Chapter 9

Piety, Poetry and Politics: Rouen's Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception and the French Wars of Religion

Dylan Reid

The ideal of brotherhood was the core of the confraternal movement. As the 1515 statutes of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of Rouen stated:

> The ancient and modern princes of this [confraternity] gathered and assembled together, having by the grace of the holy spirit a singular love and fraternity with each other founded in the virtue of charity, and wishing to live and die in this love and provide a good example in times to come to their successors and all others, have resolved and promised to be associated and regarded as spiritual brothers.[1]

Similar sentiments can be found in the statutes of many confraternities. In Normandy, where Rouen was the provincial capital, the centrality of the concept was evident in the name commonly given to a confraternity: *charité*, 'charity', the Christian virtue embodied by brotherhood.[2]

Brotherhood meant social accord, and implied many virtues – co-operation, trust, mutual assistance, positive social relations. To encourage this ideal, confraternities created a form of spiritual kinship, extending the trust that ideally existed between family members to a social group that was not blood related. In doing so, confraternities enacted the fundamental Christian virtue of charity, in the traditional sense of peace and goodwill towards others. In John Bossy's words, in pre-Reformation Christianity '(t)he state of charity, meaning social integration, was the principal end of the Christian life, and any people that claimed to be Christian must embody it somehow, at some time, in this world'. To achieve such a state was a 'social miracle' that brought both spiritual and social benefits.[3]

Demonstrating that confraternities succeeded in their mission to create the social miracle of brotherhood is a difficult task, as Bossy himself acknowledges.[4] Social accord, and the role of confraternities in creating it, is difficult to quantify. In pursuing this task, confraternal scholars can find assistance in modern scholarship on 'social capital'. This term is a modern metaphor, based on

economics, for the same concept that confraternities described as 'brotherhood' or 'charity', using the metaphors of kinship and Christianity.

One of the seminal works in the study of social capital is Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Using a longitudinal study of Italian regional governments newly created in 1970, Putnam set out to analyze why some governments are significantly more successful than others. Judged by a series of neutral measures, northern Italian regional governments proved to be far more effective than southern ones, but the obvious explanations of industrialization, urbanization and education all proved to be unsatisfactory. The one factor that did correlate closely with government effectiveness was civic engagement, in particular membership in associations. Those parts of Italy where people were most likely to be involved in associations were also those parts of Italy that had the most effective governments – and, Putnam suggests, the most effective economies and societies. By working together in associations, he argues, people learn to trust other members of their society. Indeed, surveys showed that northerners felt much more trust and goodwill towards their fellow citizens than southerners. This trust enables citizens to work together more easily, which ultimately results in more effective governments and economies.[5]

Thus, Putnam demonstrates that coming together in associations such as confraternities really does measurably increase the social capital – or brotherhood – within a society. Putnam's thesis is all the more relevant to historians because he traces the origins of this northern Italian associative culture to the development of self-governing communes and their extensive associative life, including confraternities, in the medieval period.[6] Demonstrating this confraternal role in increasing brotherhood is challenging, however, because scholars of medieval and early modern history do not have access to the statistics and surveys available to scholars of the modern world. One potential way of overcoming this hurdle is to find a situation in which brotherhood is noticeably lacking, such as a state of faction or civil war, so that its restoration through a confraternity is dramatic and visible.

Peace-making – resolving disputes between factions 'by the creation of bonds of Christian kinship among those who would otherwise be at enmity or feud' – was a natural extension of brotherhood, and possibly one of the original spurs to the formation of confraternities.[7] Scholars of social capital make distinctions between 'bonding' associations, which reinforce existing ties and can therefore exacerbate factions within a society, and 'bridging' associations which can link together people from different groups. While confraternities could form bonding ties, they were one of the few forms of association that could also form bridging ties, creating the interpersonal relationships between factions that are necessary for peace. The peace-making function of confraternities has been most evident in Italy,[8] but additional case studies from elsewhere in Europe would help to show the extent to which confraternities did indeed increase brotherhood in their societies. The role of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of Rouen during and after the French Wars of Religion provides one such example. It illustrates the way a confraternity adapted to changing situations, through the interplay of bridging

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The Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception

The Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception was founded in 1486 by some of Rouen's leading citizens, building on a long-standing tradition of Norman celebration of the cult of the Immaculate Conception.[9] Its mandate was to hold an annual poetry contest called the *Puy* on the first Sunday after the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (6 December). In a packed hall in the Carmelite house, poets read out their verses in praise of the Virgin, especially her immaculate conception, and the best were awarded valuable prizes. The *Puy* soon became one of Rouen's most visible institutions, regularly described as an ornament to the city.[10]

The confraternity was unusual among Norman brotherhoods for the exclusivity of its membership – rarely exceeding 40 brothers. Members became head of the confraternity – the Prince – for one year in the order in which they joined, so each member, if he lived long enough, could expect to glory in the honour of presiding over the contest. The price of this glory, however, was paying the considerable expenses of the mass, the contest and especially the banquet afterwards for the members and contest winners. The Prince was supported by a committee of former Princes who met to manage the confraternity's affairs, and members were also expected to perform typical duties such as attending mass together on the Virgin's feast days and attending the funerals of deceased brothers.[11]

The confraternity became the most prestigious in Rouen. There were other prestige confraternities, such as St Romain, the confraternity of the canons of the cathedral and Notre-Dame-des-Marchands, the confraternity of Rouen's leading merchants, but these were restricted to a particular occupational group.[12] The Immaculate Conception was distinctive because it crossed occupational boundaries, and included magistrates of the royal courts which dominated Rouen's social hierarchy. Aside from its exclusive membership, however, the Immaculate Conception was fairly typical of traditional, late-medieval Norman brotherhoods – founded at the height of the confraternal movement in the province, with a conservative form of devotion concentrating on external gestures and sociability among its members.[13]

In 1548, the confraternity drew up a membership list.[14] There were 40 established members, and five more signed up that year. The members spanned different groups within Rouen's elite, including magistrates from the *Parlement* and the *Cour des Aides*, other royal officials, prominent secular and religious clergy, lawyers and merchants. Members who were not identified with a specific title nonetheless belonged to Rouen's leading families, including some current and former city councillors.[15] Many of these members were linked together by a complex web of family relationships. For example, Jean de la Place, *Notaire et*

Secretaire du Roi, was respectively son-in-law, brother-in-law and nephew of three of his confraternal brothers, and was more distantly related to three others.[16]

While the confraternity included many members of Rouen's interconnected elite, it by no means encompassed the city's entire ruling class. Over the course of the confraternity's century and a half of existence, for instance, the prominent Jubert family married into ten families with members in the confraternity, but no Jubert ever joined.[17] While the confraternity was prestigious, it required some additional stimulus – an interest in poetry, a desire to be a patron, devotion to the Virgin, a family connection – to become a member. The confraternity did not, therefore, take on any kind of official or unofficial civic role. It did not march in civic processions, nor did it sponsor or manage any charities, nor was it an unofficial meeting place for Rouen's government. It did, however, become a fundamental institution of Rouen's civic life, organizing one of the city's most elaborate and celebrated public events.

As such, the confraternity seems to fulfil the function of strengthening brotherhood between members of the civic elite. Unlike other prestige confraternities, the Immaculate Conception brought together members of different occupational groups. Unlike many parish confraternities, it brought together members from different neighbourhoods. The one restriction in these bridging ties, however, is that the confraternity seems to have included primarily old, well-established Rouen families. It did not serve as a way to integrate the many newcomers who came to Rouen in this period to fill new royal offices.[18] Thus, the confraternity provided an interplay of bridging ties – between different sections of Rouen's elite – and bonding ties – deepening the links between Rouen's established leading families.

The Wars of Religion

From the vantage point of the outbreak of the Wars of Religion in 1562, the confraternity in 1548 contained members who would end up joining different sides in the civil war. Several – the Croismares, Nicolas Romé, Jean Puchot and Martin des Essars – had strong associations with the Guise family, not surprising given that the Guise were a powerful and ambitious noble family with extensive holdings in Normandy.[19] A decade later, however, this association would take on greater significance, as some Guise clients became leaders of the militant ultra-Catholic party in Rouen.[20] On the other side, Vincent de Gruchet would become one of the leaders of the Protestant uprising which took control of the city in 1562, and he was executed as a traitor after royal forces re-took the city later in the year.[21]

The nature of the confraternity started to change in the late 1550s, as the Protestant movement gathered strength. The confraternity's celebration of the Virgin Mary made it a target of Protestant activism, and already in 1551 the posters advertising the upcoming contest were vandalized.[22] During this period the confraternity gradually became less of a force joining different parts of the elite together, and more of a representative of a particular party. The strong presence of Guise clients in 1548 was strengthened during the 1550s. Many of the more

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Radical, less well-connected Catholics active in the struggle against Protestantism were also joining. Among these men was Richard Papillon, a lawyer and former city councillor from the large, poor parish of St Vivien – both a centre of Protestantism and, in reaction, of radical Catholicism. One of the most extreme ultra-Catholic agitators during the Wars of Religion, he joined in 1558 as the Protestant movement was becoming more brazen.[24] As the religious crisis deepened in the spring of 1561, he was joined by another radical Catholic from St Vivien, Louis Marc, an usher in the *Parlement*. In the same year, Marc was one of 12 founders of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, created in response to Protestant attacks on the Catholic Eucharist doctrine.[25]

These men were identified as two of the seven or eight best-known opponents of Protestantism in Rouen.[26] Yet the confraternity was hardly an ideal weapon in the fight against the new religion. Although its devotion to the Immaculate Conception was distinctively Catholic, the confraternity was a fusty, passive organization that met once a year to read poetry. It may be that these two radical Catholics saw the confraternity, a gathering place for Rouen's leaders, as a potential vehicle for rousing the rather complacent Catholic elite to the struggle.[27] At the same time, their membership helped legitimize a leadership role that was, for Marc at least, beyond his normal station in society.[28] The elite's passivity meant that there were not a lot of options available for those who wanted to organize a Catholic reaction, so they were making the best of what was available.

This change in membership reflected the confraternity's changing role in civic society. As the Protestant movement developed, it disrupted pre-existing social networks. Rouen became divided between Protestants, radical Catholics and the majority in between who were either complacent or who favoured a more tolerant and peaceful approach. While the decision about which party to join followed existing networks to some extent (for instance, among many Guise clients in Rouen), it was also a matter of individual conscience and temperament, which often cut across older networks. There was thus a need to create new networks, for notables of a similar religious point of view to find each other and create the bonds necessary for common action. For Protestants, the consistory system could in part play this role.[29] But for the minority of Catholics before 1562 who favoured radical action, there was no such obvious structure with which to create new leadership networks. As one of the few confraternities with a membership that was city-wide but small and exclusive, the Immaculate Conception could play this role. As the sponsor of a public event celebrating a devotion that was a prime target of Protestant activism, it also served as an open declaration of partisanship. Finally, it was already a meeting point for important members of the Guise clientage network. The confraternity thus served as a way for the leaders of the radical popular fight against Protestantism to connect with powerful Rouennais associated with the aristocratic ultra-Catholic party led by the Guise.[30] The confraternity was not really a headquarters for the faction, since the city's other half-dozen prominent ultra-Catholics did not belong – but several were connected indirectly to its members.[31]

In the tense decade following the Protestant seizure of the city in 1562 and the sack by the royal army later in the year, the confraternity continued to attract members who were militant Catholic activists or who had close ties to the Guise party. In 1566 alone, the confraternity welcomed Jean Puchot, son of Vincent Puchot, who would later serve on the city council of the ultra-Catholic Holy League at the end of the wars; Jacques Censols, a clerical councillor in the *Parlement*, who had been targeted by the Protestants as one of their most virulent opponents in 1562; Adrien Ballue, canon of the cathedral, whose family had close ties to the Guise; and Jacques Rocque, probably a kinsman of Pierre Rocque, a councillor in the *Parlement* who would also become a member of the Holy League city council. Other new members in this period with known ties to the ultra-Catholic party include Pierre Guillot, another leader of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, who later lent money to the Holy League; and Jacques Le Hongre, a grand vicar of the ultra-Catholic Cardinal de Bourbon, archbishop of Rouen.[32] The confraternity also began attracting more obscure men on the margins of Rouen's elite, including fellow members of Papillon and Marc's parish, who were presumably drawn by a desire to be part of this developing ultra-Catholic network.[33]

The primary emphasis of the confraternity was moving from a bridging to a bonding role, reinforcing the connections within a particular faction of the city (although it bridged social groups to create this bond). Across France during the religious wars, there were many instances of confraternities being used to rally Catholics together to create a new faction to fight Protestantism. In Rouen, the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament co-founded by Louis Marc was an example, and others would be formed in Rouen after the seizure of the city by the Catholic Holy League in 1589. Confraternities were also formed in Paris and elsewhere at crisis points during the Wars of Religion in order to combat Protestantism. In general, these new confraternities also engaged in new devotional practices that were more intensive and fervent than the occasional confraternal mass and neighbourhood processions of traditional brotherhoods.[34] This process was part of a transformation of the confraternal movement, in which many of the more traditional, socially-oriented confraternities died off in the face of Protestant scorn and renewed Catholic fervour, to be replaced by new confraternities that were more rigorous and placed greater emphasis on devotional activity.[35] The Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, however, with its single feast day celebrating a jovial poetry contest, did not conform to this new confraternal format. Its devotional practices remained of the traditional type that were slowly declining. Once the initial Protestant crisis wore off, the essential contradiction of transforming a traditional confraternity into an intensive partisan vehicle began to tell, and the confraternity went into decline.

Crisis

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abruptly dried up. The most obvious reasons were financial. Between the sack of the city, the disruption of commerce and the demands of royal taxation, there was a lot less spare money around to finance elaborate confraternal contests and banquets. As well, the time was coming for the more obscure men who had joined the confraternity in response to the religious crisis to take on the position of Prince. While they were prosperous people who had the money to pay the entrance fee, the expenses of being Prince – funding the high mass, the contest and the banquet – were a whole other story, and clearly many members sought to back away from the responsibility. Fearing that the 'great expenses' of the feast day had 'chilled' the devotion of current and potential members, the Prince in 1580, Adrien Ballue, called an emergency meeting where the members agreed to allow the Prince to fulfil his duties by paying a fixed sum.³⁷

The confraternity's problems were more than just financial, however – this period was, if anything, the most prosperous of the war for Rouen.³⁸ The confraternity's troubles echoed those experienced by traditional confraternities in Normandy and across France, which were seeing membership and participation dry up.³⁹ The confraternity had temporarily staved off a decline by becoming a vehicle for a particular faction within Rouen, the Guises and the ultra-Catholics. While there was an active Protestant threat within Rouen, this partisanship had drawn people to the confraternity who were eager to fight the new religion. Once that threat had passed after 1572, however, militant Catholic feeling in Rouen declined,⁴⁰ removing this incentive. The confraternity's new identification with a particular party now became a disadvantage. In the shifting, uncertain politics of the middle period of the Wars of Religion, it was not attractive for members of the elite to identify themselves so publicly with a particular faction. Furthermore, the membership of the confraternity was now far more mixed, including lesser men alongside important members of the magistracy and clergy. While this mix suited the purpose of knitting together an ultra-Catholic faction, it detracted from the prestige that the confraternity had formerly enjoyed, making it less attractive to the city's elite.

What the confraternity needed was another religious crisis, and one arrived just in time. In 1584, the Prince of Anjou, the last brother of King Henri III, died, leaving the Protestant Henri de Navarre as heir to the throne. The ultra-Catholic party, led in part by the Guises, began forming a Holy League dedicated to stopping Henri de Navarre from becoming king. Cells were formed in different cities, almost certainly including Rouen.⁴¹ The new crisis provided the spur for the ultra-Catholic party to take measures to save the Immaculate Conception. In 1585, just as the confraternity had completely run out of members who could become Prince, its remaining brothers called on their partisan and family connections to recruit a new Prince, Barthélemy Hallé. One of the wealthiest merchants in Rouen, he was also Jean Puchot's father-in-law. A leading ultra-Catholic, he had been one of the replacements for the hanged Protestant members of the city council in 1562, he was a major creditor of the Guises and was an important backer of the League in Rouen. Over the following years, the confraternity drew on the overlapping family, business and political networks of ultra-Catholics that formed the basis of the League in Rouen to recruit about one new member a year, just enough to keep it

going. The Prince in 1586 was the Le Febvre d'Esquetot, whose family would be active in the League, and in 1587 it was Louis Sandres, a leader of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament. After the Holy League's seizure of the city in 1589, most of the confraternity's Princes were members of the League's civic leadership: city councillor-to-be Lucas Boullaye in 1591; Pierre Du Couldray, a leader in the defense of the city during the siege, in 1592; League council member Jean Voisin, a relative of the Hallé, in 1593; and Alonce Le Seigneur, brother-in-law of Jean Puchot and the city's master of works and fortifications during the League, in 1594.[42]

Unlike many other cities where confraternities played an active role in shaping a League party,[43] the Immaculate Conception was more of a passive beneficiary of the League. It was barely managing to recruit its Prince year-to-year from a network of relatives and political allies. Presumably the ultra-Catholic party considered it unthinkable to allow the most public symbol of the city's devotion to the Virgin to collapse at a time of imminent Protestant threat, especially since it had been identified with their party for three decades. But the real energy of the League was directed to more fervent and modern devotions.[44]

Once the city was handed back to royal control by its governor in 1594, the tenuous support given to the confraternity collapsed completely. It had been reduced to a small core of a dozen old members, most of them active leaders in the Holy League. It had run out of Princes, and in the new royalist environment no-one wanted to join a group closely associated with the now-discredited League.

In desperation, the confraternity elected a non-member as their Prince for 1595: Lanfranc Bigot, a canon of the cathedral from a notable Rouen family. They may have hoped he would accept because he was Puchot's cousin. But when a delegation from the confraternity came to present him with this supposed honour, he refused to accept it. The confraternity then sued him in the *Parlement* to force him to take on the position of Prince, in October 1595, but the suit was rejected, and the confraternity was faced with collapse. In December 1595, for possibly the first time in over a hundred years, the *Puy* of the Immaculate Conception, one Rouen's most venerable and prized cultural institutions, was not held.[45]

Restoration

In the aftermath of the civil war, the city was shattered both physically and economically. It had survived a six-month siege in 1592, which had left the city starving and its physical infrastructure seriously damaged. The commercial activities on which the city depended for its prosperity had been largely cut off for five years.[46] Rouen was also shattered in social terms. The League takeover had precipitated a deep split in the city's elite. Led by its First President, Claude Groulart, half of the *Parlement* escaped to the royalist city of Caen, establishing a *Parlement* in exile, while the other half remained in the city as a League *Parlement*. Almost the entire financial court, the *Chambre des Comptes*, also left for Caen. Some of the royalist canons of the cathedral chapter and many other

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wealthy and prominent royalist citizens also went into exile and worked for the royalist cause.

So, half the elite had supported a Protestant king in a brutal siege of their own city; the other half had treasonously supported a rebellion against the legitimate ruler of France. A city is not only a collection of physical buildings and economic structures, but also a social network of individuals, and a cultural identity. Just as the post-war rebuilding effort would require physical reconstruction of shattered walls and buildings, and the economic reconstruction of trade and industry, it would also require the social reconstruction of the city's network of relations, and the cultural reconstruction of the traditions that provided Rouen with its identity.

One of Henri IV's primary concerns for Rouen in the aftermath of the war was rebuilding peace within the city's elite so that it could once again govern effectively. He declared that he 'wished to re-establish all things to the same state that they were before ... reunite his subjects together, and have them live in all concord and amity with each other'.[47]   The primary responsibility for implementing this policy of reconciliation lay with Claude Groulart, who as First President of the *Parlement* was effectively the leader of Rouen's elite.[48] He was faced with a difficult situation. As he put it in his memoirs, 'Everyone was still full of defiance and endless dissatisfactions, as people newly reconciled'.[49]

The difficulty of Groulart's task was compounded by the fact that he also needed to re-establish his own political legitimacy. He was considered the leader of the royalist party in Rouen. He had actively supported a Protestant king, and he had spent time in the camp of an army that was besieging the city. The *Parlement* he led had split in two, with half its members openly defying him. Groulart's awkward political position was compounded by his personal history, which also left his legitimacy in question as an individual. Even before the League coup, Groulart had been seen as an outsider and an upstart. Born to a Dieppe merchant family, a brilliant legal student, he had been one of King Henri III's advisers before being appointed First President of the *Parlement* at the unusually young age of 33 by the king's unpopular favourite, Anne de Joyeuse, Governor of Normandy. In addition to his bourgeois origins, his rapid rise and his status as the king's man, Groulart was also tainted by a strong whiff of Protestantism. His parents were Protestants, and in 1572 he had fled to Geneva for safety before returning to Paris and converting to Catholicism in order to serve as a royal councillor.[50]

To accomplish his task, Groulart needed to establish his own credibility as a true Catholic, as a Rouennais, and as the leader of Rouen society. He also needed to find ways to reach out to the defeated faction and effect genuine and public reconciliation between members of Rouen's divided elite. The need was urgent, because King Henri IV and the leading men of France were coming to Rouen at the end of 1596 for the assembly of notables, intended to heal France's divisions. When the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception launched its failed lawsuit in the *Parlement* at the end of 1595, Groulart saw his opportunity. In February of 1596, three months after the suit failed, Groulart joined the confraternity, and became Prince immediately. He brought two other prominent royalists into the confraternity with him – François Cabart, a clerical councillor in the *Parlement*

who had been one of the first to escape to join Groulart in exile, and Pierre Canu, a secretary to King Henri IV's still-Protestant sister.[51]

Groulart, with characteristic energy, immediately took the confraternity in hand. In April of 1596, he called a meeting to re-establish the association, set new rules and procedures, and put its finances in order. All of the members, new and old, signed this new agreement, and the signatures mix together leaders from opposing sides of the civil war: long-standing leaders of the ultra-Catholic party in Rouen – Puchot, Boullaye and Voisin, members of the city's government during the League years; Marc, Guillot and Sandres, leaders of the anti-Protestant Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament; and Du Couldray and Le Febvre – beside three leading royalists, Groulart, Cabart and Canu. Later in the year, on the day of the contest, two more prominent royalists joined: Charles de Saldaigne, a financier who fled Rouen and became one of Henri IV's main suppliers during the civil war; and Nicolas Langloys, First President of the *Chambre des Comptes*, who had led almost his entire court into exile in Caen.[52]

It was widely acknowledged that Groulart saved the confraternity from imminent death. For the next contest in 1597, a local poet wrote verses to encourage contributors. The poem was in the new format introduced by Groulart, the *stance*, and it praised the role of the 'great Claude, the Argus of the sovereign court' who had rescued the 'lost *Puy*', 'that was thought dead', and restored it to its 'flourishing summit'.[53] The confraternity's new statutes, published in 1615 after Groulart had died, celebrated his pivotal role in the confraternity's history: before his intervention, the confraternity 'seemed abandoned and reduced to such an extremity' that it could not find a Prince and had almost ceased holding the *Puy*. But Christ, not wanting to see his mother neglected, 'touched the liberal and virtuous character of Claude Groulart' who 'lifted the fallen *Puy*, made its theatre more magnificent, regulated its expenditures, and increased the number of compositions by two *stances*'.[54] Eventually, his feat worked its way into local mythology. In 1654, the printer-poet David Ferrand, in his farewell to the *Puy* after it stopped functioning, recalled the role of 'that learned and wise old man, the First President Groulart' in re-building the theatre for the *Puy*.[55]

Groulart's re-establishment of the confraternity took root at many levels over subsequent years. On an institutional level, Groulart set the confraternity's finances in order. He also salvaged some of the decorations from Henri IV's royal entry of 1596 and used them to build an attractively decorated permanent theatre for the poetry contest in the Carmelite House. Within a year, he arranged for the one surviving printed copy of the original statutes to be re-published and recognized by the *Parlement* as the official statutes of the confraternity in place of the lost original manuscript. This initiative began the process by which the confraternity developed modernized statutes, officially recognized in 1614.[56]

Groulart also spearheaded the literary renewal of the *Puy*. By 1596, its prizes were for late-medieval verse forms that were no longer current. He introduced prizes for the *stances*, an 'in vogue' poetic form that was still suited to the sententiousness of *Puy* poetry. In subsequent years, new princes introduced prizes for other modern verse forms, the sonnet and the ode, as well as renewing the prize for what had always been the core poem, the antiquated *chant royal*.[57]

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The contest was adapted to modern tastes, but in a manner compatible with the traditional subject matter, the praise of the Virgin's purity.

Finally, Groulart began the renewal of the *Puy* at a social level. His new recruits were from the very highest level of Rouen society, all possessing prestigious titles and offices, a more consistent class of member than during the religious wars. Before the wars, in the first half-century of the confraternity's existence, the members had also come consistently from Rouen's elite families, but this status had not always been signalled by titles or offices; by the seventeenth century, many of the same families possessed new titles. The confraternity was also more systematic in recruiting leaders from all sections of the elite. Over the next 40 years, the confraternity brought in many of the presidents of the royal courts; many leading ecclesiastics, from the archbishop through to senior canons and abbots; and the high aristocracy, including the governors of the province. Furthermore, unlike the earlier period, the confraternity also integrated important newcomers into its membership alongside well-established old families.58 The integrative possibilities of the confraternity were more systematically exploited.

Groulart also took advantage of the potential for the confraternity to create bonding links, by using it to reinforce his developing personal network of friends and family. In the first years after the renewal, Groulart recruited royalists with whom he had worked closely during the wars, such as Cabart and his *Parlement* colleague Joachim de Mathan; some of these men were close personal friends, such as Saldaigne and the cathedral canon Marin Le Pigny. He began to recruit family as well, including his stepson Robert Le Roux and his son Claude Groulart.59 Yet he balanced these bonding ties with bridging ties to the other party. Once a base of royalists had been established as a counterweight to the pre-1596 Leaguer members, he reached out to former Leaguers. In 1603, Groulart recorded in his memoirs that he felt he was being undermined by his long-standing enemy, the Second President of the *Parlement* Georges de La Porte, who had been the most senior magistrate to remain with the League court. In December of that year, La Porte was brought into the confraternity. As a public gesture of reconciliation, it was significant, even if it did not work in private.60 That year the confraternity also recruited Richard Bauldry, who had been a civic official in the League government, and four years later Charles de La Roque, who had sat with the League *Parlement*.61

Finally, in 1610, the confraternity began re-integrating members of the old Rouen families who had been its core in 1548, and whose family and ultra-Catholic connections had kept it going during the League years. It was, in a sense, regaining touch with its past, and maintaining the bridging of old and new networks visible in the 1596 signatures. The first recruit that year was Pierre Puchot, continuing a family tradition of membership stretching back at least six decades. His father and uncle had been members of the confraternity in the mid-century; his brother Jean had been instrumental in keeping it going during the League years; his siblings were married to the Hallé, Le Seigneur and Croismare families, all old Immaculate Conception families who had played a role in the League; and he himself had served in the League *Parlement*. Daniel de La Place, the other recruit that year, Puchot's nephew by marriage, was the grandson of Jean de La Place, the well-

connected member of 1548. His wife was a descendant of Noël Boyvin (a member in 1548), a granddaughter of Barthélemy Hallé and a relative of Jean Voisin.[62] Their recruitment signalled the confraternity's intent, not to displace the old League families which had formed the core of the membership before and during the Wars of Religion, but rather to use the confraternity to integrate newcomers and royalists into this existing network of formerly Leaguer Rouen families.

Groulart's restoration of the confraternity was therefore not a coup in which the royalists triumphantly appropriated an institution dear to their rivals. On the contrary, it was a gesture on Groulart's part. By joining a confraternity with a strong Catholic reputation, both in its object of devotion and in its history and membership, Groulart and the others were re-establishing their Catholic credentials after having sullied them by supporting a Protestant king.

As well, by rescuing an institution that was close to the hearts of those born and bred in Rouen, Groulart was signalling his commitment to the city as a way of expiating his original outsider status, his exile and his support for the siege. Bringing prominent exiles into this venerable city institution served to re-integrate them into the city both practically and symbolically. Groulart's initiative was also the most visible manifestation of a change in orientation for the *Parlement*, in which it moved from a somewhat outsider status into the heart of Rouen society.[63] Furthermore, Groulart was helping to rebuild the traditions and civic culture which constituted Rouen's identity, which had suffered from the wars as much as its damaged buildings.

Most important of all, of course, was the rebuilding of the city's social structures. Groulart was seeking a way to 'reunite minds', as he put it in a letter – to implement the King's desire to have his subjects live together in concord once again.[64] The Immaculate Conception was an excellent vehicle for accomplishing this goal. The same traditional aspects that had made it ill-suited to ultra-Catholic activism during the religious wars made it perfectly suited for post-war reconciliation and restoration of the status quo. With one decisive move, Groulart returned the confraternity to its original role. Working together with leading members of the League to rebuild the confraternity enabled Groulart and the other royalists to rebuild the bonds of trust necessary for the city's elite to function effectively. Furthermore, as Putnam demonstrated, working together in this kind of context serves to reduce extreme positions, an important consideration after the exacerbated ideological differences of a civil war.[65]

As a traditional confraternity, the Immaculate Conception had another advantage – its old-fashioned form of devotion. After the trauma caused by the intense religious feelings of the civil wars, it was important to calm the religious atmosphere by providing ways to express Catholic devotion that were serene, conservative and externally-oriented, rather than intense and internal. While the revival of the Immaculate Conception seems to be a step backwards from the general direction of post-Tridentine brotherhoods, in fact quite a few traditional confraternities were similarly revived in France in the early seventeenth century, re-shaped somewhat to fit into the new post-Tridentine environment.[66] It helped that the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception had always been elite, and so adapted easily to the more self-conscious hierarchy common to confraternities in

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the seventeenth century.[67] Unlike many of these confraternities, however, the Immaculate Conception was less an instrument for reinforcing hierarchy externally in society, and more a traditional instrument for creating brotherhood internally within the city's divided and fractious leadership. Even elites need some 'social miracle' in order to function.

Groulart's strategy was fairly successful on both a personal and a social level. Groulart himself became acknowledged as the leader of Rouen's elite, and his funeral in 1607 attracted over 1000 mourners, rivalling those of great Rouennais leaders of the past.[68] It was also widely felt that Rouen's elite successfully put the divisions of the civil war behind them. In 1611, the *procureur general* of the *Parlement* claimed in a speech that, after the end of the war, the rebels and the exiles had 'no contention with each other' despite the many potential pitfalls – a somewhat generous recollection, but one which suggests those divisions had indeed been put to rest by the time the speech was made. Rouen's elite continued to be riven by factions and disputes, of course, but they were new ones, and did not significantly interfere with the successful administration of the city for the next 40 years.[69]

The restoration of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception was only one part of the strategy of reconciliation, which extended from formal judicial measures to private marriages and alliances.[70] But the confraternity contributed practical and symbolic depths to this strategy that no other measures could provide. The confraternity was unique in being public, voluntary, cross-corporate, neutral and flexible. It enabled erstwhile opponents to make a public and voluntary demonstration of working together in front of a large audience. Tied up in the traditions and self-image of Rouen both by its long-standing history and its cult, the confraternity enabled the exiles and outsiders to signal a commitment to the city and to local interests by joining and rescuing one of Rouen's most famous institutions. Its cross-corporate nature allowed it to be used to forge both the bonding and the bridging ties that were so necessary for linking different elite networks together. While other initiatives were also necessary, the social rebuilding process could not have been as effective or ambitious without the confraternity. In short, the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception provided a vehicle like no other for rebuilding the bonds of brotherhood within Rouen's elite.

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[1]   'Les princes anciens et modernes de ce dict puy congregez et assemblez ayans par la grace du saint esperit une amour et fraternite singuliere les ungtz avec les autres fondee en la vertu de charite et voullans en ceste amour vivre et mourir et donner bonne exemple au temps advenir a leurs successeurs et tous autres on conclud et promis estre associez et comme freres spirituelz reputez', *Approbation* c[1]. I would like to thank Mark Crane, Sheila Das, the editors and the audience members at presentations of this material for their valuable insights.

[2]   Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, p. 30; Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p. 59. See also Rondeau, 'Homosociality and Civic (Dis)Order', p. 37; Simiz, *Confréries urbaines*, pp. 77–8.

[3]   Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p. 57; Terpstra, 'Introduction: The Politics of Ritual Kinship', pp. 3, 7.

[4]   Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p. 60.

[5]   Putnam, *Making Democracy Work.* For a more extensive discussion of Putnam's work and its implications for confraternity studies, see Reid, 'Measuring the Impact of Brotherhood'.

[6]   Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, pp. 121–62.

[7]   Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, pp. 59–60; Black, 'The Development of Confraternity Studies', p. 17; Rondeau, 'Homosociality and Civic (Dis)Order', p. 37.

[8]   For example, Rondeau, 'Homosociality and Civic (Dis)Order'; see Terpstra, 'Introduction: The Politics of Ritual Kinship', p. 1.

[9]   *Approbation*, a^2. For an extensive account of the confraternity's relationship to the cult of the Immaculate Conception, and its poetry in its early years, see Hüe, *La poésie palinodique à Rouen*. For a brief description of the confraternity, including its context among Norman confraternities, see Reid, 'Moderate Devotion'.

[10] Reid, 'Moderate Devotion', pp. 8–9.

[11] *Approbation*, b^1, c^1. The statutes indicate the Prince was elected by the former princes, but in practice it appears they were chosen in the order in which they joined.

[12] Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, p. 97, and 'La confrérie comme structure d'intégration', p. 124.

[13] Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, pp. 54, 154, 192, 291.

[14] Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen (BMR) MS Y 186. This manuscript has been mis-bound at some point in its existence (folio 15 should be the first page; folios 6–14 should follow 15, but in a different order. The MS is correct from folio 16 onwards).

[15] Dewald's suggestion, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, pp. 54, 57, 73, that the low number of *Parlement* magistrates suggests royal officals were not involved in Rouen's civic life is misleading. In fact, several earlier Princes had been *Parlement* magistrates, and many of the members in 1548 were closely related to magistrates. His suggestion that only the then-minority of royal officials from established Rouen families were involved is closer to the mark.

[16] His relatives were Jacques Le Lieur, Pierre de Quièvremont, Baptiste Le Chandelier, the two Croismares (through his son-in-law) and François Le Lieur. BMR MS Y 186, 7v, 8r, 8v, 10r, 15v, 16v; Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, pp. 118, 183, 318, 322, 440; Frondeville, *Les présidents du Parlement de Normandie*, p. 214; Guiot, *Les trois siècles palinodiques*, p. 54.

[17] Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, pp. 134ff. Between 1500 and 1650 Juberts married into the Le Roux, Gouel, Le

Goupil, Le Lieur, Cr[...]
families.

[18] Dewald, *The Formati[...]*

[19] Carroll, *Noble Power[...]* 7v, 10r, 12r, 13v; Ca[...] were not always de[...] Protestant (Frondevill[...]

[20] Carroll, 'The Norman[...] 254.

[21] BMR MS Y 186, 11v[...]

[22] Benedict, *Rouen duri[...] Le trésor immortel*, p.[...]

[23] BMR MS Y 186, 19v[...] *conseillers du Parler[...]* new member may ha[...] was strongly Catholi[...] BMR Y 186, 19r).

[24] For Papillon, *Inventa[...] Rouen during the Wa[...]* Benedict, *Rouen duri[...]*

[25] *Inventaire-sommaire* [...] *Wars of Religion*, pp[...] 24v.

[26] Bèze, *Histoire ecclési[...]*

[27] Dewald, *The Formati[...]* Reform in the Pre-Tr[...] Benedict, *Rouen duri[...]*

[28] See Carroll, *Noble P[...]* stepping-stone – his d[...] (Frondeville, *Les prés[...]*

[29] For Rouen's consisto[...] 57–8.

[30] Harding, 'The Mobili[...] of confraternities bein[...] different, popular con[...]

[31] For example, Raoullin[...] at the same time con[...] bailliff; Adam Sécard [...] confraternity member [...] 103, 110 n.102.

[32] In 1562, Protestants t[...] councillors for sackin[...] *Parlement de Norman[...] Noble Power*, pp. 87, [...]

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Goupil, Le Lieur, Croismare, Du Moucel, Gruchet, La Place, Hallé and Marc families.

[18] Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, p. 73.

[19] Carroll, *Noble Power*, Chapters 1–2. For specific members, BMR MS Y 186, 7v, 10r, 12r, 13v; Carroll, *Noble Power*, pp. 84, 87, 203, 217, 273. Family ties were not always decisive – one branch of the Croismare family became Protestant (Frondeville, *Les présidents du Parlement de Normandie*, p. 218).

[20] Carroll, 'The Norman Power Base', p. 152; Carroll, *Noble Power*, pp. 100–5, 254.

[21] BMR MS Y 186, 11v.

[22] Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, for rising Protestantism; Sireulde, *Le trésor immortel*, p. li, for vandalism.

[23] BMR MS Y 186, 19v, 20r, 23r. Carroll, *Noble Power*, p. 77; Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, p. 532. Another new member may have been Pierre Dufour, a councillor in the *Parlement* who was strongly Catholic (Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, p. 397; BMR Y 186, 19r).

[24] For Papillon, *Inventaire-sommaire ... Série G*, Vol. 6, pp. 182, 186; Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, p. 116; BMR Y 186, 23v; for St Vivien, Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 82, 87–88.

[25] *Inventaire-sommaire ... Série G*, Vol. 7:3, 93, 95; Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 68–9; Carroll, *Noble Power*, p. 110; BMR MS Y 186, 24v.

[26] Bèze, *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées*, p. 858.

[27] Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, p. 48; Nicholls, 'Inertia and Reform in the Pre-Tridentine French Church'; Carrol, *Noble Power*, p. 113; Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 83–6.

[28] See Carroll, *Noble Power*, p. 109. Marc's activism would prove a valuable stepping-stone – his descendants climbed to the highest levels of Rouen society (Frondeville, *Les présidents du Parlement de Normandie*, pp. 408–9).

[29] For Rouen's consistory, see Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 57–8.

[30] Harding, 'The Mobilization of Confraternities', p. 103, provides other examples of confraternities being used to establish anti-Protestant networks, although in a different, popular context.

[31] For example, Raoullin de Longpaon had been *procureur* of the Duc d'Aumale at the same time confraternity member Jean de Martimbosc was the duchy's bailliff; Adam Sécard was priest of the parish of St Maclon, where the family of confraternity member Adrien Ballue were prominent. Carroll, *Noble Power*, pp. 103, 110 n.102.

[32] In 1562, Protestants targeted the houses of the most ultra-Catholic *Parlement* councillors for sacking, including Censols and Dufour. Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, p. 397. BMR MS Y 186, 25v, 26r, 26v, 28r; Carroll, *Noble Power*, pp. 87, 217, 264. Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de*

Normandie au seizième siècle, pp. 311, 532. For Guillot: *Inventaire-sommaire ... Série G*, Vol. 7:3, p. 95, and Carroll, *Noble Power*, p. 194.

[33] Unlike the members in 1548, many of these men do not have family names that are recognizably part of Rouen's elite, and they include respectable but less prestigious professions such as a merchant dyer and goldsmith. Pierre de Houppeville, goldsmith, worked with the parish of St Vivien (*Inventaire-sommaire ... Série G*, Vol. 6, p. 183; BMR Y 186, 25r). Le Hongre was hired by the parish of St Vivien to preach in this period, showing the ways multiple linkages could establish a new network (*Inventaire-sommaire ... Série G*, Vol. 6, p. 183).

[34] Simiz, *Confréries urbaines*, p. 134ff. For instance, the confraternity of Reims' notables was adapted to the defence of Catholicism in the 1580s, but it also changed to more intensive devotional practices at the same time. See also Harding, 'The Mobilization of Confraternities'; Stocker, 'The Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus'.

[35] Harding, 'The Mobilization of Confraternities', p. 92; Simiz, *Confréries urbaines*, pp. 132, 144, 147.

[36] Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, Ch. 5.

[37] 'grandz fraiz et despenses' ... 'refroidiz', BMR MS Y 186, 29r. Richard Papillon, for instance, became Prince in 1576, and Adrien Ballue, 16 names further on the list, became Prince only four years later. BMR MS Y 186, 23v, 26r.

[38] Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 151–5.

[39] Simiz, *Confréries urbaines*, p. 132 ff; Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, p. 54.

[40] Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, p. 151.

[41] Carroll, 'The Norman Power Base', pp. 156–7; Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, p. 167ff.

[42] BMR MS Y 186, 31r–33r. Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, pp. 361, 493, 533, 590; Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie sous Henri IV*, p. 144; *Inventaire-sommaire ... Série G*, Vol. 7:3, p. 95; Valdory, *Discours du siege de la ville de Rouen*, 5v; Brunelle, *The New World Merchants of Rouen*, pp. 65 n. 40, 148 n. 5; Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, p.181; Carroll, *Noble Power*, p. 217; see Carroll, 'The Norman Power Base', p. 159, for the importance of the Hallé-Puchot network.

[43] For example, Orleans and Marseilles. Stocker, 'The Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus'; Harding, 'The Mobilization of Confraternities'.

[44] Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, pp. 190–201.

[45] The court did order Bigot to pay for the yearly mass, but not the contest. It also lambasted the confraternity for the expenses of the banquet. Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime (ADSM) D 594; BMR MS Y 186, 33v; Frondeville, *Les présidents du Parlement de Normandie*, pp. 243, 248.

[46] Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, p. 211.

[47] 'désiroit restablir tout
réunir et remectre ses
amytié lés ungs avec
Normandie, p. 618. S
228.

[48] Groulart, 'Mémoires
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[49] Groulart, 'Mémoires c

[50] Carroll, 'The Normar
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[51] BMR MS Y 186,
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[52] BMR MS Y 186, 35r
131; Groulart, 'Mémo

[53] 'grand Claude, L'Arg
pensoit mort' ... 'cir
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[54] 's'est sentiz ... con
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... et augmenta le no
Conception, pp. 24, 26

[55] 'ce docte & sage Vi
Muse normande, Vol.

[56] BMR MS Y 186, 35r
rapport, 18 January
normande, Vol. 4, p.

[57] For the *stances*, see
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approach of the *Puy*
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[58] For example, the Firs
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[59] Groulart, 'Mémoires
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88. BMR MS Y 186,

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181; Carroll, *Noble Power*,
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[47] 'désiroit restablir toutes choses au mesme estat qu'elles estoient auparavant ... réunir et remectre ses subjectz ensemble, et les faire vivre en toute concorde et amytié lés ungs avec les autres.' Quoted in Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, p. 618. See also Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, p. 228.

[48] Groulart, 'Mémoires de Claude Groulart', p. 562. Dewald notes that the real core of the *Parlement*'s mandate was keeping peace and order in the Province, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, pp. 35, 67.

[49] Groulart, 'Mémoires de Claude Groulart', p. 561.

[50] Carroll, 'The Norman Power Base of the House of Guise', p. 156; Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, Vol. 3, p. 560; Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, pp. 87, 241; Lombart, 'Des stances pour la vierge', p. 451.

[51] BMR MS Y 186, 34r-v. Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, p. 627.

[52] BMR MS Y 186, 35r-36r. Brunelle, *The New World Merchants of Rouen*, p. 131; Groulart, 'Mémoires de Claude Groulart', pp. 557, 568, 583.

[53] 'grand Claude, L'Argus de la Court souveraine' ... 'Puy ... perdu' ... 'qu'on pensoit mort' ... 'cime florissante'. Cited in Lombart, 'Des stances pour la vierge,' p. 448. This tribute was quickly re-printed in an *Art poetique* published in Paris.

[54] 's'est sentiz ... comme abandonné & reduict à telle extremité' 'toucha vifvement la liberale & vertueuse inclination de Messire Claude Groulart' who 'releva ledit Puy abbatu, en rendit le theatre plus magnificque, regla la despence ... et augmenta le nombre des compositions de deux Stances'; *Le Puy de la Conception*, pp. 24, 26.

[55] 'ce docte & sage Vieillard/Le premier President GROULART.' Ferrand, *La Muse normande*, Vol. 4, p. 7.

[56] BMR MS Y 186, 35r-v; ADSM, Série B, Registres du Parlement, Arrêts par rapport, 18 January 1597; *Le Puy de la Conception*; Ferrand, *La Muse normande*, Vol. 4, p. 7.

[57] For the *stances*, see Lombart, 'Des stances pour la vierge'. The rules for the *stances* in Rouen's contest were specifially adapted to the traditional poetic approach of the *Puy* in their emphasis on maxims and word-play. For other prizes, see BMR Fonds de l'Académie, 92p.

[58] For example, the First President who replaced Groulart, Alexandre de Faucon de Ris (Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, Vol. 4, p. 234). Vincent, 'La confrérie comme structure d'intégration', pp. 122–3 discusses confraternities as a way of integrating prominent newcomers into local society.

[59] Groulart, 'Mémoires de Claude Groulart', pp. 556, 562, 579; he wrote a moving eulogy to his friend Saldaigne d'Incarville, p. 583; for Le Pigny, Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, Vol. 3, p. 608, Vol. 4, p. 204. Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, p. 604; Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie sous Henri IV*, p. 88. BMR MS Y 186, 38v, 39v. For Groulart's family network, see Frondeville,

Les présidents du Parlement de Normandie, pp. 68–70; Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, pp. 286–8. Groulart maintained effective control over the confraternity and its recruitment in the years immediately after 1596, since the subsequent Princes were men he had chosen.

[60] Groulart, 'Mémoires de Claude Groulart', p. 595; Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, pp. 85, 286. Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, Vol. 4, p. 220. Carroll, *Noble Power*, p. 190 n. 20. BMR MS Y 186, 38v.

[61] *Inventaire-sommaire ... Série G*, Vol. 6, p. 192. BMR MS Y 186, 37r, 39v; Guiot, *Les trois siècles palinodiques*, pp. 200–1; Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, p. 258.

[62] Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie au seizième siècle*, pp. 322, 532, 493, 529; Frondeville, *Les conseillers du Parlement de Normandie sous Henri IV*, pp. 43, 144–5; BMR MS Y 186, 41r.

[63] Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, pp. 65, 78.

[64] Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, pp. 40–1; Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, Vol. 3, p. 618.

[65] Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, pp. 28–38. Vincent, 'La confrérie comme structure d'intégration', pp. 120–1 discusses the role of traditional confraternities in re-establishing social structures after traumatic events, in the context of the end of the 100 Years War in the 1450s.

[66] See Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, pp. 154, 192, 251, for traditional Norman confraternities. Black, 'The Development of Confraternity Studies', p. 20. Lombart, 'Des stances pour la vierge', p. 451, suggests a similar idea.

[67] Terpstra, 'Introduction: The Politics of Ritual Kinship', pp. 4, 5, 7; Black, 'The Development of Confraternity Studies', p. 24.

[68] Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility*, pp. 222, 295.

[69] Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, Vol. 4, pp. 6–8, 235ff. The city's next major crisis was a popular revolt in 1640.

[70] In 1608, Barthélemy Hallé's son Jean married Groulart's daughter Marguerite (Frondeville, *Les présidents du Parlement de Normandie*, p. 70).

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