern edge of the Ligurian Apennines flattens into the Po valley. It was an ancient Roman foundation that—in the mid-sixteenth century—was in the Spanish-ruled duchy of Milan. However, it had an unfortunate location on the political

map: it was near the frontiers with the territorial states of Genoa, Monferrato, and Turin, and on a major highway between Milan and Genoa. Consequently it had been overrun more than once during the Italian wars and, not surprisingly, was both underpopulated and desperately poor. It was also an ancient diocese within the ecclesiastical province of Milan, and thus under the jurisdiction of Carlo Borromeo (1538–84), the reforming archbishop of Milan.¹ The historic part of the town occupied a hilltop, which is where the medieval fortress, cathedral, and episcopal palace were located. At the base of the hill, a late-medieval urban area had expanded the city onto the plain (fig. 1). The ruling Spanish authorities had requisitioned all of the hilltop in the 1540s with the goal of expanding the fortifications to consolidate military control of the territory. Construction eventually encompassed the old cathedral and episcopal palace, and in 1557 the bishop found himself without a seat.² He subsequently officiated in a series of existing churches provisionally designated to serve as the cathedral. By the end of the century, however, Tortona had a new ecclesiastical center, in the center of the lower city and along its main road, consisting of a new cathedral (figs. 2–4), an episcopal palace formed from preexisting buildings (fig. 5), and a regular urban space created in a previously occupied area (fig. 6).³ These developments involved a whole series of individuals, but the bishop did not inaugurate the project.

The bishop of Tortona was Cesare Gambara (1516–91). He was the scion of a minor branch of a noble Brescian family that had achieved renown for the cultural achievements of some members, and the ecclesiastical careers of others.⁴ He began a career in the administration of the Catholic Church, obtaining diplomatic missions and governmental positions. He was invested with the diocese of Tortona in 1548 when his cousin Uberto Gambara (1489–1549) renounced the see in his favor. His career in the temporal governance of the church did not advance, and so he chose to reside in Tortona from 1551. However Cesare Gambara's career received new impulse during the reign of Pope Pius IV Medici (r. 1559–65), with whom he shared Lombard origins and family connections. Gambara was nominated vice-legate to the march of Ancona for a brief period, during which time

1. Important sources for the history of Tortona include: *Enciclopedia cattolica*, 1954, s.v. "Tortona"; Caratasegna, *Una città fortificata*, 13–50; Cortemiglia, "Le porte urliche," 24–34; De Carlini, "Note di demografia," 5–13; Perin, "La città e il forte," 53–61; Rozzo, "Appunti per una storia," 5–26; Vigo, "La città di Crisiera," 149–61.

2. Perin, "Nuovi documenti," 297–99.

3. Perin, "La città e il forte," 53–61. Churches that served as the cathedral in addition to S. Stefano include S. Domenico and S. Maria Canale. See Perin, "Architettura," 41–42.

4. De Carlini, "I Gambara," 215–19; Pagano, *Il cardinale Uberto*; Viscardi, *Pralboino, Milzano e Verolanuova*, 35–107.



Figure 1. Seventeenth-century view of Tortona. The Romanesque cathedral had been on the hilltop (in the area englobed by the outer extent of new bastions). The provisional cathedral—S. Stefano—is to the far right of the view, within the city walls. The new cathedral is in the center of the view, towards the bottom, within the city walls and presenting its apse and belfry to the viewer. Engraving from P. Bertelli, *Teatro della città d'Italia* (Vicenza, 1616), fol. 115. Property of Dr. Guiseppe de Carlini. Used with permission.

he promoted the newly founded Jesuit college at Macerata. He also participated briefly in one of the last sessions of the Council of Trent, but spent most of the rest of his life in Tortona, with extended sojourns at his family's seat.⁵

In Tortona, Gambarara was constantly frustrated by jurisdictional conflicts over the diocese's land holdings and a chronic lack of income.⁶ Despite these and other hardships, he was still attentive to his duties. He resided and was active in an

5. See the transcribed letters and commentary found in Cammarata, *Lettere da Tortona*, 15–16, 25–27, 195 note 10; see also Giordano, "Gambara, Cesare," 37–38; Serangeli and Zambuto, "Sui rapporti"; Tacchella, "Cesare Gambarara," 6–12.

6. Cammarata, *Lettere da Tortona*, 15–54, 84–89, 107–08, 111. Controversies over the feudal landholdings of the diocese continued through the episcopacy of Cesare Gambarara's successor (and nephew), Maffeo Gambarara (1554–1611). See *ibid.*, 127–64.

The Absentee Bishop in Residence

Paris de' Grassi, Bishop of Pesaro, 1513–28

Jennifer Mara DeSilva

In a treatise of 1513 delineating targets of reform within the church, the Camaldolese monks Paolo Giustiniani and Pietro Quirini established the bishop as the foundation of a pious and orthodox, well-organized and well-behaved community. Describing the bishop as “the attentive observer” (*l’attento osservatore*),¹ Giustiniani and Quirini emphatically argued that his physical presence was the key to his pastoral success. As the mediator between elite prelates and local clergy, the bishop was responsible for the supervision, education, and reform of the members of his diocese, and could only achieve this by offering himself as a model for correct behaviour. Thus the early modern ideal bishop became a “living example” (*vivum exemplum*) in piety, morality, discipline, and community involvement.² Through the sixteenth century, as more voices called for ecclesiastical reform and self-described “reformed” churches grew, the Catholic elite clung to Giustiniani and Quirini’s identification of the bishop as the linchpin for pastoral success. When the Council of Trent (1545–63) proposed strategies for combating the Protestant threat, the episcopate carried the burden of responsibility for action. The sixth session (January 1547) promulgated *Decretum de residentia*

1. “[I]l vescovo è propriamente l’attento osservatore, tu [il papa], il perfetto Vescovo dei Vescovi, costituito come l’osservatore più premuroso sopra tutti i Vescovi nel più alto osservatorio”; Giustiniani and Quirini, *Lettera al Papa*, ed. Bianchini, 86.

2. Giustiniani and Quirini placed the bishop as an implicit model and corrector within the clerical and lay communities; *ibid.*, 126.

episcoporum et aliorum inferiorum, elevating Giustiniani and Quirini's model of episcopal residence to nearly a Tridentine commandment.³ While the decretum acknowledged that prelates might also undertake administrative or diplomatic tasks that kept them away from their diocese, the Tridentine fathers mandated that extended and unnecessary absences could incur the pain of interdict.⁴ In the world of Catholic renewal, establishing a bulwark against Protestant expansion by protecting the diocese from ignorance and heresy was more important than the church's need for competent administrators based in Rome.

Only decades earlier, when Martin Luther first became known to Pope Leo X de' Medici (r. 1513–21), the situation had been reversed. The rapidly expanding papal court necessitated educated clergy to fill secretarial, juridical, and diplomatic roles in the church administration.⁵ While the many attractions of employment in Rome made episcopal absenteeism a common practice, through the early sixteenth century, criticism of nonresident bishops grew. In a treatise entitled *The Office of the Bishop* (1517) Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542), the Venetian diplomat, future cardinal, and friend of the Camaldolese reformers, called the practice “the disaster of our times,” disparaging those men who “think they are performing their duty well enough if they shall have handed over the city's management to a procurator, while they take over the income.”⁶ Contarini's words echo the distaste of Francesco Guicciardini, another sixteenth-century lay diplomat whose intimate interactions with the church resulted in contempt and criticism in his *History of Italy* (1537–40). The words of both Guicciardini and Contarini have had an immense effect on the historical judgment of the early modern church and both its need and desire to be reformed. Where Contarini saw episcopal behavior in black and white, many contemporary clergy practiced various shades of light and dark.

3. “In omnibus laborent et ministerium suum impleant. Implere autem illud se nequaquam posse sciunt, si greges sibi commissos mercenariorum more deserant atque ovium suarum, quarum sanguis de eorum est manibus a supremo iudice requirendus, custodiae minime incumbant, cum certissimum sit, non admitti pastoris excusationem, si lupus oves comedit, et pastor nescit.” Sessio VI, “De residential I,” in *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 658; Prosperi, “La figura del vescovo fra Quattro e Cinquecento,” 255.

4. “Crescente vero contumacia, ut severiori sacrorum canonum censurae subiciatur, metropolitanus suffraganeos episcopos absentes, metropolitanianum vero absentem suffraganeus episcopus antiquior residens sub poena interdicti ingressus ecclesiae eo ipso incurrenda infra tres menses per litteras seu nuntium Romano pontifici denunciare teneatur”; Sessio VI, “De residential I,” in *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 658.

5. Partner, *The Pope's Men*; D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*.

6. Contarini wrote his treatise at the request of the adolescent bishop-elect of Bergamo, Pietro Lippomano; Contarini, *Office of a Bishop*, trans. and ed. Donnelly, 13–14, 69.

Until recently, the intricacies and the reality of episcopal absenteeism have attracted few scholars. Perhaps this is due to the complexities of defining abuse, collecting evidence across many dioceses and episcopates, and weighing the real costs and benefits to the bureaucratic church and the Catholic faithful.⁷ Yet, as Paul V. Murphy has shown in his study of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (bp. of Mantova, 1521–63), a more profitable historical focus examines interactions across ecclesiastical offices and the lay-clerical divide in order to banish the bipolar spectrum of corruption and reformation, and investigate a plethora of intermediary positions.⁸ In pursuit of similar variegated shades and practices, this essay seeks to uncover the connections that a single bishop, Paris de' Grassi, established with his diocese in an effort to fulfill the contemporary call to reform the local church while managing his own absenteeism.

Throughout his tenure as the bishop of Pesaro (1513–28), Paris de' Grassi also served as the master of ceremonies at the papal court (1504–28), which prevented his continuous residence in his bishopric.⁹ Nonetheless, he maintained a relationship with his diocese that involved several visits made over the fifteen years of his episcopate.¹⁰ While none of the visits lasted more than three months, during these brief periods de' Grassi modeled his behavior on the contemporary reform ideals known to Contarini, Giustiniani, and Quirini, and discussed at the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17). As a participant in its sessions and as the liturgical director of the Council,¹¹ de' Grassi had intimate knowledge of the tension between the popular ideal of the pastoral bishop resident in his diocese and the commonality of episcopal absenteeism. During his episcopate, de' Grassi carried out an examination and reform of the cathedral chapter, established himself as a

7. While Adriano Prosperi sees in sixteenth-century authors two episcopal models—"good" oriented toward the cure of souls and "evil" oriented towards wealth and power—D. S. Chambers ends his study of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga's arguments excusing non-residence by stating "that the definition of abuse in that period was no simple matter." Chambers, "Defence of Non-Residence in the later Fifteenth Century," 624; Prosperi, "La figura del vescovo fra Quattro e Cinquecento," 253–254.

8. Murphy, *Ruling Peacefully*; Murphy, "A Worldly Reform."

9. From a practical perspective, the financial rewards of episcopal residence were slim in comparison to the income that de' Grassi collected at the papal court to fund his ecclesiastical patronage. Before subtracting any reserved pensions, the bishop of Pesaro received three hundred ducats as an annual stipend; Hay, *Church in Italy*, 112. For de' Grassi's income from his duties at the papal court see DeSilva, *Ritual negotiations*, chap. 2 and app. 1–3.

10. This article will not discuss de' Grassi's last visit to Pesaro, made only weeks before his death in 1528. According to his colleague Biagio Martinelli, he traveled from Pesaro to the papal court at Orvieto, staying from 17 to 23 May, in order to resign his post as ceremonialist. However, after returning to Pesaro, de' Grassi quickly departed for Rome, where he died on 10 June. There are no other references to this episcopal visit and it is probable that if de' Grassi arrived in Pesaro, he did not stay long or participate in the public events or initiatives that characterized his other visits; BAV, Ms. Vat. lat. 12276, Martinelli, *Diaria*, 103.

11. Minnich, "Paride de Grassi's Diary."

Papal Authority, Episcopal Reservation, and Abortion in Sixteenth-Century Italy

John Christopoulos

In October 1588, Pope Sixtus V Peretti (r. 1585–90) issued a papal bull making abortion, for the first time in the Catholic Church's history, officially homicide. Sixtus decreed that anyone who sought to terminate pregnancy, by whatever means, was to be tried as a murderer and also was *ipso facto* excommunicated. In order to ensure that his decrees would be followed to the letter, Sixtus revoked the power of secular and ecclesiastical authorities to handle cases of abortion otherwise. Absolution from this "sin/crime" was now reserved to the papacy alone.¹ Before the promulgation of this bull, cases of abortion were within the purview of bishops and largely resolved in the privacy of the confessional. Now, the pope held a monopoly over forgiveness for abortion and the rehabilitation of those who procured it.

Sixtus's bull against abortion was radical for several reasons. First, while most theologians and canonists agreed that abortion was mortal sin, beyond this, there was no consensus as to what type of sin it was. Neither clergy nor secular authorities unequivocally held the voluntary termination of pregnancy and the expulsion of an unborn to be homicide, that is, the murder of a human being. Second, Sixtus's bull was an explicit challenge to episcopal authority over issues of moral discipline as established at the Council of Trent. Affirmed at the fourteenth session (November 1551), bishops had the authority and the obligation to personally handle cases

1. Sixtus V, *Contra procurantes . . . abortum*, 1588.

that arose in their diocese that were deemed “atrocious and grave.”² In the last three decades of the sixteenth century, numerous Italian bishops, from north and south, attempted to control the practice of abortion within their diocese by prohibiting confessors from absolving this sin and forcing the penitent to go directly to the bishop. It was thought that the episcopal reservation of cases like procured abortion would make laity and clergy understand the gravity of this sin, and the practice of abortion would eventually be eradicated. And yet, the promulgation of Sixtus’s bull against abortion in 1588 suggests that episcopal management of this case of sin was, according to the pontiff, insufficient and ineffective. This paper seeks to investigate these issues. It will explore the complex mix of assertions of power and the negotiated practices that characterized the reforming church as reflected in episcopal and papal regulations of abortion. What did the late sixteenth-century Italian bishop think about abortion? How did he try to regulate its practice within his diocese? How did the realities of parish life factor into the reforming church’s centralizing strategies?

The post-Tridentine bishop was expected to do a lot. Charged with the tasks of establishing orthodoxy in his diocese and keeping heresy at bay, the bishop was directly responsible for his flock’s and clergy’s behaviors, practices, and beliefs, and therefore had to be directly involved, through various channels, in their lives. The bishop had to reside in his diocese; had to visit all the diocesan institutions of his land; had to ensure that his priests were properly educated, that they were conducting themselves honorably and caring for souls adequately and competently; and had to celebrate diocesan synods and provincial councils regularly in order to make sure all *curati* in his diocese were on the same page and working toward the same goals of moral reform and discipline. The bishop’s direct and intimate involvement in the administration of religion would produce competent and dedicated priests who would then educate and take better care of the souls of parishioners: “The model bishop would see to it that his model pastors created model parishioners.” While some bishops were more determined to implement the reforms promulgated at the Council of Trent than others, all bishops were officially charged with these tasks.³

One aspect of morality that was deemed in need of reform and that apparently required direct episcopal attention was the practice of abortion. As part of campaigns against immoral, transgressive, and sinful behavior, in the 1570s and

2. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 96.

3. The quotation is from Comerford, “The Care of Souls is a Very Grave Burden for [the Pastor],” 353. Generally, see Borromeo, “I vescovi italiani”; Black, *Church, Religion and Society*, chap. 4.

'80s, several Italian bishops took an interest in their flock's practice of voluntarily terminating pregnancies. Along with such sexual transgressions as incest, defloration, sodomy, bestiality, and some types of love magic, bishops sought to regulate the practice of abortion within their diocese by personally dealing with these transgressors.

Throughout the sixteenth century, ecclesiastical authorities believed that the confessor, due to his unique and intimate access to the laity, was best placed to discover cases of abortion and illicit sexuality in general, and also to communicate theological teachings regarding its practice to his community. However, by the time of the Council of Trent, more and more bishops had realized and accepted the limitations of their confessors in this task. It was commonplace that confessors were uninspired, poorly educated in Catholic doctrine, and inadequately caring for souls. Many confessors could not read Latin and therefore could not study cases of conscience or moral theology. How could they celebrate the sacrament of confession properly? Many sins, it was believed, were easily absolved because the confessor did not know how to handle them. This was to the detriment of the penitent's soul.⁴

In terms of abortion, many confessors did not necessarily know that the voluntary termination of pregnancy was in fact a mortal sin or how to properly evaluate this case of sin. There was no shortage of theological literature this subject, much of which was written with the intent of instructing confessors. Indeed, bishops demanded that their confessors read the authoritative works on cases of conscience, the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* (1566), and manuals of confession in order to be able to question their penitents and competently assess their sins in the confessional.⁵ The famous work of the Dominican preacher and inquisitor of Piacenza Bartolomeo Fumi (*Summa aurea armilla* [1547])⁶ and the very popular *Manuale de confessori et penitenti* (1569) of the Spanish Augustinian Martin Azpilcueta were required readings for many confessors. These contained detailed and authoritative analyses of various cases of sexual sin, including abortion.⁷ On a more popular level, in the second half of the sixteenth century a multitude of vernacular works on

4. The literature on this subject is vast. See especially Allegra, "Il parroco," esp. 931–41; de Boer, *Conquest of the Soul*; Greco, "Fra disciplina e sacerdozio"; Mancino, *Licentia confitendi*; Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*; Turchini, "La nascita del sacerdozio come professione."

5. See, for example, Paleotti, *Episcopale Bononensis*; c. 9; Prodi, *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti* 2:155n69; Montanari, *Disciplinamento in terra veneta*, 123; Pinto, *Riforma tridentina in Puglia*, 2:92 and 3:37; Turchini, *Clero e fedeli a Rimini*, 91; *Constitutiones, et decreta Dioecesanæ Synodi Viterben* (1584), 104.

6. The work was original published in 1547; the 1572 edition is being cited here.

7. "De Aborsu," in Fumi, *Summa, aurea armilla*, 6–7; "Del Quinto Precetto" and "D'alcune Interrogationi—De i Medici, & Chirugici," in Azpilcueta, *Manuale de' Confessori et Penitenti*, 166, 630.

Ministering to Catholics and Protestants Alike

The Preaching, Polemics, and Pastoral Care of François de Sales

Jill Fehleison

François de Sales, the Savoyard bishop and saint, is perhaps best known for his guide to daily living, *Introduction to the Devout Life* (1609), and his establishment of the Order of the Visitation (1610) with fellow saint Jeanne de Chantal. He was also deeply involved in pastoral care and conversion of Protestants during his service to the diocese of Geneva (1592–1622), which included twenty years as bishop (1602–22).¹ Being both an avid reformer within Catholicism and an active missionary among the region's Protestants, de Sales crafted messages in his sermons and in religious tracts to fit particular audiences; however, much of his correspondence, his sermons, and his most famous published writings, can all be broadly characterized as pastoral guides.² Even his cofounding of the Visitandines originated from his spiritual direction of Jeanne de Chantal after the death of her husband.³ As leader of a diocese, de Sales worked tirelessly to create a body of clergy that offered the laity Catholic orthodoxy through religious

1. Despite being the diocese of Geneva, the bishop ultimately resided in the Savoy town of Annecy after Catholic clergy had been expelled from the city of Geneva in the mid 1530s. For English biographies of de Sales, see Ravier, *Francis de Sales, Sage and Saint*; LaJeunie, *Saint Francis de Sales*.

2. *Introduction to the Devout Life* and *Treatise on the Love of God* (1616) are de Sales's best known books of devotion.

3. For further exploration of the relationship between Jeanne de Chantal and François de Sales see Wright, *Bond of Perfection*; and Wright and Power, *Francis de Sales and Jane de Chantal*.

instruction and by example.⁴ De Sales always viewed himself first and foremost as a priest invested with a flock, and he continued delivering sermons and leading catechism instruction throughout his tenure as bishop despite the great demands on his time and talent. By placing high importance on preaching, de Sales was following the directives from Rome after the Council of Trent.

The framers of Trent certainly acknowledged that there were too many members of the clergy who failed in their duties to instruct their parishioners in Christian doctrine. Trent ordained that preaching the gospel was the “chief duty of the bishops.” If a bishop was unable to preach because of other obligations related to his episcopal duties, he was to appoint someone who was “competent” to preach in his place. Clergy who failed to deliver sermons “at least on Sundays and solemn festivals” were to face serious punishment. The reformers at Trent also expected priests to improve the quality of their sermons, reminding members of the clergy, regardless of their rank, that they should craft sermons that matched the educational and intellectual level of the audience. In addition to his own preaching, a bishop was expected to ensure that all of the clergy residing within his diocese—both secular and regular—preached orthodoxy, preached when required to, and did not preach without a license.⁵ Published sermons and preaching manuals proliferated in the sixteenth century with the spread of the printing press. Many priests did not have the natural skill or education to compose and deliver effective sermons without help, but as Larissa Taylor observes, preachers had numerous options when seeking out printed sermons to serve as models.⁶ Peter Bayley notes that French oratory shifted dramatically to a less aggressive and partisan approach after the Edict of Nantes (1598), but the five decades before 1650 have been neglected by scholars who have preferred to focus on the latter half of the seventeenth century. The period after 1650 is associated most often with the style of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, court preacher of Louis XIV and considered one of the great orators of the early modern period.⁷ De Sales is an important preacher for this transitional period from the end of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth century when the Francophone regions of Europe witnessed diminishing religious violence.

4. While the diocese of Geneva did not have a seminary until 1663, de Sales's predecessor as bishop, Claude de Granier, established the practice of annual synods to train and oversee the clergy and de Sales continued and expanded this practice during his tenure as bishop. According to Ravier, while bishop, de Sales ordained almost nine hundred priests; *Francis de Sales*, 129–31, 239.

5. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 5th sess. chap. 2 (pp. 26–27), 24th sess. chap. 4 (pp. 195–96).

6. Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, 227.

7. Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory, 1598–1650*, 4.

De Sales's early sermons preached among the Reformed populations of the diocese offer foundational evidence for his later devotional literature that was so important and influential to seventeenth-century Catholicism and to the larger Salesian spirituality movement. His earliest publications were polemics sparked by his experiences during the Catholic mission in the duchy of Chablais, a region that included Protestant villages located on the outskirts of Geneva and along Lake Geneva. De Sales proved to be a polemicist of some dexterity, a fact reflected in both his sermons and pamphlets of the 1590s. These early sermons, delivered to hostile or indifferent audiences of Reformed followers, proved to be great training for de Sales's future endeavors as bishop of Geneva that included administering a fractured diocese under the two often warring secular rulers of France and Savoy and with the continued presence of Protestants. After de Sales completed his education at the College of Clermont in Paris under the Jesuits and then in Padua, where the Jesuit diplomat Antonio Possevino served as his mentor, he returned to his native Savoy to begin his career in the Catholic Church.⁸ His predecessor as bishop, Claude de Granier, was one of the first to recognize the young priest's talents when he made de Sales provost of the cathedral canons in 1592. De Sales developed a reputation as an outstanding preacher and became a model for reform-minded bishops of the seventeenth century.⁹ Themes of redemption and spiritual growth through the practice of Catholicism can be found in these early sermons and carry through into his later sermons and published works. As a post-Tridentine bishop, de Sales always strived to convert Protestants inhabiting his diocese and to revitalize existing Catholic parishes, with the ultimate goal of restoring the pre-Reformation boundaries of his diocese.

While this essay highlights the intersection between religious polemic and sermons in the early works of de Sales, these sermons are part of a larger body of pastoral and religious polemical literature produced by Catholics and Protestants living in and around Geneva during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These works offer an important window into understanding how both Catholics and Protestants maintained religious identities in biconfessional regions during the later Reformation. While scholars are often interested in the epistemology of

8. Ravier, *Francis de Sales*, 64–65

9. De Sales wrote an often-quoted letter to the newly elected archbishop of Bourges that offered advice on how to prepare a sermon; F. de Sales to Monseigneur André Frémyot, archbishop of Bourges, 5 October 1604, in de Sales, *Œuvres*, 12:311–12. Frémyot was the brother of Jeanne de Chantal. De Sales was also a mentor to Jean-Pierre Camus, who he consecrated as bishop of Belley in 1609. In an effort to support de Sales's canonization, Camus wrote a six-volume biography of his mentor. For more on Camus and de Sales's influence on him, see Worcester, *Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse*.

Gender, Resistance, and the Limits of Episcopal Authority

Sébastien Zamet's Relationships with Nuns, 1615–55

Linda Lierheimer

On 10 May 1623, Sébastien Zamet, the bishop of Langres, appeared before the Parlement of Dijon, the highest court in the region. Zamet, along with many of the magistrates, was concerned about the “disorder” and “scandal” caused by the refusal of Ursuline nuns in Dijon to obey their bishop and submit to his authority regarding their choice of a new mother superior. The magistrates ordered an investigation into the matter and sent Zamet with two officers of the court to force the nuns to comply. A heated dispute broke out when some of the judges, who were relatives of the nuns, opposed the intervention of the court and argued in favor of the Ursulines.¹ The nuns, for their part, claimed that they had the right to self-governance and that their bishop had “violated the canons, councils, bulls, rules, and constitutions of the convent that they had observed up to this time, which he himself had approved.” Although they wished to be obedient, “their consciences were obliged by the taking of their original vows to observe exactly what was contained in [their statutes].”²

1. ADCO, B 12069/TER, fols. 24–25: minutes of the Parlement de Bourgogne, May 1621. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's own.

2. *Recit véritable*, 14–15. Zamet's attempt to impose his will on the nuns, which included sending off the mother superior in question to another convent against her will, proved ultimately unsuccessful, thanks to pressure from the nuns' relatives and support for their case from Rome.

Like other reforming bishops of his day, Zamet believed that the episcopacy should be at the forefront of the church's efforts to restore clerical discipline, and he saw the assertion of episcopal power as essential to the spiritual revitalization of his diocese. However, as the above example (which will be discussed at length later in this paper) indicates, his attempts to do so often met with resistance from nuns and monks who claimed traditional rights and exemptions from episcopal control, and from local elites who resented what they saw as incursions on their own authority.

Zamet's complicated relationships with nuns, which one biographer has called the greatest "stumbling-block of his life,"³ must be understood in the context of these larger struggles over authority and over the process of Catholic reform in early seventeenth-century France. Nuns had a fundamentally different relationship to authority and the church than did male religious. In France, nuns enjoyed most of the same protections, privileges, and status, or *qualité*, as monks due to their membership in the First Estate. Nuns had the right of ecclesiastical justice and were represented at the Estates-General, however infrequently it met. However, the Catholic Church distinguished clearly between male and female religious on matters such as whether they were permitted to have the Eucharist kept in their cloister and whether they were allowed to create self-governing national or international institutions (monks were, nuns were not).⁴ And in theory, nuns were supposed to be subject to the authority of a male superior, either a bishop or a male monastic.

Zamet embarked on an ambitious program of monastic reform that focused primarily on women's religious orders, where he clearly hoped to leave his most lasting legacy, and he collaborated closely with devout women and nuns to develop and realize his vision. However, he also became embroiled in numerous conflicts with nuns over issues of authority and convent autonomy. This essay examines three of these conflicts: Zamet's efforts to reform the Benedictine abbey of Puits d'Orbe, and the resistance of the abbess, Rose Bourgeois; his ongoing conflict with the Ursuline nuns in his diocese; and the reform of the Cistercian abbey of Tart and Zamet's plan to unify the abbeys of Tart and Port-Royal. Although each of these cases deserves a far more extensive treatment than can be addressed within the limits of this article, the focus here will be on what these cases can contribute to our understanding of the expansion of and limits on episcopal power in early seventeenth-century France. The collaboration of

3. Prunel refers to Zamet's dealings with nuns as "l'écueil de sa vie"; *Sébastien Zamet*, 125.

4. Hayden, "States, Estates and Orders," 70–71.

religious women was essential to the success of a reforming bishop, and conflicts between nuns and bishops allowed the former to claim a certain degree of autonomy that in turn restricted the de facto ability of the bishop to assert his will. It is important, though, to keep in mind that these conflicts were not just over who should have authority, but involved issues of spiritual autonomy and differing ideals of religious life. This fact would become abundantly clear during the Jansenist controversy, the beginnings of which contributed to Zamet's greatest defeat, his failed attempt to create a new religious order for women, the Institut du Saint-Sacrement.

Bishops and Nuns in Counter-Reformation France

In his classic study of the Catholic Reformation, H. Outram Evenett stated that "the strengthening of the episcopacy may be regarded as the corner-stone of the counter-reformation Church."⁵ The Council of Trent (1545–63) ordered bishops to reside in their dioceses, oversee the churches and monastic houses in their dioceses, reform the morals of the clergy, convoke yearly diocesan synods, and visit their dioceses regularly.⁶ The century that followed saw an expansion of episcopal power and the development of a new model of the ideal bishop.⁷

In France, the implementation of the program of episcopal reform was delayed by the refusal of the Parlement of Paris, the highest law court in the land, to register the Tridentine decrees and thus give them the force of law. In addition, unlike in other Catholic countries, the French Crown had the right to appoint bishops. The traditional independence of the French church from Rome, known as Gallicanism, shaped the philosophy and self-perception of French bishops. As Alison Forrestal has pointed out, the Council of Trent failed to resolve the fundamental question of whether bishops received their power from the pope or directly from God by "divine right." Most French bishops adhered to the latter view, in which a bishop's relationship to his diocese mirrored that of an absolute monarch with his state. This meant that the French episcopacy tended to regard itself as having jurisdiction independent of Rome and resisted any attempts of the papacy to interfere with its activities, which helps to explain the otherwise

5. Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 97.

6. *Canons and Decrees*, ed. Schroeder, 46–47, 49, 105, 192–95.

7. For example, Bergin, *Making of the French Episcopate, 1589–1661*; and Forrestal, *Fathers, Pastors and Kings*. On the new ideal of the bishop in France, see Forrestal, "Fathers, Leaders, Kings," 24–25 and "A Catholic Model of Martyrdom," 254–80.

Trials That Should Have Been

The Question of Judicial Jurisdiction over French Bishops in the Seventeenth Century and the Self-Narration of the Roman Inquisition

Jean-Pascal Gay

As recent events have recalled, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, heir to the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, remains a tribunal, and particularly a tribunal for bishops.¹ Yet, since the nineteenth century, observers have regarded the Congregation primarily as a doctrinal censor and a participant in the production of the Catholic magisterium. The story of this transformation is long and conflicted, involving a complex set of relations among episcopal, pontifical, inquisitorial, and political powers. In this history, both France and the seventeenth century play significant roles. Despite the breadth of its theoretical authority, codified in its bull of foundation, the Roman and Universal Inquisition could not exercise jurisdiction over France. Because the Inquisition had been created after the Concordat of Bologna (1516), the French Parlements recognized no legal authority whatsoever emanating from it. By constantly challenging the Inquisition decrees, the Parlements manifested that they regarded themselves as the defenders of the so-called Gallican liberties.² Therefore, the Inquisition had to favor an essentially doctrinal, rather than judicial, approach to French matters. This fostered its role within the Roman Curia as the doctrinal specialist, at a time

1. For an introduction to the early modern Roman Inquisition, see Black, *Italian Inquisition*, 1–55.

2. Tallon “Gallicanesimo.” On the religious and political culture of the *parlementaires*, see Parsons, *Church in the Republic*.

when the intensification of theological controversies among French Catholics drew the Inquisition's attention.³

As Elena Bonora has convincingly shown,⁴ the dispute over whether the council, the pope, and the Inquisition had the authority to try bishops played a major part in defining the boundaries and nature of their respective powers. In the seventeenth century, particularly in relation to France, the question remained significant, as those powers had not yet stabilized because of the institutional, political, and religious specificities of French Catholicism.

On the question of bringing French bishops to trial, the state of documentation preserved in the Inquisitorial collection at the Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (ACDF) is striking. Aside from decrees issued by the Inquisition, almost all documents regarding sixteenth-century France comes from episcopal trials, and particularly from the trial of Calvinist bishops in 1563. Studied extensively by Elena Bonora, this trial was led by Pope Pius IV Medici (r. 1559–65) and the Inquisition around the time the Council of Trent was discussing the question of pontifical reservation of episcopal cases.⁵ The bull *Licet ab initio* (21 July 1542), by which Pope Paul III Farnese (r. 1534–49) had created the Roman Inquisition, granted the Inquisitors very wide authority to proceed against any heretic. Yet following the trials against bishops and cardinals under Pope Paul IV Carafa (r. 1555–59), both Pius IV and the council showed some resolve to protect the episcopate from the grasp of the still-young Inquisition.⁶ In 1563, the council finally decided that the pope should handle cases of episcopal heresy, but that if, for some reason, cases were to be treated outside the Roman Curia, they should proceed by papal commission.⁷ Such commissions should not go beyond instruction of the cause, whose sentence should be handled directly by the pope. Lesser offences could be handled by provincial councils. Almost at the same time, the Council of Trent granted powers to the episcopate to dispense and absolve *in foro conscientiae* in cases reserved to the Holy See,⁸ a concession later suppressed by the bull *In*

3. There is no study on the relationship between seventeenth-century France and the early modern Inquisition. This essay is part of ongoing research initiated by the École Française de Rome and the Archivio della Congregazione per la dottrina delle Fede that will result in the publication of a guide and inventory of inquisitorial documents regarding Grand Siècle France, and a study of the relationship between the Congregation and France. For an introduction, see Alain Tallon's article "Francia, età moderna" in the *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*.

4. Bonora, *Giudicare i Vescovi*.

5. *Ibid.*, 165–95.

6. *Ibid.*, 150–64.

7. Session 24, chapter 5.

8. Session 24, chapter 6.

Cæna Domini (1568), which restored many prerogatives the Inquisition had lost in the previous years. Indeed the 1563 trial was essential to the institutional memory of the Inquisition. It was headed at the time by the *Inquisitor maior* Antonio Ghislieri, who, as Pope Pius V (r. 1566–72), restored the very power the Inquisition had lost under his predecessor.

In contrast with earlier material, the seventeenth-century documents regarding France are much more abundant and varied, particularly after 1650 when the rise of Jansenism in France became a major focus of the Roman Inquisition.⁹ Yet there are also significant documents that center on discussions within the Inquisition as to how suspect French bishops could and ought to be tried. Such discussions never actually came to much, and no French bishop was tried for Jansenism in the seventeenth century. The only actual trial of French bishops by papal commission occurred in 1632 under unusual circumstances. Yet, during the last two-thirds of the century, the Roman Inquisition never ceased to discuss the possibility and the possible forms of such trials. Indeed, these discussions occurred within the latent but always more prevalent and defining conflict between Roman and French styles of Catholicism as both grew more coherent and increasingly opposed. Yet the issue of episcopal trials interfered with other institutional tensions, namely periodic tensions between the episcopate and the monarchy in France, and within the Roman Curia between the Inquisition and other agencies and institutions.

This essay will explore the significance of such discussions for the Catholic understanding of episcopal power and for the relationship of the French episcopate to both the pope and the Roman Curia. Following a brief discussion of the trials that actually took place in the seventeenth century, it will examine how the question of judicial trials of French bishops was handled at the time Innocent X Pamphili (r. 1644–55) published his constitution against Jansenism in 1653 and around the time Alexander VII Chigi (r. 1655–67) issued a bull imposing a formulary of faith. An important focus will be the part played by the Inquisition in the confrontation with French episcopalism. As this essay shows, the Inquisition's self-narration regarding its role in these trials played a significant part in the reactive evolution of the Roman understanding of episcopacy in the second third of the seventeenth century.

9. For reference to the Jansenist context, see Doyle, *Jansenism*.

Contributors

John Alexander is an architectural historian (PhD, University of Virginia) who has published articles and a book on Carlo Borromeo and his architectural commissions. He is expanding his research to the patronage of bishops in Tridentine Italy. He teaches in the department of architecture at the University of Texas at San Antonio, where he is associate professor.

John Christopoulos is a PhD candidate at the University of Toronto, where he is completing a thesis on conceptions of and attitudes toward abortion and pregnancy termination in late Renaissance Italy. From 2012 to 2014, he will be a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Post-Doctoral Fellow at York University.

Hans Cools obtained his PhD in 2000 from the University of Amsterdam. Currently he lectures on early modern history at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. He has published on a variety of subjects, including nobilities, warfare, state formation, and political and cultural brokerage in the Low Countries, France, and Italy between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Jennifer Mara DeSilva completed a PhD in history at the University of Toronto, where she examined the role of papal ritual and the Office of Ceremonies in early modern Italy. Her published research includes articles that focus on the intersection of public display, diplomacy, social mobility, and ecclesiastical authority. Currently she is assistant professor of history at Ball State University.

Jill Fehleison received her PhD from Ohio State University. Her scholarship on biconfessional relations includes the book *Boundaries of Faith: Catholics and Protestants in the Diocese of Geneva* (Truman State University Press, 2010). Her current research examines the dialogue created by Catholic and Protestant polemics and sermons produced in and around Geneva during the late sixteenth century

and the first decades of the seventeenth century. She is associate professor of history at Quinnipiac University in Hamden, CT.

Jean-Pascal Gay was educated at the École Normale Supérieure and is a former fellow of the École Française de Rome. He is the author of *Morales en conflit, théologie et polémique au Grand Siècle* (Cerf, 2011) and of *Jesuit Civil Wars: Theology, Politics and Government in the Society of Jesus under Tirso González* (Ashgate, 2012). His research deals primarily with the history of theology, Catholic confessionalization, and the relationship of the Roman Inquisition to early modern France. He is currently assistant professor at the University of Strasbourg.

William V. Hudon completed a PhD in history at the University of Chicago in 1987, where he was a student of the late Eric Cochrane, Bernard McGinn, and Julius Kirshner. His books and essays have focused on the history of Catholicism in early modern Italy. He is currently professor of history at Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, where he has taught since 1989.

Linda Lierheimer completed a PhD in history at Princeton University where she wrote a dissertation on the spiritual ideals of Ursuline nuns in seventeenth-century France. She edited and translated *The Life of Antoinette Micolon* (2004). Her research focuses on women's religious life during the Catholic Reformation, and she is working on a book on conflicts between nuns and bishops. Currently she is associate professor of history and humanities at Hawaii Pacific University.

Celeste McNamara is a PhD candidate in history at Northwestern University. Her dissertation examines the implementation of Catholic reform in post-Tridentine Padua. Her research focuses on the social and cultural aspects of Catholicism in early modern Italy.

Antonella Perin received a doctorate in "Storia e Critica dei Beni Architettonici e Ambientali" from the Università La Sapienza di Roma. She has published on architecture and urbanism from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, focusing on Lombardy and the Piedmont. She has taught for the Politecnico di Torino and the Centro Conservazione e Restauro "La Venaria Reale" (Turin).

Raymond A. Powell is a research faculty member in history at LCC International University in Klaipeda, Lithuania. He has a PhD in European and American religious history from the University of Virginia, as well as graduate degrees from University College London and Union Presbyterian Seminary.

Index

Bold numbers indicate an image

A

- abortion, 18–19, 110–24
 animatus, 116–17
 homicide, 110, 113, 119, 122
 inanimatus, 114, 116–17, 122
 procurers of, 119–20
 synodal legislation, 113, 114–15, 118, 122
- absolution, 19, 110, 118–22, 198
 reservation of authority to absolve, 110–11, 114–24, 195–96
- Accolti, Pietro (cardinal, bp. of Arras), 58
- adultery, 118
- Agli, Antonio degli (bp. of Volterra), 5
- Albergati, Niccolò (bp. of Bologna), 101, 102–3
- Alberigo, Giuseppe, xii–xiii, 91
- Alberti, Leon Battista,
 De re aedificatoria (1443–52), 82–83
- Albizzi, Francesco (cardinal), 204, 210
- Aldrich, Robert (bp. of Carlisle), 27
- Alexandria, 6
- Altoviti, Antonio (archbp. of Florence), 118
- Alvarez de Toledo, Ferdinand, duke of Alba, 54
- Anne of Austria, queen of France, 159, 160, 197, 199
- Antioch, 6
- aristocracy, 52, 55
- Arnauld, Agnès (abbess), 168
- Arnauld, Angélique (abbess), 166–69
- Arras. *See under* Low Countries
- Azpilcueta, Martín de, 112, 119
 Manuale de confessori et penitenti (1569), 112

B

- Baden, Friedrich von (bp. of Utrecht), 51
- Barbarigo, Gianfrancesco, 174
- Barbarigo, Gregorio (cardinal, bp. of Bergamo, later Padua), 18, 174–92
 as ideal bishop, 175
 vicari foranei, 175–76, 177, 185, 190–91
 visitations, 176–78, 191–92
 wealth, 174–75

- Barlow, Frank, 14
- Barozzi, Pietro (bp. of Padua), 1, 103
- Bartoli, Cosimo, 83
- Baume, Esprit de (Capuchin), 132, 142
- Bayley, Peter, 129, 135
- Baynes, Ralph (bp. of Coventry and Lichfield), 33, 35
 in exile, 39
- Bellegarde, Octave de (archbp. of Sens), 168
- Bellinzoni, Giovanni Antonio, 98n48
- Bembo, Pietro (cardinal), 97
- Benedetti, Giovanni (bp. of Pesaro), 98n48
- Benvenuti, Sara, 98–99
- Berlaymont, Louis de (archbp. of Cambrai), 54
- Berne, Swiss Confederacy, 136n25, 140n44, 142
- Bérulle, Pierre de, 151
- bestiality, 112, 118n28
- Betti, Teofilo, 95n29, 98n47
- Beza, Theodore, 139, 142
 Sermons sur l'histoire de la passion (1592), 140–41
- Bible, 132, 137
 biblical stories, 140
 Epistles of Paul, 138; Paul, Letter to the Philippians 1:1, 5n17
 Gospels, 15
 New Testament, 105; Acts of the Apostles 2:14–47, 3; John, 141; Luke 20:17, 5n17; Matthew 4:3, 139; Matthew 19:26, 139
- Bird, John (bp. of Chester), 32
- bishops
 absentee bishop-bureaucrat, 9, 37, 89, 105
 administration, 4
 ambition, 4, 10, 105
 as attentive observer (*l'attento osservatore*), 88, 91, 105
 autonomy, 84
 biographies, 4–5, 11–12
 bishop saints, 11, 15–16
 bulwark against Protestantism, 2, 88–89, 111
 Calvinist beliefs, 195
 charity, 3, 4, 5, 6, 105
 classical virtues, 7
 conflict with cathedral chapters, 56, 80–81, 83, 153

bishops, *continued*

conformity to Protestantism, 27, 30n11, 32, 34, 37, 39, 40, 42
 confraternities, involvement with, 56, 91, 101, 105, 180n28, 182
 corrupt, 2, 3–4, 9
 Counter-Reformation bishops, 48, 123, 144
 courtier bishop model, 7
 cure of souls, 3, 111, 118
curiales (Roman imperial administrators), 5
 custodian of local institutions, 92, 101–2
 deprivation of office, 31–32, 39, 40, 42, 173, 198
 disinterest, 2, 173
 divinely appointed, xii, 18, 149, 170, 208
episkopoi, 5
évêque-duc, 8
 exile, 33, 39
 Frankish bishops, 7
Fürstbischof, 8
Gesta episcoporum, 11
 ideal bishop, 1–2, 3–5, 7, 10, 15, 79–80, 111, 149, 175
 imprisonment of, 27, 33, 35, 39, 40
 in Italy, xii, 5, 14
 juridical jurisdiction over, 18, 195–211
 as living example (*vivum exemplum*), 1, 88
 as local spiritual authority, 17, 63, 81, 173, 191–92
 mediator, 6, 7–8, 11n41, 88
 mirror of bishops literature, 4n11
 modeling virtue, 88n2, 91, 92, 103, 105, 144
 national episcopates, 13–15
 nepotism, 38
 noble backgrounds, 6, 17, 47, 51–52, 54–57
 number of, 13n49
 nuns. *See* nuns
 pastoral care, 3, 8, 9, 11, 68, 88, 174
 patron of architecture, 63, 69, 71–75, 78–84, 95–96, 99–100, 104
 political loyalty, 32, 51
 preaching, 5, 19, 35, 129, 152
 provision of, 8–9, 29, 149
 reformed, 2, 3, 106n75
 requirements for holding a bishopric, 56
 residence, 1–2, 3, 5, 10, 17, 88, 89, 91, 103–4, 149, 152
 secular role, 3, 7–8, 17, 35–36
 seminaries, 1, 68, 69, 79, 113, 129n4, 152, 175
 spiritual vassals, 8
 stereotypes, 9, 19
 synods, 1, 103, 111, 118, 129n4, 149, 152, 191
 Tridentine decrees, 63, 68, 79n33, 152
 vacant episcopal sees, 39, 47, 57
 venality of, 12
 vicars, 89, 98, 102, 103, 118, 175–78, 190–91

visitations, 1, 10, 18, 68, 96, 101, 103, 149, 152, 176–77

Bologna. *See* under Italy

Bonamini, Domenico, 102

Boncompagni, Christoforo (archbp. of Ravenna), 115

Bonner, Edmund (bp. of London), 27n3, 31
 imprisonment of, 39

Bonora, Elena, 195

Borgia, Cesare, 92, 98

Borromeo, Carlo (archbp. of Milan), 1, 12, 64, 175

on abortion, 114–15, 117, 118

assassination attempt, 69n8, 81

attendance at Council of Trent, 69

Instructionum Fabricae et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae (1577), 69, 72

jurisdictional disputes, 69, 71

in Milan, 69, 71

relations with Cesare Gambara, 69–71, 72, 81

relations with Gianpaolo della Chiesa, 71–72

relations with Pope Pius IV, 69

relations with Pope Pius V, 69

Tridentine decrees, 69

Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne, 129

Bossy, John, 10n40

Boucherat, Nicolas (abbot general of the Cistercian Order), 165

Bourbon, Louis de (bp. of Liège), 49, 54

Bourchier, John, 30n11, 37
 conformity, 40

Bourchier, Thomas (archbp. of Canterbury), 104

Bourgeois, Rose (abbess), 148, 154, 156–60, 169

Bourgogne, Philippe de (bp. of Utrecht), 58

Bourne, Gilbert (bp. of Bath and Wells), 28, 36
 avoids imprisonment, 39
 nepotism, 38

Bourne, Sir John, 28

Bovio, Girolamo (bp. of Camerino), 115

Brancati, Adele, 101n62

British Academy, 14

Broeucq, Jacques du, 52

Brooks, James (bp. of Gloucester), 35, 37

Brown, Peter, 6

Burali d'Arezzo, Paolo (cardinal, bp. of Piacenza, later archbp. of Naples), 115, 117, 118

Burckhardt, Jacob, x

Burgundy, House of, 46, 54

Charles the Bold, duke, 48

David of (bp. of Utrecht), 51

Philip the Good, duke, 51

Philip of (bp. of Utrecht), 51

Bush, Paul (bp. of Bristol), 32

C

Caberlon, Matteo, 181

Caiaphas, 141

- Calvin, John, 135, 137–39, 140–41, 142
 Calvinism, 57n69
Institutes of the Christian Religion (1559), 143–44
- Cambrai. *See under* Low Countries
- Cambridge, Massachusetts, ix
- Cambridge, University of, 33
- Camus, Jean-Pierre (bp. of Belley), 130n9
- cannibalism, 138
- Canterbury, 3
- Capon, John (bp. of Salisbury), 27
 imprisonment of, 40
- Carafa, Oliviero (cardinal, archbp. of Naples), 104
- cardinals
 as bishops, 15
 criticism of worldliness, 15
- Carile, Antonio, 94
- Castro, Nicolaus de (bp. of Middelburg), 47n6
- cathedral, as symbol, 81
- Catholic Church
 Council of Constance (1414–18), 9–10
 Council of Nicaea (325), 5–6
 Council of Trent (1545–63), x–xiii, 5, 10, 12, 42–43, 75, 84, 114; *Catechism of the Council of Trent* (1566), 112; combats Protestantism, xii, 88, 150; confraternities, 105n74; as Council of Bishops, 1; *Decretum de residentia episcoporum* . . . (1547), 88–89; episcopal role, 2, 10, 110, 149, 173; France's refusal to accept Tridentine decrees, 149, 197, 201, 208; nuns, 18, 150–51; one-size-fits-all legislation, x, 10; Tridentine decrees, xii–xiii, 1, 17, 63, 111, 120, 129, 173–76, 179; urbanism, 83
- Feast of the Ascension, 143
- Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, 95
- Feast of Pentecost, 94, 100, 101
- Feast of the Purification, 143
- Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 97, 141
- Feast of the Trinity, 142
- Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17), 90, 95, 98;
Regimini universalis Ecclesiae (1515), 98
- Index of Prohibited Books, 201
- Lent, 119, 123, 140, 143
- Second Council of Carthage (419), 199, 203n33, 205
- Second Vatican Council (1962–65), xii
- Catholic reform, 43
- Catholic Reformation, 1, 161
- Catholic renewal, 47, 51
- Cecil, William, 42
- Chablais, duchy of, 130, 131–33, 134, 135–44
- Chambers, D. S., 90n7
- Chambers, John (bp. of Peterborough), 27
- Chantal, Jeanne de (saint), 128, 135, 156n44
- Chorpenning, Joseph, 135
- Christian II, king of Denmark, 77
- christianization, 6
- Christopherson, John (bp. of Chichester), 28, 33, 35, 38
- Chrysostom, John, 133
- church fathers, 15
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 55
- civic cult, 81, 101, 105
- Clenock, Maurice (also Clynog), 29n10
- cloister (*clausura*). *See under* nuns
- Clugny, Ferry de (cardinal), 50
- Cochrane, Eric, x
- Colet, John, 3, 4n11
- Coligny, Odet de (cardinal de Chatillon), 209–10
- Collège de la Flèche, 151
- College of Clermont, Paris, 130
- Cologne, archbishopric of, 46
- Comitoli, Napoleone (bp. of Perugia), 122
- conciliarism, 47
- Concordat of Bologna* (1516), 194, 197, 201, 205
 provision to benefices, 49, 56
- concubinage, 32, 152, 176, 185
- confession, 18–19, 110–12, 117–120
- confessionalization, x
- confraternities, 3, 56, 91–92, 95n34, 100–102, 104–5, 180n28, 182
Fraternità of Volterra, 104
- Fraternity of the Annunciation, Pesaro, 101–3
- Fraternity of St. Andrew the Apostle, Pesaro, 101n61
- Society of S. Giuliano, Rome, 101
- Contarini, Gasparo (cardinal, bp. of Belluno), 90, 91, 94, 106
 episcopal residence, 89, 91, 103
The Office of a Bishop (1516), 89, 91, 103n69
- Coraldi (cardinal), 210
- Council of Trent. *See under* Catholic Church
- Counter-Reformation, x, 1
- Coutier de Sainte-Agnès, Claude (abbess), 163
- Créqui, house of
 Antoine de (bp. of Théroutanne), 58
 François de (bp. of Théroutanne), 58
- Cristierna of Denmark, 68n7, 77–78
- Croce, Benedetto, x
- Cromwell, Thomas, 30
- cross, veneration of, 132–33, 136
- Croy, house of, 52–53
 Adrien de, count of Roeulx, 52, 53
 Charles de (bp. of Tournai), 50, 58
 Eustache de (bp. of Arras), 52, 53, 58
 Guillaume de (bp. of Cambrai), 52, 58
 Jacques de (bp. of Cambrai), 52, 58
 Philippe de, 53
 Robert de (bp. of Cambrai), 52, 53, 58
- Curwen, Hugh (archbp. of Dublin), 36, 37

D

- Day, George (bp. of Chichester), 31
 defloration, 112, 118
 Delbene, Alphonse (bp. of Albi), 198, 200
 Della Chiesa, Gian Paolo (cardinal), 71–73, 74–75, 76–77, 78–79, 82
 relations with Carlo Borromeo, 71–72
 De Sanctis, Francesco, x
 Descartes, René, 151
 Diefendorf, Barbara, 150
 Dijon. *See under* France
 Ditchfield, Simon, 11
 Duffy, Eamon, 26n2, 39n35, 40–41

E

- Edict of Nantes* (1598), 129, 143n55
 education, xii, 48, 111, 161, 175
 humanistic, 9
 law, 57, 174
 post-Tridentine prelate, 48, 112–13
 theology, 57
 Edward VI, king of England, 27, 31, 33, 38n32, 39
 episcopal promotion, 35, 36
 imprisonment of bishops, 39
 religious reform, 29, 34, 35
 Elizabeth I, queen of England, 38
 Catholic resistance, 26–28, 37
 Oath of Supremacy, 42
 recusancy, recusants, 27, 40
 religious settlement, 26–28, 37, 39, 40–42
 removal of altars and crucifixes, 42
 restitution, 32–34
 Enckenvoirt, William of (cardinal, bp. of Utrecht, later Tortosa), 54, 58
 English Episcopal Acta, 13–14
 English Hospital in Rome, 40
Episcopus, 13
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 105–6
 Novum Testamentum (1516), 105
 eucharist, 42, 69, 131–32, 135, 138–39, 148
evangelismo, x
 Eve, 143
 Evennett, H. Outram, 3, 149
 excommunication, 120, 173
 exile, 28, 47, 51

F

- Farel, Guillaume, 142
 Farnese, Alessandro *seniore* (bp. of Parma, later Pope Paul III), 103
Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae, 13
 Faye, Antoine de la
 Brief Traitté de la vertu de la croix et de la manière de l'honorer (1597), 133, 136, 139
 Feckenham, John (abbot of Westminster), 35

imprisonment of, 40

- Firpo, Massimo, x
 Fontana, Giovanni (bp. of Ferrara), 122
 Forrestal, Alison, 153
 Forty Hours Devotion, 132, 138, 142
 France, 17, 18, 48, 77
 Assembly of Clergy, 153–54, 197, 199–201, 202–3, 205, 210; *Déclaration sur les réguliers* (1645), 153–54
 background of bishops, 57
 Burgundy, 151, 165
 Champagne, 151
 Châtillon-sur-Seine, 157, 162, 162, 163, 169
 Chaumont, 152n25, 153, 162
 Citeaux, 165
 Dijon, 161–62, 166
 Estates-General, 148
 First Estate, 148
 French Revolution, 48
 Fronde, 160, 198n18
 Grenoble, 143
 Langres, 162, 169
 Lyons, 133, 157n47, 205
 Mussy-l'Évesque, 169
 occupation of Utrecht, 56
 Paris, 130, 133, 151n16, 161, 166, 167
 Parlement of Bourdeaux, 197
 Parlement of Dijon, 18, 147, 156, 158, 160, 161, 163–64, 167
 Parlement of Paris, 18, 149, 160
 Reims, archbishopric of, 46, 58
 Wars of Religion, 57, 165, 198n18

Francia

- bishops, 7–8
 Orléans, 7
 Rheims (Reims), 7
 Toulouse, 7
 Tours, 7

- Francis I, king of France, 49, 56
 Fraternity of the Annunciation, Pesaro. *See under* confraternities
 Frazier, Alison Knowles, 11–12
 Frémoyot, André (archbp. of Bourges), 130n9
 Frigho, Antonio, 187–90
 Fumi, Bartolomeo (Dominican), 112
 Summa aurea armilla (1547), 112

G

- Gallicanism, 149, 194–211
 Gambara, Cesare (bp. of Tortona), 17, 64–65, 68–76, 78–84
 absenteeism, 70–71
 conflict with cathedral chapter, 80–81
 Council of Trent, 65
 diocesan synod, 68

- diocesan visitations (1554), 68
 family ties, 64, 70–71
 Jesuit college at Macerata, 65
 legate to march of Ancona, 64–65
 poverty, 65, 79
 relations with Carlo Borromeo, 69–71, 72, 73–75,
 82
 seminary, 68
 Tridentine decrees, 68
 Gambarà, Maffeo (bp. of Tortona), 65n6, 71n12
 Gambarà, Uberto (bp. of Tortona), 64
 Gammàro, Pietro Andrea, 103
 Gardiner, Stephen (bp. of Winchester), 27, 29–30,
 31, 35
 as chancellor of England, 36
 Gatti, Evan, 13
 Gaul, 6
 Geneva, 128, 129n4, 130–31, 136n25, 138n36, 140,
 142–43
 Annemasse, 132
 The Company of Pastors, 132
 Pays de Gex, 143n55
 Thonon, 131, 143
 Gentile, Valentine, 142
 George of Austria (bp. of Liège), 51, 53, 58
 George of Egmond (bp. of Utrecht), 58
 Gerbais, Jean, 205
 Germanic tribes, 6
 Giberti, Gian Matteo (bp. of Verona), 1, 92n14
 Capitoli Ordinati (1540), 103
 Gilsdorf, Sean, 6, 11, 13
 Gittio, Bartolomeo, 116–17
 Giubé, Robert (cardinal, bp. of Nantes), 103
 Giustiniani, Paolo (Camaldolese), 1, 88–89, 90–91,
 94, 96, 105
 Glymes, Jean de, marquis of Bergen op Zoom, 53
 Glymes-Berghes family, 52, 53
 Corneille de (bp. of Liège), 53, 58
 Henry of (bp. of Cambrai), 53
 Maximilien de (archbp. of Cambrai), 53–54, 58
 Robert de (bp. of Liège), 53, 58
 Glyn, William (bp. of Bangor), 33, 40
 Goldwell, Thomas (bp. of St. Asaph's, later Oxford),
 28, 33, 35, 40
 ambassador to papal court, 36, 37
 in exile, 39
 Gondi, Jean-François de (cardinal de Retz, archbp. of
 Paris), 168–69, 198n18, 203
 Gondrin, Louis-Henri de Pardailhan de (archbp. of
 Sens), 201–3, 204, 207, 209, 211
 Gonzaga, house of
 Ercole (cardinal, bp. of Mantova), 90, 92n14, 103
 Francesco (cardinal, bp. of Mantova), 90n7
 Goodrich, Thomas (bp. of Ely), 27, 32, 35, 38
 Görres Gesellschaft, xi
 Graffi, Giacomo de, 116
 Granier, Claude de (bp. of Geneva), 129, 130, 141
 Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de (cardinal, bp. of
 Arras, archbp. of Mechelen), 54–55, 57, 58
 Grassi, Achilles de' (cardinal, bp. of Bologna), 101n59
 Grassi, Paris de' (bp. of Pesaro), 19, 90
 absenteeism, 90–91, 97, 100
 bishop as custodian, 92, 94
 building campaigns, 95, 99–100
 cathedral chapter *constitutiones*, 96
 diary, 95n30, 97, 98, 101n59
 diocesan visitations, 97, 103, 106
 synod, 98, 103, 106
 visitation of cathedral chapter, 90, 96
 Gregorovius, Ferdinand, 12
 Grey, Lady Jane, 32
 Griffin, Maurice (bp. of Rochester), 27, 30
 Guicciardini, Francesco
 History of Italy (1537–40), 89
 Guillard, Louis (bp. of Tournai, later Chartres), 50, 58

H
 Habsburg, house of, 17, 46, 54
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 48–50, 53, 55,
 56, 77
 Margaret of Austria, 55
 Mary of Hungary, 52–53, 55
 Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, 49–50, 51, 53
 Philip II, king of Spain, 35, 55, 56, 77
 Philip the Fair, 53
 right to provision benefices, 47, 49, 50
 Hallier, François, 205
 Harpsfield, Nicholas, 38
 Haumont, abbey of, 50
 Heath, Nicholas (bp. of Worcester, later York), 31, 34,
 35–36, 42
 absentee archbishop, 37
 imprisonment of, 39
 Henry IV, king of France, 57, 143n55, 151
 Henry VIII, king of England, 30n11, 32, 39
 episcopal promotion, 35, 36
 divorce from Katherine of Aragon, 32
 religious reform, 28–29
 Henry of Bavaria and the Palatinate (bp. of Utrecht),
 58
 Hollingsworth, Mary, 15
 Holyman, John (bp. of Bristol), 28, 33
 Holy Roman Empire, 48, 77
 emperor's authority over bishops, 8
 Holy Spirit, xii
 homogeneity, xii
 Hopton, John (bp. of Norwich), 28, 33, 35
 Hudon, William F., 10
 Hughes, Philip, 26, 40
 Huns, 6

Hus, Jan, 137

I

iconoclasm, 136
 image, miraculous, 80, 102, 179–83, 184–85
 incest, 112, 118
 interdict, 89, 97, 157–58, 186, 203
intransigenti, x
 Investiture Controversy, *Concordat of Worms* (1122), 8–9
 Italy, 50, 174
 Altamura, 121
 Aquila, 177n14
 Aversa, 120, 121n34
 Bergamo, 75, 89n6, 175, 177n14
 Bologna, 80, 83–84, 101, 102, 103, 177n14; S. Petronio, church of, 83
 Camerino, 115–16
 Fano, 93
 Florence, 82n40, 83
 Genoa, 64
 Isernia, 120
 Italian Renaissance, 12
 Italian Wars, 64
 Lodi, 120, 121n34
 Marostica, 186, 189
 Milan, duchy of, 63–64, 82, 83, 114–15, 120, 177n14
 Monferrato, 64
 Naples, 104, 115, 118
 Orvieto, 90n10
 Padua, 130, 174–75, 178, 184, 185; diocese of, 177–78; Holy Office of, 186; University of, 130, 138n34, 174
 Parma, 82n40
 Pesaro, 90–103; Annunciation, church of the, 102; Beata Michelina, 102; Beato Cecco, 102; bell tower, 95; cathedral, 93, 95, 99–100, 102; cathedral chapter *constitutiones*, 96; devastation in war, 92–94, 97; Fraternity of the Annunciation, 101–3; Madonna delle Grazie, 102; Madonna del Popolo, 102; Palazzo del Podestà, 93; Rocca of, 93; S. Agostino, church of, 102; S. Francesco, church of, 93; S. Terenzio, patron saint, 95, 98, 99–100; synod, 96, 98
 Piacenza, 115–16
 Piove di Sacco, 176n13
 Potenza, 120, 121n34
 Ravenna, 115–16
 Rimini, 177n14
 Rome, 3, 6, 17, 49, 54, 94, 105, 120, 129, 140, 147n2, 149, 153, 167, 174, 177; Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, 120–21, 122, 123; Congregation of the

Index, 204; Congregation of the Oratory, 151; Datary, xiii; papal court, 19, 89, 90, 92; papal curia, xi, 89, 105, 194–212; Penitentiary, xiii; Roman Inquisition, xiii, 194–212; SS. Celso and Giuliano, church of, 101; S. Maria Maggiore, church of, 95n34; Society of S. Giuliano, 101

Siena, 120, 121n34

topography of cathedral towns, 82

Torre, 176n10

Tortona, 63–84; cathedral canons, 72, 79; episcopal palace, 64, 71, 78, 82; fortress, 64, 78, 81; new episcopal palace, 67, 76; new cathedral, 66–68, 72–75, 76; old cathedral, 64, 71, 78, 81; poverty, 64, 65, 75, 78; S. Domenico, church of, 64n3; S. Eufemia, convent of, 78–79; S. Francesco, friary of, 79; S. Maria Canale, church of, 64n3; S. Quirino, church of, 72, 76; S. Stefano, church of, 71, 72, 73–75, 78, 81; Spanish rule in, 63–64, 71, 81; topography, 64, 65; *villa suburbana*, 79

Trani, 120, 121n34

Venice, 174; Esecutori contro la bitemmia, 174

Vercelli, 80, 83–84

Vicenza, 177

Viterbo, 115–16

Volterra, 104

J

Jan of Horn (bp. of Liège), 50

Jansenism, 57, 149, 169, 196, 201, 205–6, 209

Jansenius (Cornelius Jansen), *Augustinus* (1640), 202–3

Janus, 2

Jedin, Hubert, x, xi–xiii

Jesus Christ, 3, 132n14, 137, 139, 140, 144

Jones, Anna Trumbore, 12–13

K

Karlstadt, Andreas, 137

Katherine of Aragon, queen of England, 16, 28, 35

King, Robert (bp. of Oxford), 27

Kitchin, Anthony (bp. of Landaff), 27, 37
 conformity, 39

L

laity, xi, 36, 69, 101, 115–16, 140, 173–74, 182, 185–86, 190

la Marck, house of

Érard de (cardinal, bp. of Liège, later Chartres, Valencia), 54–55, 58

Guillaume de, 54

Jean de, 54

Le Jeune, Marguerite, 163

Liège. *See under* Low Countries

- Lindanus, Wilhelmus (bp. of Roermond), 47n6
 Lippomano, Pietro (bp. of Bergamo), 89n6
 localism ix, xii, 2
 London, England, 31, 39, 104n71, 133
 Lorraine, house of, 54
 Francis I, duke of Lorraine, 77
 Jean de (cardinal, bp. of Théroouanne), 49, 58
 Louis XII, king of France, 51, 53, 54
 Louis XIII, king of France, 157n46, 167n93, 197–99
 Louis XIV, king of France, 129, 202–3, 205–7
 Low Countries, 17
 apostolic vicars, 47
 archbishopsrics of (from 1559); Cambrai, 47,
 48, 49, 56, 58; Mechelen, 47, 48, 56, 57;
 Utrecht, 47, 48, 49, 55, 57
 Artois, 52, 53
 background of bishops, 52–54, 57
 bishopsrics of (to 1559), 46, 48; Arras, 46, 49, 55,
 57, 58; Cambrai, 46, 58; Liège, 46, 50,
 51, 53, 54, 56, 58; Théroouanne, 46, 49,
 58; Tournai, 46, 49, 50, 58; Utrecht, 46,
 51, 54, 58
 Boulogne-sur-Mer, bishopric of, 49
 Bruges, 50
 Brussels, 47, 51, 53
 Cologne, 47; archbishopric of, 58
 Drenthe, 55
 Dutch Revolt (1566), 47, 55
 Flanders, 50, 52
 Friesland, 55
 Ghent, 50
 Groningen, 55
 Hainault, 50, 53
 Holland, 50
 introduction of Inquisition in, 47
 Louvain, 49
 Maastricht, 49
 modern territories in, 46
 Namur, 49
 national church, 46
 provision to benefices, 46–47, 49–55, 57
 University of Douai, 54
 University of Louvain, 54, 57
 Walloon, 52
 Ypres, bishopric of, 49
 loyalty, 17, 32, 35, 47
 Luther, Martin, 89, 141
 Lutheranism, xii, 55
- M**
 Mallet, Francis (bishop nominate to Salisbury), 27, 33
 Mann, Henry (bp. of Soder and Man), 32
 Mansi, Giangiacomo de, 121
- marriage
 clerical, 32, 42
 dowry, 95–96, 104, 187–88
 Tridentine reforms to, 186–89
 Mary I, queen of England, 16–17, 26–43
 Catholic restoration, 26, 31–32, 40–43
 chancellors, 35–36
 chaplains, 28, 33, 39
 episcopal absenteeism, 37
 episcopal promotion, 27–38, 41
 Philip of Spain, 35
 privy councilors, 36
 purge of Protestants, 41
 relationship with Reginald Pole, 27n4, 29
 resistance to Protestantism, 27–29, 39
 Mary, the Virgin, 102, 182
 mass, illegal to celebrate, 33, 40
 Maurienne, Père Chérubin de (Capuchin), 132,
 138n36, 142
 Mazoyer, Mère Jeanne, 162, 163
 Medici, house of
 Giulio de' (archbp. of Florence, later Pope Clem-
 ent VII), 103
 Lorenzo di Piero de', lord of Pesaro and duke of
 Urbino, 93, 94n24, 97, 98
 Marie de', dowager queen and regent of France,
 197, 199
 Melchior von Meckau (cardinal, bp. of Brixen), 103
 Melun, François de (bp. of Arras, later Théroouanne),
 58
 Mercurio, Girolamo (Dominican), 113–14
 Milan. *See under Italy*
 Miranda, Salvador, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman
 Church*, 13n47
 missionary activity, 128, 130–33, 135–40, 142–44
 monastic orders, 3, 140
 Cistercian Order, 148, 155, 165–67; Cîteaux,
 monastery of, 165
 Congregation of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri,
 152, 160
 reservation of episcopal authority, 17, 150, 152–
 54, 168, 169
 Society of Jesus, 54, 65, 68n7, 72n17, 130, 132,
 144, 151, 152n25, 153, 160, 164n79, 207
 Montholon, Catherine de (nun), 161, 163
 Montigli, Carlo (bp. of Viterbo), 115–16
 Montmorency, Henri II de, duke, 198
 Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Capitula Episco-
 porum*, 14
 More, Sir Thomas, 35
 Morgan, Henry (bp. of St. David's)
 chaplain to Mary I, 39
 conformity, 39
 Muir, Edward, 101
 Murphy, Paul V., 90, 92n14

N

- Negri, Girolamo, 103n69
 Nicholas of Cusa, 104
 Nivelles, Pierre (abbot general of the Cistercian Order), 165, 167
 nuns
 convent autonomy, 148–49, 150, 158, 162–65, 169
 Council of Trent, 18, 150–51, 155
 desire for reform, 18
 enclosure of (*clausura*), 78, 150, 154–59, 161, 164
 families of nuns, 147n2, 154–56, 160, 163–64, 166
 First Estate, members of, 148
 Madelonnettes, convent of the, 155
 Montmartre, abbey of (Benedictine), 155
 Moutier-Saint-Jean, monastery of (Benedictine), 157–58, 160
 Notre-Dame de Tart, abbey of (Cistercian), 148, 160, 165–69
 Order of the Discalced Carmelites, 161n63
 Order of St. Ursula, 147, 150, 154, 161, 164n79, 169; convents in France, 161n65
 Order of the Visitation (of Mary or the Visitandines), 128, 133, 156n44, 161n63
 Port-Royal, abbey of (Cistercian), 148, 165, 166–69
 Puits d'Orbe, abbey of (Benedictine), 148, 154, 156–60, 165
 reform, 150, 155–70
 Rougemont, abbey of (Benedictine), 155–56, 165
 unconsecrated convent, 183–85
 under episcopal authority, 18, 147–65
 Val-de-Grâce, convent of (Benedictine), 159
 vows, 147, 161, 162, 164, 166, 178

O

- Observant Reform Movement, 9
 Oecolampadius, John, 137, 139
The Office of a Bishop (1516). *See under* Contarini
 Oglethorpe, Owen (bp. of Carlisle), 33, 39
 O'Malley, John W., x
 O'Neill, Thomas P. "Tip," ix–x
 Order of the Golden Fleece, 53, 55
 Ormaneto, Niccolò (bp. of Padua), 175
 Orsini, Renzo, 94
 orthodoxy, 42, 94, 111, 128, 129, 135–36
 Ott, John S., 12–13
 Ottonian Empire, 7n26
 Ovid, 55
 Oxford University, 33

P

- Padua. *See under* Italy
 Paget, Sir William, 35
 Paleotti, Gabriele (archbp. of Bologna), 122
 Pallavicini, Pietro Sforza (cardinal), 208, 210, 211

- papacy, 140
 in Avignon, 9
 Great Schism (1378–1417), 9
 rituals, 13
 papal court. *See under* Italy: Rome
 papal curia. *See under* Italy: Rome
 Parfew, Robert (also Warton, bp. of Hereford), 27, 30n11, 40
 Paris. *See under* France
 Parisse, Michel, *Groupe de recherches pour l'édition des actes des évêques de France des origines à 1200*, 13
 Parlement of Bourdeaux. *See under* France
 Parlement of Dijon. *See under* France
 Parlement of Paris. *See under* France
 Parliament, Houses of, England, 36
 Pastor, Ludwig von, 12
 Pate, Richard (bp. of Worcester), 29n10, 33
 in exile, 39
 patronage, 83
 peace, 17
 penance, 32
 Pesaro. *See under* Italy
 Peter Martyr, 139
 Peter (Saint), 3, 141
 Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca), 9
 Petre, Sir William, 30
 Petrignano, Fantino (bp. of Cosenza), 118
 Pierozzi, Antonino (archbp. of Florence), 1
 as ideal bishop, 4
 Pizarro, Joaquín Martínez, 11
 Plantavit, Jean (bp. of Lodève), 198
 Pole, David (bp. of Peterborough), 34
 conformity, 39
 Pole, Reginald (cardinal, archbp. of Canterbury), 27, 28
 chancellorship of England, 35
 clerical absenteeism, 29
 clerical avoidance of secular roles, 36–37
 Council of Trent, 16
 episcopal residence, 37
 household, 29
 relationship with Henry VIII, 32
 relationship with Mary I, 29
 synod, 38
 pope
 Alexander VI, 93, 94n25
 Alexander VII, 174, 196; *Regiminis Apostolici* (1665), 202
 Alexander VIII, 175
 apostolic succession, 141
 appeals to papal authority, 10
 centralization of papal authority, 120, 123
 Clement VIII, 123
 Clement IX, 204
 Gregory I (the Great), 8, 16

- Gregory XIII, 76
 Gregory XIV, 121–23
 Hadrian VI, 54, 94n24
 Innocent X, 196; *Cum occasione* (1653), 201
 Julius II, 94n25
 Leo X, 49, 89, 93, 94n25, 97, 105
 Nicholas I, 8
 papal supremacy, 41, 42
 Paul III, 195
 Paul IV, 46, 195; *Super Universas* (1559), 46–47, 48, 52, 57
 Pius IV, 64, 69, 195, 210
 Pius V, 69, 78, 81, 196
 provision of bishops, 8
 Sixtus V, 110, 119–21, 122–23; *Contra procurantes* (1588), 110, 119–22
 Urban VIII, 168
 Possevino, Antonio (Jesuit), 130
 Pourlan, Jeanne de Courcelles de (abbess), 166–67
Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438), 9, 56
 preaching manuals, 129, 135
 pregnancy, 110, 113, 116–18
 Prosperi, Adriano, 90n7, 96
 Protestantism, 2, 10, 19, 39, 41–42, 138–39
- Q**
 quietism, 184n44
 Quirini, Pietro (Camaldolese), 1, 88, 91, 94, 96
- R**
 Ragazzoni, Gerolamo (bp. of Bergamo), 75–76, 81–82
 visitation of Tortona, 75
 Raguenier, Denis, 135
 Ranke, Leopold von, 12
 rape, 118
 reform
 reformatio in capite et in membris, 9
 religious, x
 rhetoric, 17
 Italian historiography of, 9n34
 The Reformation, ix
 Reims. *See under* France
 religious violence, 129
Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 à 1500, 13
 Reynolds, Thomas, 34
 Rhigetto, Angela, 187–90
 Rhigetto, Augustin, 187–90
 Riccardi, Giulio Cesare (bp. of Bari), 122
 Rich, Sir Richard, 35
 Richardson, Carol, 15
 Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis (cardinal), 151, 198, 199, 203
 Rieux de Sourdéac, René de (bp. of Saint-Pol-de-Léon), 199–200
 Rochefort, Lucrece de (abbess), 155, 160
 Rochefoucauld, François de la (cardinal), 158, 165
 Roman Empire, 133
 Rome. *See under* Italy
 Rovere, house of
 Albertino della (bp. of Pesaro), 95, 96
 Francesco Maria della, duke of Urbino, 93–94
 Giuliano della (archbp. of Avignon, later Pope Julius II), 104
- S**
 Sadoletto, Jacopo (bp. of Carpentras), 103
 Saint-Cyran, abbé de (Jean du Vergier de Hauranne), 168–69
 Saint-Ghislain, abbey of, 50
 Saint-Joseph, Jeanne de (abbess), 168
 saints, patronage of, 82, 95, 98–100, 101–2
 Sales, François de (bp. of Geneva), 19, 128–44, 156, 157n47, 159
 Briefve Meditation sur le Symbole (ca. 1596), 131n11
 The Catholic Controversy (ca. 1594–98), 133n16
 Défense de l'Estendart de la sainte Croix de nostre Sauveur Jesus-Christ (1600), 133, 136
 Introduction to the Devout Life (1609), 128, 137
 missionary work, 128, 130–33, 135–44
 Order of the Visitation, 128, 133
 pastoral vocation, 128–29, 144
 preaching, 130, 133, 134, 135–144
 Treatise on the Love of God (1616), 131–32, 137
 Sarpi, Paolo, x
 Saunier, Jean (Jesuit), 132
 Savoy, 130, 136n25, 140n44, 142, 143, 144
 Annecy, 128n1, 135, 142
 Charles-Emmanuel I, duke of Savoy, 142, 143
 Philippe Emmanuel, duke of Mercœur, 133
 Turin, 64, 143
 scandal, 19, 114, 117–19, 121, 123, 147, 157, 183n38, 185
 Schenk Toutenburg, Frederik van (archbp. of Utrecht), 55–56, 57
 Schenk Toutenburg, Joris van, 55
 Scott, Cuthbert (bp. of Chester), 33, 41
 abandoned his academic career, 39
 Sega, Filippo (bp. of Ripatrasone, later Piacenza), 118, 120n32
 seminaries, 1, 68, 69, 113, 129n4, 175
 Serguidi, Guido, 113
 sermons, 128, 133–44
 eucharistic imagery, 19, 138–39
 Servetus, Michael, 142
 Sforza, house of
 Francesco Maria, duke of Milan, 77
 Giovanni, lord of Pesaro, 92–93

Sigismund III, Holy Roman Emperor, 9
 Simoncelli, Paolo, x
 Simonetta family
 Giacomo (bp. of Pesaro), 96
 Giulio (bp. of Pesaro), 96
 Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, 16
 social disciplining, x
 Soderini, Francesco (bp. of Volterra), 104
 sodomy, 112
 Solarino da Breno, Pietro, 75n25
 Sonnius, Franciscus (bp. of s-Hertogenbosch, later Antwerp), 47n6, 56
 Soperchi, Giovanni Francesco (Filomuso), 97
 Sorbonne, Collège de, 162, 205
 Sourdis, François d'Escoubleau de (cardinal, bp. of Bourdeaux), 197, 209
 Spain, 6, 136n25
spirituali, x
 Stanley, Thomas (bp. of Soder and Man), 37
 suffragans, 32
 synod. *See under* bishop

T

Tabbagh, Vincent, 13n51
 Taverna, Luigi (bp. of Lodi), 122
 Taylor, John (bp. of Lincoln), 38
 Taylor, Larissa, 129
 Théroouanne. *See under* Low Countries
 Thirlby, Thomas (bp. of Ely), 34, 35, 36
 absentee bishop, 37
 imprisonment of, 39
 Thurber, T. Barton, 80
 Tibaldi, Domenico
 cathedral of Bologna, 80, 84
 Tibaldi, Pellegrino, 72, 84
 cathedral of Tortona, 72–73
 cathedral of Vercelli, 80, 83
 Collegio Borromeo in Pavia, 72
 commentary on Alberti, 83
 Tortona. *See under* Italy
 Tournai. *See under* Low Countries
 Tournelle, Jeanne de la (coadjutrix abbess), 165–67
 Tournon, François de (cardinal), 209
 transubstantiation, 139
 Transylvania, 142
 Treaty of Lausanne (1564), 142n54
 Treaty of Lyons (1601), 143n55
 Treaty of Senlis (1493), 49
 Treaty of Westphalia (1648), 174
 Tresham, Thomas (prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem), 33–34
 conformity, 40
 secret attendance at mass, 40
 Trinity, 142
 Tunstall, Cuthbert (bp. of Durham), 31, 36

clerical marriage, 42
 imprisonment of, 39
 Oath of Supremacy, 42
 papal primacy, 42
 Turberville, James (bp. of Exeter), 30n11, 32, 33
 conformity, 39
 nepotism, 38
 Turchini, Angelo, 96–97

U

Ubal dini, Roberto (cardinal), nuncio to France, 198
 United States House of Representatives, ix
 University of Chicago, 13
 urbanism, 82, 83, 84
 Utrecht. *See under* Low Countries

V

Valois, house of, 17
 Vespasiano da Bisticci
 Lives of Illustrious Men of the Fifteenth Century
 (1480–98), 4–5, 11
 Veysey, John (bp. of Exeter), 31–32
vicari foranei. *See under* Barbarigo, Gregorio
 Viret, Louis, 131–32, 138
 Viret, Pierre, 142
 Visconti, house of, 83
 Voragine, Jacobus de, *Legenda Aurea* (ca. 1260), 11

W

Watson, Thomas (bp. of Lincoln), 30, 35
 imprisonment of, 39
 White, John (bp. of Winchester), 41
 imprisonment of, 39
 Wolsey, Thomas (cardinal), 30, 35, 50, 58
 Wood, Thomas, 28, 35n21
 Wotton, Nicholas, 35
 Wycliffe, John, 137

X

Xainctonge, Françoise (monastic founder), 161, 163

Y

Yorkshire, 33

Z

Zamet, Sébastien (bp. of Langres), 18, 147–49, 151–70
 centralization of diocesan control, 162–64
 clerical abuses, 152
 clerical residence, 152
 deprivation of sacraments, 162, 163
 Institut de Saint-Sacrement, 165–70
 Tridentine reforms, 152, 170
 Zanone, Pietro Don (priest of Alano), 178–85
 Zerola, Tommaso (bp. of Minor), 119
 Zwingli, Ulrich, 137