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УДК 264.911

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КАРДИНАЛ ЛОТАРИНГСКИЙ И ЛИТУРГИЯ В РЕЙМСЕ

Карл Гиз, кардинал Лотарингский и архиепископ Реймса с 1538 г. до своей смерти в 1574 г. был одним из главных и загадочных фигур, чья способность разрабатывать несколько стратегий в соответствии с изменяющимися обстоятельствами во Франции и в Европе, оставляла в недоумении как его современники, так и историков. Исследование литургической политики, которую он проводил в своем городе, епархии и церковной провинции Реймса, помогает лучше оценить, насколько искренен был кардинал. Это исследование является тем более значимым, что историки раннего Нового времени не уделяли должного внимания литургии, в то время как она играла центральную роль в религиозной жизни епархии и в межконфессиональных конфликтах XVI в. Приходское руководство, напечатанное в 1554 г., указывает на попытку умеренной, галликанской и епархиальной реформы литургии, которая оставаясь строго ортодоксальной, в то же время подразумевала использование французского языка. Провинциальный собор 1564 г. отражал не только постановления Тридентского собора, но был логическим продолжением литургической реформы 1550-х гг., нацеленной на создание высокой мессы и возвращение к обрядам древности. Наконец, процессии ясно свидетельствовали о личном почитании кардиналом Лотарингским святынь, особенно Св. Даров и св. Креста, а также о покаянии последних лет его жизни.

Ключевые слова: католическая Реформация, Тридентский собор, региональная политика, литургии, ритуал, таинства, песнопение, процессии, французский язык, Святые Дары, покаяние

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THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE AND THE LITURGY IN REIMS

Charles of Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, archbishop of Reims since 1538 until his death in 1574, was a major, but complex and enigmatic character, whose capacity to develop several strategies according to changing circumstances, in France and Europe baffled both his contemporaries and historians. The research on the liturgical policy he conducted in his city, diocese and ecclesiastical province of Reims provides better understanding of Cardinal's aims and level of seriousness. This investigation is rather instructive, because the history of liturgy has been neglected by historians of the Early modern time, whereas it played a central role in the diocesan religious life and in the confessional conflicts of the 16th century. The parochial manual printed in 1554 reveals an enterprise of moderate, gallican and diocesan reform, which, while perfectly Orthodox also developed the use of the French language. The provincial Council of 1564 was a Tridentine turn, but also a logical continuation of the liturgical reform of the 1550's, aiming desirable purification of chanting and developing a dream of returning to the antique custom. Finally, the processions clearly expressed the personal devotions of the Cardinal of Lorraine, especially to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Holy Cross, as well as the penitential aspect of the last years of his life.

Key words: Catholic Reformation, Council of Trent, local policy, liturgy, ritual, sacraments, chanting, processions, French language, Blessed Sacrament, penitential devotion

A complex even enigmatic character, mistreated for a long time by French historiography, Charles of Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, born in 1525, the archbishop of Reims from 1538 until his death in 1574, played an important part in politics, religion and culture, in France as well as in Europe¹. His role has not always been understood, on the one hand because he mixed religious, politics, social and cultural issues, on the other hand because he could adapt with an unusual flexibility to the changing circumstances, lastly because he was able to hold simultaneously different speeches for his various interlocutors thus keeping to develop several strategies. His leading action in his town, diocese and ecclesiastical province of Reims has been too much neglected by historians² in favour of his rôle in French politics, his speech in Poissy's colloquy and his choices during the council of Trent, all fundamental subjects that needed to be linked to his activity in Reims. As a matter of fact, the Cardinal of Lorraine's proposals for the reformation in French Church or of the whole Catholicity, for the reabsorption of schism or the fight against Calvinism, for collegial decisions in dioceses or the assertion of prelates' authority could only be considered as credible in France and Europe only if they had been put into practice in his own diocese. And it is at this level that we can weigh his ability to cooperate with local actors, to keep a balance between reformation and conservatism and to manage the complex reality of running a diocese on a daily basis.

As Catholicity, of which it is a sort of reduced copy, the diocese lives at the liturgy's rhythm, to which administrative and pastoral management should be connected. However, the history of liturgy

¹ See particularly: Balsamo J., Nicklas Th., Restif B. *Un prélat français de la Renaissance. Le cardinal de Lorraine entre Reims et l'Europe*. Genève, 2015; Carroll S. *Martyrs and Murderers. The Guise Family and the Making of Europe*, Oxford, 2009; *Lettres du cardinal Charles de Lorraine (1525–1574)* / Éd. D. Cuisiat. Genève, 1998; Taylor Th. E. *Charles, second Cardinal of Lorraine (1524–74): A Biography*: Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Virginia, 1995; Guillemin J.-J. *Le Cardinal de Lorraine, son influence politique et religieuse au XVI^e siècle*. Paris, 1847.

² Recently, to really know the Cardinal of Lorraine's action in his diocese, the main reference was still the article of Marc Venard: *Venard M. Le cardinal de Lorraine dans l'Église de France (1564–1574) // Le Mécénat et l'influence des Guises* / Ed. Y. Bellenger. Paris, 1997. To which one could add some very shorts (but riches) developments in: Evennett H. O. *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent. A Study in the Counter-Reformation*. Cambridge, 1930.

was, until recently, little studied by historians of early modern times, although it was at the heart of religious life of clergymen and laymen. A few recent works showed its importance³, so real in the sixteenth century that it was at the centre of the confessional confrontation. Moreover, the successive positions adopted by the Cardinal of Lorraine on both liturgical and theological issues at the colloquy of Poissy in 1561, the meeting of Saverne in 1562 and the council of Trent in 1562–63 question on the share of sincerity and the share of strategy of his attitude⁴. A close look into the policy conducted in this field in Reims should help to answer the question of the real ideas of Charles of Guise. It is in 1548 that the Cardinal of Lorraine began to reform his diocese, first in a gallican way, which took a confessional turn in 1561, afterwards in a tridentine way, from 1564, which became post-tridentine in 1567–1574⁵. For these reasons, this article examines first the liturgical policy conducted in Reims in the early 1550's, then the debates on this issue during the council of the ecclesiastical province in 1564, finally how the processions reveal the personal choices of the Cardinal and the evolution of his devotions.

1. THE PAROCHIAL MANUAL OF 1554 AND THE LOGIC OF A LOCAL LITURGICAL POLICY

In 1554, Nicolas Bacquenois printed in Reims a book called *Manuale, seu (ut vocant) agenda, ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Rhemensis: in quo omnia, quae ad sacramentorum administrationem necessaria sunt*, i. e. a manual on the administration of sacraments and the use

³ Essential, but at first isolated was the study of Eamon Duffy: Duffy E. *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400 – c. 1580*. New Haven; London, 1992; among recent publications we must make mention of: Grosse Ch. *Les Rituels de la Cène. Le culte eucharistique réformé à Genève (xvi^e – xvii^e siècles)*. Genève, 2008; Davy-Rigaux C., Dompnier B., Hurel D.-O. *Les Cérémoniaux catholiques en France à l'époque moderne. Une littérature de codification des rites liturgiques*. Turnhout, 2009.

⁴ Tallon A. *La France et le concile de Trente (1518–1563)*. Rome, 1997; Evennett H. O. *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent*.

⁵ Restif B. *Reims, un pôle de la Réforme catholique, pré-tridentine et tridentine, au temps du cardinal de Lorraine // Un prélat français de la Renaissance*. P. 43–58. Liturgical issues began to be studied by Patrick Demouy: Demouy P. *La liturgie rémoise au temps du cardinal de Lorraine, permanences et évolutions // Un prélat français de la Renaissance*. P. 59–73 (the aim is here to complete this first approach, which remains incomplete, and to redirect several views).

of sacramentals, a type of book which was later named a «ritual». This publication was an episcopal enterprise, according to a statement contained in this book and the fact that it has been printed in Reims. As a matter of fact, Charles of Guise took the initiative to set up a printing-house in Reims in the early 1550's, and it was even more the case with Nicolas Bacquenois who was favoured by the archbishop; his activity began in 1553 and he was given the monopoly of printing the liturgical books of the diocese. In point of fact, Bacquenois printed that same year 1554 a *Missale Rhemense*, missal of Reims, of which no copy seems to have been preserved (and of which the first copies might even have been printed since the year before)⁶. Before the setting-up of a printing-house in Reims, liturgical books for Reims were printed in Paris: missals in 1491, 1505, 1542 and 1545, breviaries a little after 1500 and in 1543 and 1544⁷. This 1544 breviary contains an indication that it was published by the Cardinal of Lorraine's authority, but is without much real originality⁸. Regarding manuals or rituals, it should be noted that a *Manuale seu instructorium curatorum ad usum Remensis diocesis* was published in Paris in 1538, one or two others maybe during the preceding years⁹, and as early as 1505 the Parisian printer Simon Vostre published the *Officiarium sacerdotum ecclesie continens sacramenta et modum administrandi ea, cum aliis commodatibus que in ceteris desiderantur*. Now, the contents of the *Manuale* of 1554 are not very different from those of the *Officiarium* of 1505. In other words, the Cardinal of Lorraine's liturgical policy placed itself first in the continuity of his predecessors', and probably it was done in close collaboration with the cathedral chapter, who considered itself as the keeper of the liturgical tradition of Reims (especially as there was since the 1470's some absenteeism of the archbishops of Reims).

The use of printing by bishops and secondarily by chapters was a general phenomenon in France at the end of the 15th century

⁶ Fontaine J.-P. Les imprimeurs rémois du XVI^e siècle // Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims. 1986. N 165. P. 41–112.

⁷ Pettegree A., Walsby M. French Books III and IV: Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and Languages other than French. Leiden; Boston, 2012.

⁸ Breviarium Remense, Paris, 1544.

⁹ Molin J.-B., Aussedat-Minvielle A. Répertoire des rituels et processionnaires imprimés et conservés en France. Paris, 1984. P. 234–235. Meanwhile this inventory seems very little sure here.

and the first half of the 16th century, to print synodal statutes and liturgical books. The aim was, at one and the same time, to fit in the diocesan traditions and to develop a first French Catholic Reformation, which it is tempting to call gallican, even if it did not manifest any hostility to the Roman leadership... at least this movement developed itself independently of Roman policies. In point of fact, the contents of the Reims' *Manuale* was not very different from other French rituals, for example the manual of Rennes printed in Rouen around 1510¹⁰. This first French Catholic Reformation, inspired by Gerson's heritage, aimed primarily at the vicars, to make them more competent and remove their 'abuses'. The printing of the *Manuale* is an illustration of the pastoral of sacraments, first expressed in the synodal statutes¹¹, because the objective is to take advantage of printing to spread standardized texts in the parishes with specific guidance on how one must administer sacraments and sacramentals. Precisely, the general policy of reformation conducted by the Cardinal of Lorraine in his diocese in 1548–49 was characterized by collaboration with the chapter, the use of practices already existing in the diocese (visit of deaneries and synods), the utilization of printing and the insistence on improving the level of competence and knowledge of vicars¹². His liturgical policy appeared conform to this general policy, as a part of it.

But the Cardinal of Lorraine was also a humanist, who conceived partly the improvement of the level of the vicars through the humanistic perspective of promotion of knowledge. Here is the explanation of the foundation of the University of Reims in 1548¹³ and of his insistence on predication in the city. In this last point we can see a result of the experimentations and failures of Guillaume Briçonnet in Meaux, but also the influence of Gerson, who both promoted the use of the French language. In the early 1560's, the use of French was also a feature of the attempt of gallican reformation directed by the monarchy, and especially by Catherine de' Medici. In 1562 she gave to the Cardinal of Lorraine who was leaving France for the council

¹⁰ *Manuale ad usum Redonensem*. Rouen, vers 1510.

¹¹ Gy P.-M. *La liturgie dans l'histoire*. Paris, 1990.

¹² Restif B. *Reims, un pôle de la Réforme catholique...*

¹³ The papal bull of erection of the University compelled all the monasteries and convents to send members to study there.

of Trent precise instructions on the use of French for administration of sacraments, catechism, predication and chanting of psalms¹⁴. Yet, the use of French language is quite important in the *Manuale* of 1554. It is the case for the long text of general confession, which had to be recited by all together, during the celebration of Holy Thursday, following the list of the five senses, the seven deadly sins and the Ten Commandments, then the priest gave collective absolution for venial sins, inciting then the audience to individual confession for the deadly sins. However, it must be pointed out that the use of French for the sermon was general in most of the French parishes¹⁵; this should encourage us to put in perspective the full significance of Catherine de' Medici's instructions. But it is also true that a generalization of the use of French for the texts to be recited by lay people reveals an undeniable pastoral will. Yet, in this book we find also the list in French of the Ten Commandments of the Mosaic Law and of the Five Commandments of the Church. Similarly, it is in French that one can find the text of universal prayers whose recitation by the parishioners was led by the priest every Sunday. In this long list there were prayers for the Holy Land, which is maybe a mark of the influence of the Cardinal, who along with his brother Francis were at the head of the Guise's family, descendent of Godefroy of Bouillon and who for this reason had claims on Jerusalem. The developments on the administration of sacraments also contained parts in French, when it corresponded to sentences that lay persons had to pronounce, during baptism or marriage ceremonies for example, but in general the rest of the text is in Latin. So the Cardinal of Lorraine was probably sincere when he promoted the use of French in sermons and catechism eight years later... and the same for the administration of sacraments but then it is necessary to specify how important a share was given to either French or Latin. As to the chanting of psalms in French, this initiative of the Queen Mother in 1562 did not correspond at all to the content of the 1554 manual in which all the chants are in Latin, the psalms

¹⁴ Tallon A. La France et le concile de Trente (1518–1563). P. 359.

¹⁵ Restif B. La Révolution des paroisses. Culture paroissiale et Réforme catholique en Haute-Bretagne aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. Rennes, 2006. For the case of the parishes of Upper Brittany. But the sermon was not necessarily in French in the churches where the main part of the audience was ecclesiastic, as in the cathedrals.

first of all. However, there were in the second half of the 1550's translations and setting to music of psalms in French, which were dedicated to the Cardinal of Lorraine by Jean Poitevin and Jacques Arcadet¹⁶. It seems that the Cardinal might have agreed in the second half of the 1550's with this proposition of Catherine de' Medici of 1562, but maybe any earlier... at all events for a generalization in a diocese.

The use of French is more important in the 1554 manual of Reims than in other manuals of the same period, without being absolutely original in this domain. As a matter of fact, the manual of Rennes printed in 1510 also uses French and it is similarly the case of the *Officiarium* of Reims of 1505. In a word, as signalled by Alain Tallon, the ideas of Charles of Guise on the Church's Reformation were not very original in the 1550's¹⁷, even if they became a little bit more novel at the end of this decade. Besides, one will have a hard time finding some indications of an inclination towards Lutheranism in the *Manuale*, even in a strict liturgical domain which would try to keep the theological issues at a distance. The texts on the Eucharist are perfectly orthodox and never consider the possibility of communion under both species. On the contrary, the *Manuale* specifies that at each faithful is indicated in a few words and in French the meaning of the Eucharist when they received communion at Easter. In the same way, when giving the extreme unction, the priest should ask the dying person, in French, to consider that the sacraments of the Church, especially the Eucharist, highly help to save one's soul.

So the confessional turn adopted by the Catholic Reformation in Reims in 1561 was not a disrupting but only an inflexion. In that year a catechism was published in Paris, it was approved by the Faculty of Theology of Reims, which through questions and answers for children dealt with the sacraments, Faith, the Commandments, the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and the Church¹⁸. By many aspects this catechism seems to be a continuation of the liturgical policy of the 1550's.

¹⁶ Demouy P. La liturgie rémoise au temps du cardinal de Lorraine; Dricot M. La vie musicale à Reims dans la seconde moitié du xvi^e siècle: Thèse de doctorat en musicologie. Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1974.

¹⁷ Tallon A. Le cardinal de Lorraine et la réforme de l'Église, de la fin des années 1540 à la dernière période du concile de Trente // Un prélat français de la Renaissance. P. 107-115.

¹⁸ Catechisme ou instruction chrestienne, pour toutes personnes, veue et approuvée par la faculté de theologie de Rheims, l'an 1561, Paris, 1561.

2. THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF 1564. IMPLEMENTING THE TRIDENTINE REFORM

After leaving the council of Trent, of which he delivered the closing speech in December 1563, the Cardinal of Lorraine returned to Reims and there ordered a French translation of the Tridentine decrees to be printed in May 1564. These were rather vague on liturgical issues, giving only very general indications, so Roman commissions were later in charge of accomplishing the liturgical reform. Besides, the council of Trent had ordered to organise provincial councils to carry the Tridentine decrees into effect. The Cardinal of Lorraine wanted to be the first to proceed in this domain, so he summoned a council of the ecclesiastical province of Reims to be held in November and December 1564, in a tense political context; as a matter of fact, Catherine de' Medici was hostile to the Tridentine reform and to the new initiatives of Charles of Guise. The provincial council adopted decrees of reform which were widely inscribed in the line of the synodal statutes of Reims of 1548–49, on the reform of clergy mainly, and in addition decided the founding of the first seminary, in compliance with the Tridentine decrees. The assembly also dealt with liturgy.

What happened during this provincial council is very well known, through minutes, copied in the 17th century — though they maybe slightly summarized? — by a monk of Reims, dom Guillaume Marlot, who was then writing a history of Reims¹⁹. The official report itself, which was in the archives of the archbishopric or in those of the cathedral chapter, was probably destroyed during the French Revolution. Nineteen sessions followed from November 27th to December 23th 1564. As early as the first session, the Cardinal of Lorraine asked the members of the council to work on public worship, ceremonies, breviary and missal, and ordered the delegates of the chapters to prepare a report on these subjects. This text, in Latin, was then delivered to all the participants at the end of the 5th session, Charles of Guise asking them to consider it and to debate on the subject the next day. The text proposed a light reform of the breviary,

¹⁹ Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims... par le R. P. Dom Guillaume Marlot, docteur en théologie, grand prieur de l'abbaye Saint-Nicaise de Reims. 4 vol. Reims, 1843–1846.

a reform of chanting and music, lastly a very light correction of missals about proses (hymns sung during the solemn Masses).

The next day, December 1st 1564, during the 6th session, the Cardinal of Lorraine began to speak to define the direction of the liturgical reform to achieve, following partly the middle of the road text written by the canons and given to the participants of the council the preceding day. In his opinion, it was necessary to avoid refined or lascivious music and to restrain the use of the organ; canons should recite themselves the Divine Office in the choir; nothing should be added to the missal or the ceremonies of Mass, which meant amending the diocesan missals which had integrated new elements; it was necessary to remove superstition in the use of images and relics, which should not be carried during processions out of the cities. So the archbishop appeared to side with the frame established by the canons, but only to redirect it partially and to add the question of images and relics, which was all the more important for him as he had played an important role in the elaboration and adoption of the Tridentine decree on this issue²⁰. The bishops or their representatives (some bishops being absentees) were then invited to speak. The bishop of Senlis said he agreed in everything with the Cardinal of Lorraine, while the representative of the bishop of Noyon affirmed that the manuals (rituals), breviaries and missals should really be amended but only by the Papacy. The representative of the bishop of Amiens, not wishing to settle this question, declared that canons should devote themselves to reciting the Divine Office and that it was necessary to return to the ancient custom of the Church by removing the recent additions (but he gave no details about it). The bishop of Châlons appeared to support the preparatory text written by the canons and he added the necessity to compose a provincial manual, which would harmonize the administration of sacraments in the whole province. The discussions continued in the afternoon during the 7th session. Richard Dupré, representative of the cathedral chapter of Reims, spoke first. Criticizing those who did not want to act immediately, claiming not to wish to innovate, which seemed to target the representative of the bishop of Noyon, he stated that returning to the ancient custom was not an innovation. Then, he proposed to alleviate the breviary, because the text of the canonical hours was

²⁰ Fabre P.-A. *Décréter l'image? La xxv^e session du concile de Trente*, Paris, 2013.

too long which didn't help to focus on the meaning of the text, and he submitted the idea of a better distribution of the chanting of psalms over the week, here suggesting a lightened version. In the name of the Reims' chapter and in accordance with the Tridentine decrees, Richard Dupré asked for a reform of chanting so that what was sung could be easily understood. This speech is essentially a support to the proposals of the Cardinal, and Dupré convinced the representatives of the chapters of Soissons, Laon and Beauvais; the latter insisted on the necessity of a reform of chanting and of putting an end to the use of the organ for the chanting of the Passion. More cautious or moderate, with sometimes the will not to take a clear cut position, are the speeches of the representatives of the chapters of Noyon, Amiens, Théroouanne and Châlons, of a second representative of the bishop of Amiens, of the abbot of Vauclair and of the prior of Saint-Remi. Finally, the Cardinal of Lorraine closed the day saying that all were agreed now — this however was not quite the case — and that it was necessary to adopt a decree to restore the ancient custom thanks to trimming and simplification of the music which in no way should hinder the understanding of the meaning of words.

Afterwards, it was really no longer a question of cult. Nevertheless, on December 6th, it was decided to adopt a decree on images (most likely the Tridentine one) which would be added to the decree on the cult, to make the celebration of the Mass at the high altar of the cathedrals reserved to the canons and to require of the laity to attend Mass at least one Sunday on three. But, for political reasons, the Queen mother Catherine de' Medici, who was opposed to the reception of Tridentine decrees in France, prohibited publication of the decrees of the provincial council of Reims. It seems that the Cardinal of Lorraine planned to deal again with the liturgical issue in a second provincial council, in 1566, but once again Catherine de' Medici intervened... to forbid the meeting this time²¹.

If these political obstacles hindered the spread of the 1564's decisions in the ecclesiastical province, they could not prevent the implementing of these decisions in Reims. In 1568, then in 1569 and 1570,

²¹ Simiz S. Conciles provinciaux des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. L'exemple de la métropole rémoise // La Province ecclésiastique de Reims, special issue of Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims. 2008. T. 178. P. 381–394; Taylor Th. E. Charles, second Cardinal of Lorraine. P. 483.

the statutes of the cathedral chapter were revised to impose an unaffected chanting that allowed to understand words, to condemn a lascivious or too ornate music and to restrict the use of the organ²². It is important to note that the archbishop could not really reform liturgy without the collaboration of the chapter, so these revisions of the capitular statutes were a sweeping success for the Cardinal. The initiatives taken around 1570 in the Saint-Jacques parish of Reims for chanting in French went in the same direction of a reform which was a purification of chanting and music²³. They seemed encouraged by the vicar general Pierre Remi and so they were openly tolerated by the Cardinal of Lorraine who, at this period, was residing in his diocese.

We must finally mention two elements linking the decisions of the 1564's council and the general policy of the Cardinal of Lorraine in Reims. On the one hand, there is a link between the insistence on the Tridentine decree on images and the installation of numerous statues of the Virgin in the streets of Reims in 1562²⁴, in response to the Protestant iconoclasm, and the publication the same year of a book which aimed both to defend images and to condemn their superstitious uses²⁵. On the other hand, both the Tridentine and antique features of the liturgical policy were spectacularly exhibited in 1572 by installation of a new high altar in the cathedral, the contract being signed by two canons who were supporters of the Cardinal²⁶.

3. THE PROCESSIONS, EXPRESSION OF THE DEVOTIONS OF THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE

The Cardinal of Lorraine seems to have given a great importance to processions, which clearly express at least a part of his devotions

²² Les Actes de la province ecclésiastique de Reims / Ed. Th. Gousset. T. 3. Reims, 1843. P. 244–245.

²³ Demouy P. La liturgie rémoise au temps du cardinal de Lorraine. P. 70–73.

²⁴ Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims. P. 337, 340.

²⁵ L'Advis des docteurs theologiens de Paris, et de ceux du reverendissime et illustrissime cardinal de Ferrare legat du Sainct Siege apostolique en France, touchant l'usage des images. Présenté, receu et approuvé en l'assemblée faite à Saint Germain l'unzième jour de fevrier 1561. Reims, 1562.

²⁶ Balsamo I. Le cardinal de Lorraine et le grand autel de 1572 dans la cathédrale de Reims: Un manifeste tridentin // Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. 1988. N 73. P. 89–130.

and the changes in this domain. As early as 1548 or 1549 he founded in Reims a procession on Easter Sunday in honor of the Blessed Sacrament, of which he assured the annual financing in 1554²⁷. This procession seems to have been established in response to iconoclast actions perpetrated in 1548 or 1549 in the ecclesiastical province. The Cardinal ensured the success of this penitential procession by a grant of indulgences. Guillaume Marlot affirms that this Easter procession was followed by several other urban processions in 1549 to ask God for the union of the Catholic princes against heresy. Thereafter, an Easter procession was held every year before dawn. Clerics and altar boys carried a lighted candle and the Cardinal of Lorraine carried a reliquary containing the Blessed Sacrament. In 1562 his brother Francis duke of Guise offered a very precious reliquary for the display of the Blessed Sacrament in procession, of which we know thanks to an inventory of the cathedral's treasure carried out in 1669²⁸. The *Processional* published in 1571 accurately describes the course of the procession²⁹. The cortege went to fetch the sacred host placed since Holy Thursday on the altar of the Holy Cross and then went on procession in the cathedral. Having rejoined the choir, the archbishop incensed the Blessed Sacrament on the high altar and then presented the reliquary containing the Corpus Christi to the public. Then all made the sign of the cross in silence. Therefore it was a real salutation to the Blessed Sacrament.

In 1553 the Cardinal of Lorraine founded a large procession of the Holy Thursday in the honour of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Cross, in imitation of a similar procession which was made in Rome and for which he obtained a papal bull of indulgence³⁰. The proper foundation was only achieved in 1570, and in 1571 the *Processional* accurately described the procession which involved all the clergy of the cathedral and the seminary³¹. At the end of the day, the *Corpus Christi* was carried from the high altar to the altar of the Holy Cross, which was located in the back-choir of the cathedral and thus renamed in the late

²⁷ Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims. P. 311.

²⁸ Tarbé P. Trésors des églises de Reims. Reims, 1843. P. 60–61; Demouy P. La liturgie rémoise au temps du cardinal de Lorraine. P. 60–62.

²⁹ Processionale secundum usum insignis ac metropolis Ecclesiae Rhemensis. Reims, 1571. P. 102–119.

³⁰ Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims. P. 311.

³¹ Processionale. P. 44–101.

1560's by the will of Charles of Guise (previously it was called the altar of Mary Magdalene). In 1568 the Cardinal of Lorraine offered a big gold-plated silver cross containing several Christic relics (True Cross, Holy Thorn...). After Tenebrae the procession began; it was a stational procession as it made stops at seven stations corresponding to seven altars. The first station was celebrated at the altar of the Holy Cross. Then the procession left the cathedral to go to the hospital church, managed by both the archbishop and the chapter, where the second and third stations were celebrated. Then it went on to the parish church of Saint-Michel, located in the cloister managed by the canons to administer the sacraments to lay people living in the cloister, where the fourth station was celebrated on the high altar³². The procession then returned to the cathedral where the stations were successively celebrated: at the altar dedicated to the saints James and Philip, in the ambulatory, at the altar of the Virgin which was in the nave near the rood screen, at the high altar at least. The big reliquary cross of the Cardinal was carried from an altar to the other, followed by the censers and candlesticks transported by subdeacons. The ritual included prayers for the Pope, the archbishop, the lame (in the hospital church), the fruits of the earth, the king, peace, the forgiveness of sins. We can also note the use of the penitential psalms and of the hymns *Vexilla regis* and *O crux ave*. It is certain that this liturgical practice was also the object of an agreement between the archbishop and the chapter. Besides, the *Processional* printed in Reims in 1571 contains a preface written by a canon, Antoine Colard, who praises the archbishop. It is also certain that this procession of the Holy Thursday bears the imprint of the Cardinal of Lorraine. The day of his death, December 26th 1574, he kissed the cross, recited the seven penitential psalms, the *Vexilla regis* hymn and other prayers from the Passion³³... echoing the procession of the Holy Thursday.

Other processions expressed the Cardinal's devotion for the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Cross, often with a penitential dimension. The 1571 *Processional* gives the details of two other processions

³² Desportes P. La cathédrale et l'ensemble canonial dans les archives du chapitre // Nouveaux regards sur la cathédrale de Reims / Éd. B. Decrock, P. Demouy. Langres, 2008. P. 53–61.

³³ Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims. P. 593; Caroli Lotharingi card. et Francisci ducis Guysii, literae et arma, in funebri oratione habita Nancii a N. Bocherio theologo, Paris, 1577.

founded by Charles de Guise, one on the day of the finding of the Holy Cross on May 3rd, the other on the exaltation of the Holy Cross on September 14th ³⁴. It is to be noted that the chant, here also, hymns *Vexilla regis* and *O crux ave* were present, as well as the adoration of the cross. During the provincial council of 1564, the Cardinal of Lorraine organised a general procession on the Thursday of the first week, the day of the Blessed Sacrament, after fasting on the Wednesday³⁵. The procession took place around the cathedral and the canonical cloister. The Cardinal carried the Blessed Sacrament whereas each canons, bishops' and chapters' representatives, abbots and priors carried a candle. Then a mass was celebrated in the cathedral during which the Cardinal blessed the people. The processions were therefore a way for the Cardinal to go towards the devotees. For this reason he founded a procession from the choir to the nave of the cathedral each Sunday during Advent and Christmas time upto Candlemas. These were paid by foundations that he recapitulated in the 1571 *Processional*³⁶. The Cardinal blessed the devotees while coming out of the choir.

To all this can be added the extraordinary processions in town. It was the case in 1554 to implore God's help to face the plagues that were war, famine and Protestant heresy. The Blessed Sacrament was carried around the town followed by the barefoot canons holding a candle³⁷. In 1557 king Henri II participated to the Corpus Christi's procession in Reims, his Swiss guards marching with a torch in hand, before going to touch the scrofula sick people in Corbeny, where Saint-Marcoul's relics were worshipped³⁸. The annual procession of Corpus Christi acquired more importance in the beginning of the years 1560 when the Catholic Reformation in Reims took a confessional turn. The devotees came from all the parishes around a temporary altar installed at the boundaries of the canonical cloister and listened to a sermon on the Blessed Sacrament³⁹. In November 1557 a solemn and penitential procession took place after Protestants had damaged a cross, and in August 1558 another procession took place as amend

³⁴ *Processionale*. P. 119–127.

³⁵ *Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims*. P. 367–368.

³⁶ *Processionale*. P. 1, sq.

³⁷ *Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims*. P. 332.

³⁸ *Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims*. P. 334.

³⁹ Demouy P. *La liturgie rémoise au temps du cardinal de Lorraine*. P. 65.

to a blasphemy⁴⁰. Ten years later, in 1568, during the wars of religion, the Cardinal of Lorraine ordered for a special procession to invoke God's help against the Protestants. All the holy relics in the city were carried on procession, including saint Remi whose reliquary was carried by the members of the city community. The Cardinal walked barefoot and on the next day he gave communion to the devotees at the altar of the Cross⁴¹. In 1574, during a procession the day before Rogation, Charles of Guise walked barefoot again in the streets of Reims⁴². Many of such penitential processions seem to have happened from 1568 to 1574 and during some of them, the Cardinal of Lorraine might have covered himself with mud⁴³.

In December 1574 in Avignon, while he was accompanying the new king Henri III, on whom he had high hopes, the Cardinal of Lorraine participated, barefoot, at the procession of penitents' fraternities. He caught cold and died on December 26th from a lung infection. His body was taken back to Reims and a big procession took place for his funerals. This was his last procession.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the study of the liturgical policy of the Cardinal of Lorraine in Reims help to identify this complex and essential character of the 16th century France and Europe. Beyond the usual questions about the sincerity of the Cardinal who developed varying strategies depending on both context and interlocutors, a research on his leading action in Reims reveals his close collaboration with the cathedral chapter and his conception of balance between conservatism and reform. This enquiry also brings out the centrality of liturgy, around which the pastoral policy is articulated.

The *Manuale* of 1554 shows the logic of a local liturgical policy based on printing diocesan liturgical books. It is a moderate, gallican and diocesan reform, influenced both by Gerson and by humanism. It is characterized by the will to improve the knowledge and competence of parish priests, to develop

⁴⁰ Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims. P. 337.

⁴¹ Histoire de la ville, cité et Université de Reims. P. 404–405.

⁴² Cocquault P. Table chronologique et abrégé de l'histoire de l'Église, ville et province de Reims. Reims, 1650. P. 546–547.

⁴³ Caroli Lotharingi card. et Francisci ducis Guysii...

the use of French and to establish a catechetical type of education. It is not at all directed towards heterodoxy, even if the use of vernacular language could be considered as a possible forum for discussion with Protestants around 1560.

The provincial council of 1564 is more a Tridentine than a confessional turn and it is partly a logical continuation of the reform of the 1550's. It centres around the will to amend, ease and simplify the missal, breviary, chanting and music. There is a touch of antiquity in this reform which strives after an original purity and which emphasizes the need to understand and meditate on the words which are spoken and sung. Although the royal power impedes its diffusion throughout the ecclesiastical province and the kingdom, this reform develops in Reims through several achievements and experiments from the late 1560's onwards.

At last, these processions clearly express the personal devotions of the Cardinal of Lorraine. First, and with great permanence, his special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Cross. They express his profound rejection of iconoclasm and Calvinism, moreover they make his inclination for Lutheranism unlikely, at least on the doctrinal issue, as he makes use of indulgences, fasts and relics of Christ. The penitential aspect of these processions is marked, and is considerably strengthened at the end of the life of the Cardinal... who died as a penitent.

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