

## **Pariser Historische Studien**

Bd. 47

1998

---

### Copyright

Das Digitalisat wird Ihnen von perspectivia.net, der Online-Publikationsplattform der Max Weber Stiftung – Deutsche Geisteswissenschaftliche Institute im Ausland, zur Verfügung gestellt. Bitte beachten Sie, dass das Digitalisat urheberrechtlich geschützt ist. Erlaubt ist aber das Lesen, das Ausdrucken des Textes, das Herunterladen, das Speichern der Daten auf einem eigenen Datenträger soweit die vorgenannten Handlungen ausschließlich zu privaten und nicht-kommerziellen Zwecken erfolgen. Eine darüber hinausgehende unerlaubte Verwendung, Reproduktion oder Weitergabe einzelner Inhalte oder Bilder können sowohl zivil- als auch strafrechtlich verfolgt werden.

KATE CURREY

## **'Au temple de mémoire': princes of the House of Lorraine and their historical image in ducal pompes funèbres 1608–1624**

Of all the festivities staged at the court of Nancy, in the former duchy of Lorraine, during its seventeenth-century heyday, the lavish obsequies for Charles III (1543–1608) are the best-known to scholars. Much of the enduring reputation of the court funerals of Lorraine owes to their survival as a variety of printed texts, and detailed engravings<sup>1</sup>. It is accepted that for the rulers of early-modern Europe, funeral ceremonies played an important role in establishing dynastic claims and political continuity. This was also the case for the funeral ceremonies developed at the court of Lorraine between the late fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As with other festival forms, funerals served as propaganda for the dukes of Lorraine. It is the intention of this article to examine the part played by funeral literature associated with the court of Nancy in fabricating a 'historical image' for the princes of Lorraine. According to the conventions of funeral literature, the prince is the embodiment of his dynasty. As I will demonstrate, the consistency with which the image of different princes of Lorraine (Charles III, Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, Henri, marquis d'Hattonchâtel) was presented within their funeral literature aided in the self-commemoration of their dynasty.

A prince's image was designed to convey an aura of power and permanence to contemporary observers. Indeed, eyewitness accounts of the seventeenth-century court of Nancy evoke a rich sense of its appearance, at-

<sup>1</sup> Ducal funeral literature discussed here includes Gabriel DEMONGEOT, *Chant royal et poème funèbre sur le trépas de treshault et tres puissant prince Charles III* (Blaise André, Nancy 1608); DURMONT, *Derniers et memorables propos tenus par Son Altesse à messeigneurs les princes* (Blaise André, Nancy 1608); Le P. Paul DUEZ, *Luctus juventutis academiae Mussipontanae in funere Sereniss. Caroli III* (Melchior Bernard, Pont-à-Mousson 1608); Jean HIZETTE, *Larmes sur le trépas de feu tres-auguste tres-valeureux et souverain prince Charles* (François du Bois, Toul 1608); Claude de LA RUELLE, *Discours des cérémonies, honneurs et pompe funèbre* (Jean Savine, Nancy/Clairlieu 1609); ID., *Pompe funèbre de Charles III, duc de Lorraine* (Herman de Loye, Nancy 1611); Louis LE THELLIER, *Le mausole de Charles III* (Nancy 1608); Le P. LÉONARD PÉRIN, *Oraisons funèbres* (Melchior Bernard, Pont-à-Mousson 1608).

mosphere, and the character of its inhabitants. The following account, taken from the private memoirs of the musician, poet and dramatist Charles de Lespine describes his impressions of the court of duke Henri II in 1612. It is interesting to note that Lespine portrays Henri II in symbolic terms, not so much as a personality, but as a prototype ruler:

*Son Altesse d'aujourd'hui est grandement curieuse de retenir plusieurs vertueux et beaux esprits à son service. Je n'ai jamais eu l'honneur de le voir, mais le bruit en est tel; c'est une des belles qualités que puisse avoir un grand Prince, car les vertueux peuvent servir ce que servent les ignorants, et les ignorants ne peuvent faire ce que font les vertueux<sup>2</sup>.*

Lespine's account highlights the function of propaganda in shaping princely reputation. Written just four years after the death and funeral of Charles III, this passage demonstrates the inherent purpose of his obsequies; to present the continuity and importance of the House of Lorraine, even after the death of its best-known member. Charles III's funeral assured that the princely reputation he had built up for his dynasty did not die with him, but lived on in the person of his son and heir, Henri II. But, as will presently be discussed, not all rulers could aspire to the image created by their propaganda.

As indicated earlier, the main focus of this article is funeral literature generated at the court of Lorraine between 1608 and 1624. Accounts like Claude de la Ruelle's prose (1609) and the illustrated (1611) purport to be 'documentary' versions of the 1608 funeral ceremonies. However, it is not the place of this article to give a detailed description of events which have already been condensed and analysed by Pierre Marot<sup>3</sup>.

Here I shall explore how aspects of the 1608 funeral ceremony aided the fabrication of a princely image and a dynastic identity for Charles III and his successors. It seems that the 1608 funeral was an important context for the generation and diffusion of ideas related to the theme of princely continuity. The sheer length and magnificence of Charles III's obsequies were intended to convey the ruler's power, and (like the court funerals of Renaissance France) were modelled on classical custom<sup>4</sup>. Close links between the

<sup>2</sup> Claude de LESPINE, *Brève description de plusieurs royaumes et provinces étrangères et de quelle façon l'on a accoutumé de vivre dans tous ces pays* (1612), reproduced by Frédéric LACHÈVRE, *Un joueur de luth et compositeur des cours princières, auteur dramatique et poète, Charles de Lespine, Parisien*, Paris 1935, in: *L'art en Lorraine au temps de Jacques Callot*, Paris 1992, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre MAROT, *Recherches sur les pompes funèbres des ducs de Lorraine*, Nancy 1935.

<sup>4</sup> For more on the links between French Renaissance and classical funeral ritual, E. H. KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton 1957, p. 428.

court and the ducal capital of Nancy were articulated through the 1608 festival's use of specialised sites both within the palace complex and the city. The public participation of the ducal family, household and foreign dignitaries in the ceremonies projected the court of Nancy into the gaze of its European courtly contemporaries, much as international conferences today attract high-profile delegates<sup>5</sup>. The attendance of important representatives from other European courts attested to Nancy's international political and dynastic connections. Indeed, the marital policies pursued by Charles III for his numerous offspring resulted in contacts with the courts of France, Florence, Mantua, Jülich-Clèves and Munich.

It is evident from La Ruelle's accounts and from his own involvement in its organisation, that the 1608 funeral was generated within the Lorraine court. Plans for the funeral appear to have been concurrent with Charles III's approval of a scheme to erect an octagonal burial chapel in one of the churches attached to the ducal palace, the *église St. François* (Corde-liers). Building work did not commence until 1609 and the chapel was completed in 1632<sup>6</sup>. Modelled on the examples of the French royal necropolis at St. Denis and the tomb of the Medici in San Lorenzo, the burial chapel of the dukes of Lorraine thus become a concrete monument to their dynasty's aspirations to princely status<sup>7</sup>.

Both the décor and symbolic content of Charles III's funeral were exploited to enhance the image of the dead duke and the House of Lorraine. In fact, a lifelike image of Charles III, in the form of a funeral effigy, was the focal point of the 1608 ceremonies. Effigies first appeared in the royal funerals of England and France during the late medieval and early-modern period. They were also deployed in the ducal burials of Lorraine in the fifteenth century, a custom likewise adopted by the ducal Houses of Orléans, Guise and Brittany<sup>8</sup>. It appears that the use of effigies in the funerals of ducal houses bore some correlation with their self-perceived political or dynastic status. By alluding to such 'royal' customs as the use of funeral effigies, ambitious dukes like Charles III could cloak their political aspirations in recognised ritual forms.

<sup>5</sup> The 1608 funeral was attended by ambassadors from the courts of France, England, Florence, Malta and Savoy, Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B 7709.

<sup>6</sup> For evidence of plans to erect a ducal burial chapel at Nancy (reputedly designed by the architect and mathematician Giovanni Battista Stabili), Pierre PINON, 'La capitale ducale de Charles III à Charles IV: Ville-Neuve et architecture nouvelle', in: LACHÈVRE, *L'art en Lorraine* (n. 2) pp. 69–94, pp. 87–8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 88, notes 106 and 107.

<sup>8</sup> An effigy featured in the funeral of René I de Lorraine, King of Sicily, at Angers in 1481, Ralph GIESEY, *Cérémonial et puissance souveraine*, Paris 1987, pp. 88–9; also *Id.* (n. 2) p. 143.

However, as attested by the researches of Giesey, and more recently, Freedburg, funeral effigies also had an explicit political function. Freedburg has described the realism of funeral effigies as necessary for 'the preservation of appropriate continuity'<sup>9</sup>. This 'continuity' was that of the dynasty itself. Through evoking the 'living' presence of the ruler, it was possible to retain the semblance of normality during the liminal period between their funeral and the heir's accession. La Ruelle's accounts record how Charles III's effigy was served with ritual meals during the forty days of his funeral<sup>10</sup>. Effigy custom emphasised the incorruptible nature of the ruler's political body; this was in turn equated to the permanence of the political power invested to them during life<sup>11</sup>.

Other aspects of the 1608 funeral ceremony referred to the prince's image and the continuity of the House of Lorraine. The detailed plates of La Ruelle's (1611) demonstrate how both these themes were incorporated into the visual symbolism of the event. Perhaps the strongest allusion to the familial descent of the House of Lorraine was through the use of sixteen banners depicting Charles III's paternal and maternal lineage, *le tronc de la ligne directe*<sup>12</sup>. As will emerge from the subsequent survey of ducal funeral literature, the tree was an image frequently deployed to refer to family ancestry. The banners were one of the chief visual elements of Charles III's burial in the église St. François, as if in affirmation of the fact that hereditary power superseded the death of individual rulers. Items featured in the funeral ceremony also symbolised rule, including the ducal crown, sceptre, hand of justice, sword, tunic and baton<sup>13</sup>. At the climax of Charles III's funeral these objects were briefly placed in his tomb and then retrieved; thus the appurtenances of ducal rule passed to his heir, Henri II.

Here I shall introduce the image of the prince as a construct developed within the genre of funeral literature. Through considering such works associated with the House of Lorraine, it is evident that the princely image retained a consistent form even when applied to different individuals. The qualities associated with dukes of Lorraine resembled those supposedly possessed by other European princes. Indeed, the court of Lorraine absorbed many of the influences prevalent in festival and literary fashion. For example, there is little effective difference between how funeral literature con-

<sup>9</sup> David FREEDBURG, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago, London 1989, pp. 213–20, p. 218.

<sup>10</sup> LA RUELLE, *Discours* (n. 1) pp. 50–5.

<sup>11</sup> KANTOROWICZ (n. 4) pp. 420–4.

<sup>12</sup> LA RUELLE, *Discours* (n. 1) pp. 167–97, p. 167.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 162–5.

veyed the princely image of Charles III de Lorraine after 1608, and how the same genre assured King Henri IV's lasting reputation post 1610<sup>14</sup>.

A recent article by Edmund H. Dickerman and Anita M. Walker sheds a fascinating light on the part played by Henri IV in creating his self-image shortly before his assassination in 1610<sup>15</sup>. It analyses a since-vanished picture (intended for Henri IV's private apartments) which depicted a version of the Choice of Hercules. Here, a man (presumably Henri IV) chose between the path of Virtue, as represented by the figures of Hercules, Hope and Fortune, and the path of Vice, as represented by Venus and the goddess of gambling. The authors argue that this picture's propaganda message depicted a personal reality for Henri IV; how after 1598 he 'compensated for the absence of war through the hunt, gambling and sexual domination'<sup>16</sup>. In 1610 Henri IV would appear to have reached a personal crisis centred upon his self-image, and rejected the more venal pleasures in favour of his chief passion, warfare. Dickerman and Walker's article provides a rare insight into how a ruler's individual character could shape their self-image. Here, Henri IV is not seen as automatically possessing the idealised qualities normally associated with princes. Instead, he appears to acknowledge that rulers are also fallible mortals, for whom the path of virtue is an arduous route.

At this point, let us return to the 1608 ceremonies and consider the significance of Charles III's funeral orations. Orations, modelled on those of Greece and Rome, were a popular genre in Renaissance France, and took the form of burial sermons<sup>17</sup>. The oration served to praise and commemorate the deceased. It also introduced a symbolic vocabulary centred upon the prince, an individual focus which was largely absent from funeral ritual. It is interesting to note that orations, already current in France, were likewise in vogue at the court of Lorraine during the early seventeenth century. As in the case of funeral effigies, this would appear to suggest that the funeral rites of ducal Lorraine borrowed from those of royal France.

Orations for Charles III and his son, Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine (1567–1607) were an integral part of the 1608 ceremonies, preached by the Jesuit

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed analysis of Henri IV's funeral orations, Jacques HENNEQUIN, *Henri IV dans ses oraisons funèbres*, Paris 1977.

<sup>15</sup> Edmund H. DICKERMANN, Anita M. WALKER, *The Choice of Hercules: Henri IV as Hero* in: *The Historical Journal* 39,2 (1996) pp. 315–37.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 315.

<sup>17</sup> On funeral orations in Renaissance France, V. L. SAULNIER, *L'oraison funèbre au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 10–11 (1948–9) pp. 124–57; on their antique precedents, Simon PRICE, *From noble funerals to divine cult: the consecration of Roman Emperors*, in: David CANNADINE, Simon PRICE (ed.), *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 56–105.

Léonard Périn<sup>18</sup>. As might be expected of a Catholic duchy like Lorraine, Jesuits were an influential presence at the court of Nancy. Périn taught at the Jesuit university of Pont-à-Mousson, which Charles III had been instrumental in founding<sup>19</sup>. Périn's authorship and preaching of the 1608 orations was not unique; other Jesuits were to fulfil a similar role at the court of Nancy in the later seventeenth century<sup>20</sup>. Saulnier has noted that funeral orations played an important role in the strategy of self-defence deployed by the Catholic church during the French Wars of Religion. Oration celebrated the virtues of those members of the Catholic nobility (such as the Guise) who died in the conflict<sup>21</sup>.

Périn's first oration for Charles III discusses his character and achievements. It opens with a salutary reminder that even princes are mortal. His exemplar of a ruler's death is that of the Frank Chlothar at Compiègne; *Ah! Combien est fort, combien est à craindre ce grand Roy du ciel, qui fait mourir de si grans roys!*<sup>22</sup>. Here Périn emphasises what he regards as perhaps the key component of Charles III's princely identity; his descent from such figures as Constantine and Godefroi de Bouillon. The recurrent references to the ancestry of the various princes of the House of Lorraine in funeral literature is reminiscent of the genealogical banners displayed at his funeral<sup>23</sup>.

However, Charles III's pursuit of connections with other European dynasties is seen by Périn as part of his princely role. Of all these *belles et grandes alliances*, the duke's marriage in 1559 to Claude de France (daughter of King Henri II of France and Catherine de Medici) was seen as his greatest success<sup>24</sup>. This description of Claude de France as *une belle vigne heureusement fertile* is a typically arboreal analogy to the concept of ducal heredity<sup>25</sup>. Naturally, the fruits of this union themselves pursued successful marriage alliances with the *hautes et illustres maisons* of Europe<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Charles III's orations were given of the 18th and 19th of July, 1608, at the churches of St. Georges and St. François whilst Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine's oration took place on the 21st of July.

<sup>19</sup> On the founding of the university of Pont-à-Mousson, Eugène MARTIN, *L'Université de Pont-à-Mousson 1572–1768*, Nancy 1891; M. PERNOT, *Le cardinal de Lorraine et la fondation de l'Université de Pont-à-Mousson*, in: *L'Université de Pont-à-Mousson et les problèmes de son temps*, Nancy 1974, pp. 45–66.

<sup>20</sup> Jacques HENNEQUIN, *Les oraisons funèbres des Jésuites à la cour de Lorraine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Clermont-Ferrand 1985, pp. 394–406. Hennequin's article is the main critical study of Périn's Oraisons.

<sup>21</sup> SAULNIER (n. 17) p. 130.

<sup>22</sup> PÉRIN, *Oraisons* (n. 1) p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p. 31.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32.

Aside from his heredity, Périn considers Charles III as the possessor of archetypal princely virtues, qualities nascent even during a prince's youth. Those qualities ascribed to the young Charles III could have belonged to any prince of early-modern Europe; he was equable, chivalrous and pious. The young Charles III is styled *un soleil levant*; the image of the rising sun implies that with maturity, his latent attributes will reach fruition<sup>27</sup>. Here, Périn introduces one of the recurrent symbols applied to princes of Lorraine, that of the sun, which reappears in Jean Sauvage's orations for duke Henri II, (1626).

As might be expected of a Jesuit, Périn presents Catholicism as the chief motivation behind both Charles III's personal and political conduct. On a personal level, Périn comments on the frequency of the duke's devotions, noting that he joined his subjects in religious processions<sup>28</sup>. Périn's reportage of Charles III's piety has close affinities with those contemporary observers who commented on the 'highly public' nature of Philip IV of Spain's worship<sup>29</sup>. As if in anticipation of Charles III's exemplary deathbed conduct, as reported by other works of the funeral genre, Périn recounts the duke's frustration as increased age and infirmity prevented his attending midnight mass<sup>30</sup>.

According to Périn, the fostering of Catholicism shaped Charles III's policies towards *l'extirpation des heresies, l'exaltation de la sainte foy*<sup>31</sup>. Protestant invasion was a real fear in ducal Lorraine, mindful of its incursion by armies of German Protestant peasants (Rustauds) in 1525, or the presence of a Calvinist community in French-ruled Metz. In Périn's view, Catholicism is a vital element of the duchy's political and territorial integrity. As such, it explains why he regards Protestantism as synonymous with social upheaval, which he powerfully evokes as *deux effroyables Dragons . . . ayants commencé jà par quelques temps à ietter leurs feux sur les Allemagnes*<sup>32</sup>.

Not surprisingly, Périn singles out Charles III's foundation and continued patronage of the Jesuit university of Pont-à-Mousson for especial praise: *. . . vous avez logé les arts et sciences, avez marié la sagesse avec la vertu, avez mis au pépinière de plantes de vertu, et de sagesse une forte bastille contre l'heresie*<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 25.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The phrase is John Elliott's, from J. H. ELLIOTT, *The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?*, in: ID., *Spain and its World 1500-1700*, New Haven, London 1989, pp. 142-61, p. 148.

<sup>30</sup> PÉRIN (n. 1) pp. 50-1.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 43.



To Périn, the university plays a vital role as the propagator of princely virtues. With the use of characteristic botanical symbolism, he describes Pont-à-Mousson as the nursery (pépinière) which cultivates those *plantes de vertu*, the princes of Lorraine, and inculcates them with the Catholic faith. As a *bastille contre l'heresie*, Périn sees the presence of the university as providing an ideological reinforcement for the support of Catholicism within ducal territory.

When it comes to death and its celebration, Périn has much to say on the role of the prince. As suggested earlier, the prince's deathbed is a microcosm of his virtuously-conducted life. Périn catalogues Charles III's final confession, commenting *la meilleure mort est celle que nous donne le moyen d'asseurer nos comptes*<sup>34</sup>. Using a device which recurs in another example of Charles III's funeral literature, Durmont's "Derniers et memorables propos" (1608), the duke comforts and advises his heir, Henri II, and his other surviving children. The pattern he sets for their conduct is, of course his, own.

It is also the duty of a prince like Charles III to engage in appropriate self-commemoration, a function fulfilled by the funeral ceremony. Périn comments: *Je viens aux honneurs qui luy ont esté faict après le trepas; et faicts à l'ordinaire des grands Princes; faictes pour ses mérites; faits selon les uz anciens de France et de ces quartiers*<sup>35</sup>.

He seeks to illustrate certain parallels between the burial customs of the ancients and those of ducal Lorraine, such as embalming and funeral effigies. This deliberate emulation of classical precedent in ducal Lorraine was also typical of other princely funeral ceremonies of early-modern Europe<sup>36</sup>. The inclusion of classical elements to Christian Renaissance funeral ceremonies was seen as evoking an honourable commemorative tradition.

Périn was also aware of the function of funeral ceremony as propaganda for the House of Lorraine:

*Ayant dit la France et nostre Lorraine, deux tres-chrestiennes, et tres-florissantes couronnes, i'ay dit la raison sommaire de toutes ces pompes. Il y a de la gloire en icelles, il ya de la pieté; l'une deüe a part foy à un grand prince, toutes deux ensembles à un grand Prince Chrestien*<sup>37</sup>.

Through his comparison of the funeral customs of France and Lorraine, Périn implies that the dukes of Lorraine possess quasi-royal status. From

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p. 63.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 84.

<sup>36</sup> For an example of the application of classical burial custom to the context of ducal Lorraine, Pierre WOERIOT, *Pinax iconicus* (Clément Baudin, Lyon 1556); for its significance to the dukes of Savoy, Claude GUICHARD, *Funeraillies diverse manieres d'enseuelir des Rommains* (Jean de Tournes, Lyon 1581).

<sup>37</sup> PÉRIN (n. 1) pp. 84–5.

his presentation of Charles III's qualities, there is nothing to distinguish the duke of Lorraine from any other European prince. Périn also refers to the more lasting commemoration of Charles III and his heirs through the erection of the aforementioned funerary chapel in the *église St. François; pour le deposit des oz de noz seigneurs, les predecesseurs, et siens*<sup>38</sup>.

The subject of Périn's final oration is Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine. As a prince, he is shown to be cast in his father's mould. Périn's main theme is that a father's virtues are reflected in those of his children. Like Charles III before him, the young Cardinal's meritorious qualities were evident from infancy; *estant homme celui qui n'est encor que tout ieune enfant*<sup>39</sup>. The dead Cardinal had another role-model aside from his father, notably drawn from within the ranks of his family. This was another Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, Charles III's cousin and the co-founder of the university of Pont-à-Mousson. Périn draws deliberate parallels between the two Cardinals; he calls the younger Cardinal: *Un Prelat si sage, si bon, si pieux, si liberal, si experiental aux affaires d'Eglise, d'Estat, de Iustice, un Prince tant favorisé de Dieu*<sup>40</sup>. Aside from their relationship, the cohesive force which binds Cardinal Charles to his father Charles III is their princely identity, as explored and exemplified by Périn.

The death of the Cardinal de Lorraine was recounted in a verse by D. Gaspard, "Larmes et regrets de la Nimphe Lorine" (1607). This work introduced a pastoral theme to ducal funeral literature, similar to that of Nicolas Romain's "La Salmée", Gabriel Demongeot's "Chant royal" and P. Paul Duez's "Luctus juventutis". Lorraine is evoked as a pastoral kingdom whose bucolic deities lament the loss of their shepherd-leader Carlin:

*Pour vos plaints la mort du grand Pasteur Carlin  
Quittez vos moites lits! O! mesches nayades . . .*<sup>41</sup>.

Gaspard makes characteristic references to the Cardinal's descent from Charlemagne, and his support of Catholicism<sup>42</sup>. Familiar also is the association of princeliness with virtue; *un prince vertueux est toujours regretté*<sup>43</sup>.

Other funeral literature produced for Charles III uses a variety of methods to present the image of the prince. In Durmont's aforementioned "Derniers et memorables propos" the manner of Charles III's death exem-

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 50.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p. 122.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p. 155.

<sup>41</sup> D. GASPARD, *Larmes et regrets de la Nimphe Lorine* (Pierre Menier, Paris 1607), p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. p. 7.

plifies his virtuous qualities. As with Périn's "Oraisons", the duke makes his final confession and prudently places his spiritual affairs in order; *donner ordre de bonne heure aux choses de l'ame*<sup>44</sup>. Durmont uses Charles III's popularity with his subjects (who pray and stage processions to ensure his recovery) to illustrate the prince's function as a spiritual exemplar to those he governs<sup>45</sup>.

Durmout also introduces another important theme, that of the continuity of Charles III's dynasty. Although funerals were intended to affirm the inherent stability of dynastic rule, Durmont nonetheless expresses one of the recurrent fears often masked by festival; that of political disorder. However, Charles III offers reassurance that nothing will change, advising his heir to govern according to his principles; *pour y regner en ma place, qu'il faut que vous y mainteniez et conserviez selon que la gloire de Dieu, la Iustice*<sup>46</sup>. Reassurance is implicit in the words *mainteniez* and *conserviez* (maintain and conserve); they confirm that the pattern of Charles III's rule will remain unaltered, and that Lorraine will continue to enjoy the legacy of his rule: peace and freedom from Protestant influence<sup>47</sup>.

Whilst Périn and Durmont both demonstrate the didactic nature of Charles III's funeral literature, there are also those works which create their image of the prince through allegory and symbolism. It is interesting to note that despite the different methods through which it is evoked, Charles III's image retains a consistent form throughout his funeral literature. Gabriel Demongeot's "Chant royal et poème funèbre" uses the allegorical personification of Charles III and his family to examine the impact of the ruler's death for Lorraine. Charles III becomes the shepherd Daphnis; this personification is not unique to the funeral literature of 1608, as it also features in Nicolas Romain's pastoral "La Salmée" (1602)<sup>48</sup>. The Daphnis of "La Salmée" was Jean, comte de Salm, maréchal of Lorraine<sup>49</sup>.

In a scene by now familiar to Charles III's funeral literature, Demongeot pictures the duke on his deathbed, justifying his achievements to his children. In particular, it is his heir, Henri, who must emulate his father, 'mon

<sup>44</sup> DURMONT (n. 1) p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p. 24.

<sup>48</sup> NICOLAS ROMAIN, *La Salmée* (Melchior Bernard, Pont-à-Mousson 1602). It was written to celebrate the birth of an heir, Henri, to Charles III's son, François, comte de Vaudémont and his wife, Christine de Salm and is analysed by Kate CURREY, *The Political and Social Significance of Court Festivals in Lorraine 1563-1624*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Sussex 1996, pp. 118-21.

<sup>49</sup> On the use of shepherd personifications at the court of Nancy, Alain CUILLIÈRE, *Un portrait de Louis de Guise en berger par Bellange*, in: *Le Pays Lorrain* (1992) pp. 1-6.

saint exemplaire'<sup>50</sup>. Henri lists his father's attributes; *prince accomply de royalle grandeur, parfait Heros, triomphateur, foudre de guerre and palme de paix*<sup>51</sup>. He, too, is the inheritor of all these princely qualities, which combine aspiration to royal power with pacifism, heroism and belligerence. Of all the aspects of his father's rule that Henri is required to imitate, the most important are his style of government and his support of Catholicism. In the first instance, Henri assures his father, *l'iray par tes sentiers ton peuple conduisant*; this image is a clear indication that he is following a pattern of conduct set by Charles III<sup>52</sup>. Henri promises *le seray de ta foy fidelle imitateur*<sup>53</sup>. Here again, the prince is shown as the willing 'imitator' of his paternal role-model.

Heirs are required to ensure their progenitor's commemoration with funeral ceremonies and memorials. Henri's evocation of his father's funeral procession is reminiscent of those engravings depicting its progress through Nancy's Grande Rue in 1608:

*Et le peuple sans nombre accompagnent le dueil  
De l'immortel Daphnis que l'on porte au cercueil . . .*<sup>54</sup>.

Henri is also shown by Demongeot planning to erect his father's funeral monument; the ducal burial chapel which was soon to be built in the église St. François. Henri emphasises the power of such building projects in assuring princely commemoration; *puis au coeur glorieux de ta neuve cité . . . Sera ta sépulture a nulle autre seconde*<sup>55</sup>.

There were also examples of the commemorative poetic genre which purported to mimic funerary monuments; one such is Louis Le Thellier's verse<sup>56</sup>. Le Thellier adopts the persona of Charles III, who describes how his tomb will ensure his posterity:

*Pour monument d'honneur, à ma posterité,  
Mon règne, mon travail . . .*<sup>57</sup>.

Here it is the prince himself who demonstrates his tomb's vital function; to embody and commemorate his princely image:

<sup>50</sup> DEMONGEOT (n. 1) p. 28.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. p. 29.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. p. 25.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> On the poetic 'tomb', Madelaine MAUREL, *Fastes mortuaires et déploration. Essai sur la signification du baroque funèbre dans la poésie française, XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* 82 (1969) pp. 36–54.

<sup>57</sup> LE THELLIER (n. 1) unpaginated.

*Je vy, ensepuely, avecques plus de gloire,  
Qu'en donna jamais, pas un autre tombeau,  
Tant auguste soit-il, au temple de mémoire*<sup>58</sup>.

Jean Hizette's "Larmes" (1608) refers to Charles III's qualities in terms very similar to those of Durmont and Demongeot, praising his rule, and hoping it will be emulated by his heir, Henri. Moreover, like Périn's "Oraisons", Hizette regards Charles III's fostering of Catholicism as his greatest achievement; *conservé en ses peuples en l'obeissance de l'Eglise Romaine, parmi les orages des nouveaux Religionnaires*<sup>59</sup>. However, this work is also notable for its evocation of Charles III through two symbols explicitly associated with royal power; the sun and the phoenix, both of which reappear in Jean Sauvage's orations for Henri II, "Le Zodiaque sacré" (1626)<sup>60</sup>.

Other princes of the House of Lorraine inspired funeral literature, notably Charles III's heir, Henri II and his grandson, Henri, marquis d'Hattonchâtel (1602–1611)<sup>61</sup>. The short life of this child prince is recounted in Claude Jobal's "Discours funèbres" (1611). Although his death occurred before his entry to public life, Jobal credits Henri d'Hattonchâtel with a full complement of princely virtues. He informs François, comte de Vaudémont that he is more fortunate than King David, whose grief at the death of his son Absalom was heightened by the knowledge of his treachery<sup>62</sup>. By contrast, the young Henri is favourably compared to two other biblical sons, the beloved and innocent Isaac and Benjamin<sup>63</sup>. In fact, Jobal regards his death as a reward for his nascent virtue, arguing that *Les princes qui ont fait le moins de séjour en ce monde, sont estimez les plus heureux*<sup>64</sup>. Jobal's efforts at consolation could not conceal the fact that the loss of an heir, even to a younger son like François de Vaudémont, was a blow to a ducal House like Lorraine.

Jobal's account of the marquis d'Hattonchâtel's death mourned his unachieved potential. It is a reminder of the frailty of dynastic succession, neatly epitomised by Melchior Bernard's frontispiece to Duez's "Luctus juventutis"<sup>65</sup>. Bernard's vignette substitutes emblems normally associated the heraldic representation of the House of Lorraine with symbols of death:

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> HIZETTE (n. 1) p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. p. 13.

<sup>61</sup> Ironically, it was his birth which was celebrated in ROMAIN'S "La Salmée" (n. 48).

<sup>62</sup> Claude JOBAL, *Discours funèbres à la mémoire du tres-illustre prince Monseigneur Henry de Lorraine* (Sébastien Philippe, Toul 1611), p. 24.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. p. 30.

<sup>65</sup> DUEZ (n. 1). A full account of this frontispiece's symbolism is given by Paulette Choné, in P. CHONÉ, *Emblèmes et pensée symbolique en Lorraine* (1525–1633), Paris 1991, p. 137, where it is also reproduced as Plate 58.

skeletons, a coffin and an hourglass. Through its inversion of traditional symbols of ducal power, the design becomes an ironic commentary upon death's dominance over princes.

In comparison to the death of Charles III, that of his heir, Henri II in July 1624 received little attention. Despite the relatively small quantity of Henri's funeral literature, it evokes his princely qualities in similar terms to Charles III's. A memorial verse for Henri II was written by Périn, his father's orator, entitled the "Mausolée sacré" (1624). Of the same genre as Le Thellier's "Le mausole de Charles III", Périn seeks to achieve Henri II's immortality with a poetic memorial. Périn discerns in Henri II the qualities he singled out for praise in Charles III; piety, bravery and just government<sup>66</sup>.

However, orations on a comparable scale to Périn's were written for Henri II by Jean Sauvage ("Le Zodiaque sacré") and pronounced in the ducal church of St. Georges where the duke was buried. Sauvage belonged to the Franciscan order of Minims. His orations are modelled on an antique style known as the 'thesaurus', intended to display the writer's classical erudition<sup>67</sup>. Sauvage places an astrological slant on the by now familiar qualities possessed by a prince of the House of Lorraine; royal descent, piety, fostering of Catholicism and military valour<sup>68</sup>. Sauvage mentions Henri's *descent* from the French rulers Pepin and Charlemagne and praises his peaceful government of Lorraine, *aussi miraculeuse que le Paradis Terrestre, environée de flammes*<sup>69</sup>. The 'flames' surrounding Lorraine would seem to be an allusion to the build-up of the Thirty Years' War, which would engulf the duchy after its invasion by France in 1633. Sauvage's orations compare the different stages of Henri's life with the daily course of the sun; in this way, its final phase, which includes the duke's death, his religion and ultimately, *Gloire immortelle* coincide with sunset<sup>70</sup>. It was mentioned earlier how Sauvage's symbolic references to Henri II included the sun, phoenix and the lion, all of which denoted royal status<sup>71</sup>.

Henri II had no legitimate male heirs, although his 1606 marriage to Margherita Gonzaga produced two daughters, Nicole (1608) and Claude (1612). Henri II had been consistently singled out as Charles III's heir by the authors of his father's funeral literature. Sauvage assigned the same role to

<sup>66</sup> Léonard PÉRIN, *Mausolee sacre de tres-hault, tres-puissant et souverain prince Henry* (M. Briand, Nancy 1624), p. 13.

<sup>67</sup> HENNEQUIN (n. 20) pp. 395–6.

<sup>68</sup> Jean SAUVAGE, *Le Zodiaque sacré du grand soleil d'Austrasie* (Sébastien Philippe, Nancy 1626), pp. 148–9.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* p. 102.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* p. 105.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

Henri's daughters, Nicole and Claude, *heritieres des vertus, de la destin, de la foy et des Couronnes de Monseigneur vostre Pere*<sup>72</sup>. In this way, Nicole and Claude are accorded princely status within the conventions of funeral literature. Such status was more usually associated with the male members of the House of Lorraine. This would suggest that, in symbolic terms, the qualities which denoted a prince were, like political power itself, immutable, heritable, and existed independently of those individuals (male or female) to whom they were assigned.

At this point, I will return to my definition of the term historical 'image', upon which I have based this discussion. Here I have considered the historical 'image' of several princes of Lorraine (Charles III, Henri II, Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine and Henri, marquis d'Hattonchâtel), as it was projected through the medium of funeral literature. As a genre, funeral literature was at once preceptive and commemorative. Consequently, its depiction of the princely 'image' concentrated upon such areas as ancestry, virtuous qualities and just rule. The image of the prince fabricated for the various members of the House of Lorraine to whom it was applied is immediately identifiable. It was based on the conventional typology of the early-modern prince, as depicted in all forms of European courtly propaganda. So at this level, it could be argued that there was very little difference between the portrayal of a prince of Lorraine and one of his European colleagues.

However, as I have tried to show here, their dynasty's historical precedent and continuity governed the depiction of Lorraine's princes in their funeral literature. This would seem to be affected by two factors; the uncertainty of ducal succession, and, in particular, Charles III's aspirations to achieve royal status for his House. Thus, the form of the 1608 ceremonies, so minutely recorded by La Ruelle, aped those of the kings of France. As presented by the funeral genre, a prince of Lorraine possessed particular qualities, also shared by his fellows.

There is no doubt to my mind that the individual model for this princely image was Charles III. Charles III's was the reign in which ducal propaganda was first consistently deployed, and the conventional image of the prince of Lorraine took shape. On a final note, it is interesting that the term image itself appeared in Charles III's literature, used by Demongeot. Here, Henri II describes how he will model his self-image upon that of his father, Charles III:

*Que tousiours à mes yeux rayonne ton Image  
Illustrant mes pensers, mes faicts et mon courage . . .*<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid p. 262.

<sup>73</sup> DEMONGEOT (n. 1) p. 29.

Demongeot's verse epitomises the propaganda function of the princely image; it dazzles and inspires awe in its beholders. Charles III's image became the role model for his family. It also provided the means by which the House of Lorraine imprinted itself upon the consciousness of Europe's ruling houses.