

Introduction

In the sixteenth century, several European women played critical roles on the public stage. Foremost among these were Elizabeth I, queen of England (1558–1603) and Catherine de' Medici, queen consort (1547–1559) of King Henri II of France and later regent (1560–1563) for her young son, King Charles IX. Jeanne d'Albret, regnant queen of Navarre (1555–1572), may claim a place beside these women rulers. She identified with them through several shared experiences, presenting herself in a letter to Elizabeth I as one of “the nurturing Queens of His Church” (169) and reminding Catherine of a commonality that happened to be crucial to their exercise of power: “since then I have shared in the afflictions of widowhood” (162).¹ Moreover, like Elizabeth and Catherine, Jeanne was actively involved in the tumultuous events of the day. The circumstances of Jeanne's life, and the religious and political upheaval of the end of the sixteenth century, prompted her to write the *Ample Declaration* to justify her remarkable decision, in 1568, to join the forces defending the Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle. This unique text reveals how an exceptional woman understood and defined her political, familial and religious leadership.

A Woman of Strength and Power

From the moment of her birth on November 16, 1528, Jeanne d'Albret lived an extraordinary life. She was born into royalty: her father, Henri II d'Albret (1503–1555) was king of Navarre, and her mother, Marguerite de Valois-Angoulême (1492–1549), also known as Marguerite de Navarre, was the sister of François I, king of France. Jeanne was destined to be queen of Navarre and became one of the leaders of the French Protestants.

Jeanne was exposed to reformist thinking from her early years. Although Marguerite de Navarre remained Catholic all her life, she was deeply influenced by the new religious ideas circulating in France on the eve of what would eventually be called the Reformation. Marguerite's religious beliefs were shaped by the reformist cleric Guillaume Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, and the evangelical humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. She encouraged reform within the Catholic Church and supported vernacular translations of sacred works. She also vehemently defended and protected a number of persecuted reformists.²

1. References to the *Ample Declaration* refer to our translation, based on the version included in the compilation, *Histoire de nostre temps, contenant un recueil des choses memorables passées et publiées pour le fait de la religion et estat de la France depuis l'edict de pacification du 23 jour de mars, jusqu'au present*, ed. Christophe Landré and Charles Martel (La Rochelle: [Barthelemy Berton], 1570).

2. For a study of the Reformist leanings of Marguerite de Navarre, see Patricia F. Cholokian and Rouben C. Cholokian, *Marguerite de Navarre: Mother of the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University

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Jeanne's early years were spent in the Norman countryside, not often in her mother's company. However, Marguerite, who had received an exceptional education herself, provided one for her daughter as well.³ Jeanne's health was always frail, but from childhood her spirit was vigorous and independent. Her will was so exceptionally strong, in fact, that she defied her parents and the king of France, François I, when they attempted to use her as a political pawn. When Jeanne was twelve years old François arranged a marriage between Jeanne and Guillaume de La Marck, duc de Clèves. The marriage was negotiated for political expediency, to buttress diplomatic relations between France and the Duchy of Clèves in the Rhine Valley. In an extraordinary gesture of defiance, Jeanne signed a *protestation* against the marriage. Despite Jeanne's objections—she had to be physically carried to the altar—the marriage was celebrated on June 14, 1541. Due to the bride's young age, the marriage was not consummated. Then, in 1543, the duc de Clèves betrayed François I when he renounced his alliance with France and entered into an alliance with Charles I of Spain. This betrayal so angered the French king that he sent a request to the Pope Paul III to annul the marriage. An annulment was obtained in 1545 on the grounds that the marriage had never been consummated and that it had taken place against Jeanne's protestations.

In 1548, Jeanne married Antoine de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme (1518–1562), head of the house of Bourbon. This marriage, too, was politically motivated, intended by Henri II, then king of France, to consolidate territories in the north and south of France. But this time Jeanne was delighted with her bridegroom because he was handsome, charming, and the first Prince of the Blood, by reason of his descent from King Louis IX. It was evidently a happy marriage for a time. Their son Henri (the future Henri IV of France) was born December 13, 1553, and their daughter, Catherine de Bourbon, was born February 7, 1559. The couple's first two sons died very young, as did a daughter.

Jeanne's father died in 1555, six years after her mother. Jeanne, then twenty-seven, succeeded him as queen of Navarre, Béarn, Basse-Navarre, and numerous fiefs of Guyenne. Jeanne argued forcefully and successfully to have her husband named joint sovereign, and Antoine was designated king of Navarre *jure uxoris* (by right of his wife).

One of the few early modern European women who were rulers in their own name, Jeanne was an effective and respected queen of her territories. She maintained a regular correspondence with two of these female rulers: Elizabeth I and

Press, 2006), 171–83.

3. Nancy Lyman Roelker maintains that "There is no doubt that Marguerite's daughter was given an education designed to implement the humanist ideal, that is, the development of both character and intellect through absorption of the classic writings which were the models for the Renaissance." Roelker, *Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, 1528–1572* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), 32.

Catherine de' Medici. Three of Catherine's sons were successively king of France: François II (1559–1560), Charles IX (1560–1574), and Henri III (1574–1589). Catherine exercised such power during their reigns, sometimes as regent, other times as advisor, that the period has been called “the age of Catherine de' Medici.” Jeanne's own family included two strong women who also exercised significant political power. Louise de Savoie, mother of François I, served as the Regent of France in 1515, 1525–1526, and 1529, during periods of François's absence. Marguerite de Navarre, sister of François I and Jeanne's own mother, helped negotiate the Treaty of Cambrai, known as the Paix des Dames (the Ladies' Peace) between France and the Habsburg Holy Roman Empire. François, who was being held prisoner in Madrid, was released as a condition of this treaty.

Jeanne and the Reformation

By the 1550s, Martin Luther, who had launched the Protestant Reformation in Europe, was already dead. John Calvin, a Frenchman by birth, had established a Protestant center in Geneva where he welcomed Huguenot refugees and trained Calvinist ministers. He maintained a regular correspondence with several leading noblemen and women in the French reformed movement. In 1557, pressed by evangelical noblemen in his territories, Jeanne's husband Antoine de Bourbon brought the Calvinist minister François Le Gay, Sieur de Boisnormand, from Geneva to Navarre, where he subsequently organized a number of Protestant churches. Three years later, Calvin sent Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605), his disciple and ultimately his successor, to Nérac, where the court of Navarre was residing. Bèze's initial mission was to obtain Antoine's commitment to the Reform. He did not succeed in this, for Antoine does not appear to have possessed any consistent religious conviction; the king of Navarre vacillated between Catholicism and the Reformed faith, apparently depending upon which seemed politically expedient at the time. However, during the three months that Bèze preached at their court in Nérac, he forged a close friendship with Jeanne. According to David Bryson, Bèze “did succeed in gaining Jeanne's devoted trust, and remained her mentor and respected ‘father’ until her death.”⁴

Jeanne's religious evolution was independent of that of her husband. It is difficult to trace the path of her conversion, judicious as she was about revealing herself because of perceived threats from France, Spain, and the Vatican. Whatever her initial motivations may have been, on Christmas 1560 she publicly renounced Catholicism and devoted the rest of her life to the advancement of the Reformed church.

4. David Bryson, *Queen Jeanne and the Promised Land: Dynasty, Homeland, Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century France* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 111.

On the death in 1560 of the sixteen-year-old French king, François II, his ten-year-old brother Charles IX succeeded, but was too young to govern. Although Antoine sought the regency as first prince of the blood, Charles's mother, Catherine de' Medici, claimed the role of regent and Antoine was forced to settle for the position of lieutenant général of France.⁵

By this time the Reformation was gaining strength in France, particularly among nobles, and Calvin regarded Jeanne as the principal force for the advancement of the Reform in Béarn, Navarre, and Guyenne. In 1563 she decreed the Reformed church to be the official church in Béarn. While it is recognized today that many early modern European women participated in and advanced Protestant movements,⁶ it was primarily high-ranking noblewomen who helped institutionalize Protestant reforms, and Jeanne was a prominent member of that small but powerful elite. Kirsi Stjerna remarks that "What is most striking in assessing her contribution to the Reformation is the particular effort [Jeanne] put into instilling the Reformation in her lands through legislation and institutional changes, as much as through sponsoring theological work."⁷

Jeanne worked tirelessly to allow and encourage the spread of the Reformed church in Guyenne. This resulted in her being accused and at times treated as a heretic, a spy, and a traitor to the crown by the Catholic Church. Pope Pius IV threatened her with excommunication in August 1563, and in September of that year, accused her of heresy and ordered her to appear in Rome before a tribunal. She was warned that if she did not appear for this examination, her property would be confiscated and "her lands would be forfeited to the first Catholic prince who could conquer them."⁸

The once happy marriage between Jeanne and Antoine had deteriorated over the years, not least because of Jeanne's adherence to and support of the Reformed church. In one particularly divisive episode, Jeanne was strongly criticized for not restraining or punishing the members of the Reformed church responsible for the iconoclastic violence that occurred in Vendôme in May 1562. Antoine was duc de Vendôme and the tombs of his ancestors were pillaged during this incident. Earlier in 1562, Antoine had installed their son at the French court, where he was raised and educated alongside the French royalty. Jeanne claimed

5. For more on the political and gender complexities of this situation see Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

6. See Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Protestant Movements," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allyson M. Polska, Jane Couchman, and Katherine A. McIver (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 129–48.

7. Kirsi Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009), 166.

8. Roland H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in France and England* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1973), 61.

that Antoine forced her to leave Paris and return to Pau, and leave her son behind. For the next five years, Henri was brought up under the supervision of Catherine de' Medici, to be used as a pawn like many royal children of the era, including his own mother, in the political and religious machinations of those in power. Antoine, meanwhile, was mortally wounded during the First War of Religion⁹ while fighting on the Catholic side at the siege of Rouen, and died in November 1562. It was not, however, until 1567, after five years apart, that Jeanne was able to recover her son and bring him back to Navarre.

Until 1568, Jeanne favored peaceful measures of reform and tolerance for both Catholic and Protestant worship in her lands as well as a political neutrality that protected the French interests of her son. But when the Third War of Religion¹⁰ broke out in August of that year, she could no longer concern herself solely with her own domains.

Shifting Alliances

The year 1568 marked a profound change in Jeanne d'Albret's personal trajectory. It proved more significant in her life than either 1560 when she openly declared her Reformed faith or 1563 when she began to establish Calvinism in Béarn and Navarre. Examining history from this specific vantage point both provides a historical context for the *Ample Declaration* and aids readers in understanding the precise situation that motivated Jeanne to leave for La Rochelle, join Louis de Condé¹¹ and Gaspard de Coligny¹² in a civil war, and write.

Jeanne had inherited vast, rich lands from her parents. From her father's side, the kingdom of Navarre and the independent viscounty of Béarn were lands where the Salic Law was not applied and women could thus succeed to the throne. This gave Jeanne full sovereign power over these territories. Through her husband Antoine de Bourbon, Jeanne kept her father's lucrative governorship of Guyenne in the family. Upon Antoine's death, Charles IX respected the hereditary title and granted it to Jeanne's son Henri, only nine years old at the time. The combination of territories and hereditary honors constituted a strong economic base for

9. The first of a series of civil, religious wars in France between 1562 and 1598. The First War of Religion lasted from 1562 until 1563.

10. The Third War of Religion (1568–1570).

11. Louis de Bourbon (1530–1569), prince de Condé, son of Charles de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme, and Françoise d'Alençon, younger brother of Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne's brother-in-law. He was general in Henri II's army and military leader of the Huguenots in the first decade of France's Wars of Religion. He was suspected to have been involved in the 1560 Conspiracy of Amboise. He was killed at the battle of Jarnac in 1569.

12. Gaspard II de Coligny (1519–1572), Protestant leader, nominated Amiral of France in 1552. His assassination on August 22, 1572 was immediately followed by the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris.

Jeanne and her children, and provided them with significant military potential. Their annual income compared favorably with those of the wealthiest nobles in France.¹³ Furthermore, the regional authority of Jeanne and her son put at her disposal a network of people who had traditionally served the Albrets for personal, geographic, economic and political reasons, people who might be counted on for defense and support in the future.¹⁴

The 1560s revealed, however, just how fragile these advantages were. Although her young son, Henri, was officially governor and lieutenant général of Guyenne as his grandfather and father had been, he was still a minor and held the titles in name only. Charles IX appointed as the king's lieutenant in Haute-Guyenne Blaise de Monluc, whose repression of Protestants and the open antagonism he displayed toward Jeanne clearly undermined Henri's titular authority. Jeanne repeatedly asked the king and queen mother to remove Monluc, but to no avail. Her request in 1568 that Henri assume an active role in supervising Guyenne before he reached majority was flatly refused. So despite the Albret's traditional control over Guyenne, the king of France had effectively intervened to acquire more direct control over this religiously divided region.

In 1567 and 1568, royal interference in Jeanne's sovereign lands, too, was worsening, as Charles IX protected nobles in Béarn and Navarre who rebelled against her, possibly even coaxing their rebellion. Alarmed by the official establishment of Protestantism and encouraged perhaps by the perceived weakness of a widowed queen with a young son, they challenged her political authority by organizing a revolt against Jeanne that prevented her from collecting the income from her lands. Even when Jeanne managed to restore peace, she was pressured by Charles IX to pardon the rebel leaders who thereby remained a threat to her.¹⁵

If the privileges derived from her father's family were undermined by the French king's interests, local rebellion, and the Pope's threat to declare her a heretic, Jeanne could still rely on her late husband's family to build a power base. After Antoine de Bourbon's death in 1562, Jeanne did not remarry, but rather deliberately cultivated her ties to the Bourbons. This was a useful alliance for Jeanne to exploit because the Bourbon brothers were princes of the blood. Like Jeanne, they were descendants of Louis IX, but unlike her, as men, they stood in

13. S. Amanda Eurich, *The Economics of Power: The Private Finances of the House of Foix-Navarre-Albret during the Religious Wars* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994), xiii.

14. For an excellent discussion of the complex clientage system in early modern France, see Sharon Kettering, "Clientage during the French Wars of Religion," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20, no. 2 (1989): 221–39, "Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 2 (1989): 408–35 and "The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen," *The Historical Journal* 32, no. 4 (1989): 817–41, as well as J. Russell Major, "Vertical Ties through Time," *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 4 (1992): 863–71.

15. See *Ample Declaration*, 201.

line for the throne of France. Her son Henri's rank and future prospects in France depended on his Bourbon identity.

Of the surviving members of this family, Jeanne chose to link herself most closely to Louis, Prince de Condé, the lay head of the family after Antoine's death and, along with Amiral Coligny, the leader of the Protestant movement in France. Jeanne strengthened ties to the Prince de Condé by evoking his role as uncle, and father surrogate, to her son Henri. The result of this decision, however, meant that Jeanne would share in all of Condé's fortunes—good and bad. Vying for power at court, Condé and the Guise brothers saw Catherine de' Medici and her young sons as political pawns. Several attempts were made by both camps over the years to isolate the royal family and thus control them better. Implicated in the Tumult of Amboise¹⁶ in 1560 and accused of treason, Condé was nearly executed. The duc de Guise was more successful in 1562 when he “escorted” Catherine and Charles IX from Fontainebleau to his stronghold of Paris where he was already revered as a military and religious hero. The failure of Condé's attempt in September 1567 to kidnap the king and the queen mother at Meaux—an event known as the “Surprise de Meaux”—triggered the Second War of Religion.¹⁷ The resulting resentment on the part of the king and the queen mother toward Condé inescapably led to a loss of favor for Jeanne as well. In August 1568, fearing retribution, Condé took refuge in La Rochelle and prepared once more for war.

Jeanne had a complex and multilayered relationship with the French royal family. Her overlapping genealogy and the adjacency of her lands to France had long guaranteed Jeanne a certain respect from the royal family. Catherine de' Medici maintained a close relationship with her through the First War of Religion, needing Jeanne as a buffer between France and Spain and as a respected Protestant leader to counterbalance the power of the Catholic Guise family at court. As long as Catherine and Charles IX pursued a policy of compromise between the religious partisans in France, Jeanne held a position of strength.

Many historians, however, see Condé's brazen Surprise de Meaux as a turning point in Catherine and Charles's attitude towards the French Protestants. Certainly their strategy towards Protestant nobles changed noticeably in November 1567 with the loss of the Connétable de Montmorency.¹⁸ This member

16. The Tumult of Amboise, also referred to as the Amboise Conspiracy, was a failed attempt chiefly by minor Protestant nobles to kidnap François II at Amboise in March 1560 in order to remove him from the influence of his close advisors and in-laws, the Guise family. The conspiracy was uncovered beforehand and most of the participants were executed. The degree of Condé's involvement was contested then and is still a matter of historical debate today.

17. The Second War of Religion (1567–1568).

18. Anne de Montmorency (1493–1567), military leader, statesman, diplomat, named grand maître de France in 1526 and connétable de France in 1538.

of the Triumvirate,¹⁹ though staunchly Catholic, had also been a mediating figure between the Bourbon and the Guise families before he was fatally wounded in the battle of Saint-Denis.²⁰ The king's brother Henri (the future Henri III), friendly with the Guise faction at the time, replaced Montmorency as commander of the French forces. Another indication of the hardening position towards the Protestants was the king's dismissal from his council in June 1568 of the Chancellor Michel de l'Hôpital who incarnated the moderate position of the Politiques.²¹ At this point, Jeanne's best prospect for retaining any kind of political power and independence was to join forces with Condé and his network of support and trumpet the unjustly denied rights of the Bourbon princes of the blood.

Challenges and Opportunities

Jeanne needed a strong ally, for she had a particularly dangerous enemy: Philip II, the King of Spain.²² It was this powerful, neighboring monarch who in 1563 had pressured the Pope to excommunicate Jeanne and nullify her rights to govern Navarre. At that time, Catherine and Charles IX had intervened and defended Jeanne, but in 1568 Jeanne could no longer count on their support. Since 1566, Philip had engaged in a brutal repression of Protestants who were challenging his authority in the Netherlands. Jeanne's Navarre, sharing a border with Spain through the contested lands of Upper Navarre and sheltering a burgeoning Protestant state, became increasingly intolerable for Philip. She could expect only constant menace from the south and needed to seek a more secure base from which to exercise her sovereign power and fortify the Protestant cause.

The city of La Rochelle promised Jeanne this security as well as greater political agency in France's unfolding affairs. The strategic city had been taken over by its own Protestant-controlled municipal council in January 1568 and was in that same year conceded to the Protestants by Charles IX in the Edict of Longjumeau. As a fortified city in a Protestant-influenced area of France and moreover boasting a port allowing communication and trade with the Netherlands and England, La Rochelle offered Jeanne a safe refuge from which war could be successfully waged.

19. During the French Wars of Religion, Anne de Montmorency, François de Guise, and Jacques d'Albon de Saint-André, Catholic leaders who had previously been enemies, formed an alliance, disparagingly called the Triumvirate by Protestants.

20. Montmorency led the Catholic troops to victory just north of Paris in 1567, but was mortally wounded during this battle.

21. This term designates moderates who agreed with the politics of compromise supported by Michel de l'Hôpital.

22. Philip II (1527–1598), the only son of the Emperor Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, king of Spain (1555–1598). He remained uncompromisingly Catholic and defended the Catholic faith throughout the world Europe.

Even without fighting on the battlefield, Jeanne knew that she could be active by managing the finances of the Protestant party in the war to come.

Likewise, recent history could lead her to expect a role in the negotiations that would inevitably ensue. Negotiating peace would be completely in keeping with gender roles of the time. During the War of 1562–1563, Condé's first mother-in-law, Madeleine de Mailly, comtesse de Roye, was chosen by the party leaders to negotiate on their behalf with the German Protestant princes. She and her daughter Éléonore, the Princesse de Condé, also participated in the negotiations of the Edict of Amboise, which ended the war in March 1563. Another noblewoman, Jacqueline de Rohan, Marquise de Rothelin, Condé's second mother-in-law, assumed a similar role during the Second War of Religion.²³ When Catherine de' Medici tried to lure Jeanne to court in 1568 by asking her to help mediate between Protestants and Catholics, the queen mother was tempting her with a credible role fashioned to appeal to a woman conscious of her unique rank.²⁴ Although Jeanne no longer believed that Catherine and Charles IX would entrust her with these responsibilities in 1568, she knew that she would be central to diplomatic decision-making if she chose to join Condé and Coligny.

In Jeanne's case, as a reigning sovereign, her diplomatic role would, in fact, extend far beyond the negotiation of peace. Jeanne already had established diplomatic relations with Elizabeth I of England, a fellow Protestant queen. Although Elizabeth's religious sympathies were tempered by her political needs and her territorial ambitions in France, she remained a vital ally. Condé did not have the official status to negotiate with a foreign queen that Jeanne had, and he had been unsuccessful in securing Elizabeth's aid during the Second War of Religion. Jeanne would know that her requests were more likely to be honored. And indeed, she would acquire important loans and a certain degree of international legitimacy from Elizabeth I in the Third War of Religion.

Religious Promise and Pressure

This overview of the personal, political, economic and military considerations that may have influenced Jeanne in 1568 does not imply that her religious motivations were any less pivotal. It is impossible to separate religious factors from other ones in the context in which Jeanne acted. Jeanne herself had little incentive to try to disentangle motivations that reinforced each other in 1568; her official court historian, Bordenave, cites Jeanne as stating that the attacks against her in 1568 "apparently committed against the Reformed religion, were in fact intended

23. Nancy Lyman Roelker, "The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2, no. 4 (1972): 402.

24. See *Ample Declaration*, 199–202.

to abolish the House of Bourbon,”²⁵ and this sentiment is echoed throughout the *Ample Declaration*.²⁶

Jeanne was in regular communication with the leaders of the Protestant city-state of Geneva, requesting spiritual advice and practical support. Théodore de Bèze,²⁷ who had succeeded John Calvin in 1564, was French, too, and, like Jeanne, noble. He had played a central role in Catherine de' Medici's attempt to reconcile the religious differences between Protestants and Catholics at the 1560 Colloquy of Poissy and had served as a diplomat for the Protestant cause during the First War of Religion. Under his leadership in Geneva, the French situation remained a central concern.²⁸ Bèze's direct political influence over the French Protestant nobles, however, diminished greatly during the Second War of Religion as Condé took over what he saw as his aristocratic purview. Coligny and Jeanne may have been more open to counsel from this trusted ally in Geneva, but no doubt shared Condé's sense of political entitlement. Bèze did not have the resources to send troops or money to the French Protestants, but Jeanne continued to rely on his encouragement and spiritual guidance. And Bèze, like Calvin before him, maintained pressure on Jeanne to lead French Protestants by public example.

Religion and politics also overlapped in the relationships between Jeanne and those who depended on her in her sovereign lands. Although her traditional clientage network may have been shaken by 1568, as has been seen, bonds with others among her household members, local professionals, and fellow French noblemen had become tighter through the shared cause of defending the Reformed church. Jeanne could count on strengthened loyalty from nobles and non-nobles who already shared common economic and political interests and who were further united by religious beliefs. The number of people who entered Jeanne's employment after her declaration of Protestant beliefs steadily increased until 1568 when she was forced to diminish her household and redirect her finances. The earlier growth suggests the formation of a Protestant community of mutual support centered around Jeanne. Members of her personal household and

25. Nicolas de Bordenave, *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre: 1517 à 1572*, ed. Paul Raymond (Paris: Mme Veuve Jules Renouard, 1873), 154: “fait[s] en aparence contre la religion réformée, estoit en effect pour abolir la maison de Bourbon.”

26. See, for example, *Ample Declaration*, 221 or Jeanne's argumentation on pages 225–28.

27. Bèze (1519–1605) was a reformed theologian and French scholar who greatly contributed to the development of humanism and played a key role during the formative years of the Calvinist Reformation in both Geneva and France.

28. Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564–1572: A Contribution to the History of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Calvinist Resistance Theory* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 13–14.

clients²⁹ who would follow her to La Rochelle became resources for the Protestant war effort.

Mutual support and protection were necessary in a climate of constant violence. Frustrated by the edicts and peace negotiations that ignored the aspirations of both Catholics and Protestants outside of the noble class, crowds were taking justice into their own hands. Evangelizing pastors and apocalypse-evoking priests fueled dangerous fears on both sides and could not be controlled politically. A Protestant mob in Nîmes, for example, massacred between twenty and ninety Catholics³⁰ during the Michelade of September 1567. And Catholics in Paris, fearing a Protestant attack on October 1, 1567, retaliated violently against remaining Protestant residents in what Barbara Diefendorf calls a “rehearsal”³¹ for the the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre. Aggravating these passions were food shortages that coincided with iconoclastic violence in the Netherlands in 1566. Developing, too, in 1567 and 1568 were local military confraternities, pious organizations that also sometimes served as Catholic militias targeting Protestants.³² In the light of such violence, the return of war must have seemed inevitable.

The Protestant churches in France, however, were well poised to respond. Some had been in existence since at least 1555 and they were tightly organized around local consistories and a common set of structural principles agreed upon during the first national synod in Paris in 1559. Historians can only speculate about the numbers of practicing Protestants in France at this moment, but there is compelling evidence that ten percent of French adults may have been part of the Reformed church.³³ The founding documents from 1559, annual meetings of the synods, as well as more frequent ones of regional colloquies, kept these

29. Among these faithful friends and *serviteurs* who were engaged in the same religious cause, Jeanne could count many people in her household. Records from 1565 show that Jeanne had 242 people in her paid service, including people of such diverse skills and social rank as doctors, tailors, pastry cooks, stablehands, 13 *femmes de chambre* and 25 *valets de chambre*. Many of these people would maintain links with the Albret household over several generations. Faced with war and with the financial burden that it implied, a large percentage of these *serviteurs* were let go in 1568, but those who went with her became resources for the cause. Jeanne’s personal treasurer, Jean Bernard, for example, served simultaneously as the treasurer for the Calvinist war effort and others, like Victor Brodeau, served on her council. See J. Russell Major, “Noble Income, Inflation, and the Wars of Religion in France,” *American Historical Review* 86, no. 1 (1981): 38–39; Eurich, *The Economics of Power*, 204.

30. Sources agree that the victims were primarily men of the Church although they disagree on the number of people killed. See Allan Tulchin, *That Men Would Praise the Lord: The Triumph of Protestantism in Nîmes, 1530–1570* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 170–71.

31. Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 81.

32. Robert Harding, “The Mobilization of Confraternities against the Reformation in France,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11, no. 1 (1980): 85–107.

33. Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 42–43.

numbers united. In order to protect themselves against the mounting violence and to be prepared for an eventual war, military groups were also set up through the churches to facilitate mobilization, and monies were made available to support the Protestant nobles in times of war.

The shifting political and religious landscape of 1568 reveals Jeanne's position in overlapping networks and suggests that her decision to leave for La Rochelle was one consistent with her aspirations as a queen and as a French Protestant. The *Ample Declaration* is then, not only a justificatory memoir, but also an act of war and a refusal to be relegated to a secondary role.

Triumphant March to La Rochelle

On September 6, 1568, Jeanne and her children (fourteen-year-old Henri and nine-year-old Catherine) left the palace at Nérac and traveled to Casteljaloux, accompanied by a relatively small contingent of fifty of her gentlemen. They spent two nights at a house Jeanne maintained there. On September 8, Jeanne slipped away to Tonneins with her children and a small party. Her whereabouts were not secret, however, and she continued to function as queen and as Huguenot leader, receiving the Sieur de La Mothe Fénelon,³⁴ who stayed at Tonneins September 9 and 10. The group of gentlemen accompanying Jeanne had grown into a small army by the time she left Tonneins, and on September 12, she and her two children triumphantly led the troops into Bergerac. So many Huguenot soldiers joined their ranks that when she left Bergerac for La Rochelle four days later, Jeanne was leading a genuine army. During this part of her voyage she learned that Condé was headed toward her. They met at Archiac on September 23, and Jeanne delivered Henri into Condé's hands, so that the young Prince would take up arms at his uncle's side. Five days later, the Queen and her army, led by Condé and her son, entered La Rochelle in triumph.³⁵

Jeanne organized the government of her domains in La Rochelle and created a council with Amiral Coligny and François de la Noue, a Huguenot captain, to reinforce the defenses of the city. She wrote manifestos on behalf of the cause and sent requests for aid to foreign princes. Jeanne was deeply involved in the "general administration of La Rochelle and all aspects of the war that were not strictly military, including finances, fortifications, discipline (except in the army)

34. Bertrand de Salignac, Sieur de La Mothe Fénelon, diplomat sent by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici under the pretense that he would serve as mediator between the Queen of Navarre and her rebellious subjects. In reality, he had been commissioned to bring Jeanne and her son back to the French court. See Bryson, *Queen Jeanne*, 169.

35. Jeanne describes this journey and its culmination at length in her *Ample Declaration*; see 230–38. See also Bryson, *Queen Jeanne*, 189–205 for an analysis of these events.

and, in part, intelligence.”³⁶ Although Jeanne resided in La Rochelle for nearly three years, she did not confine herself to the fortified city, but at times accompanied Coligny to inspect the army and rally the troops.

After having been taken prisoner in the Battle of Jarnac on March 13, 1569, Condé was shot and killed by an officer of the victorious duc d’Anjou (later King Henri III of France).³⁷ When Jeanne learned of Condé’s assassination, she hurriedly traveled to the soldiers’ camp to bolster the spirit of the disheartened troops, taking with her two princes of the blood, Condé’s son as well as her own, both named Henri. Jeanne was no longer a pacifist queen tending only to her own territories, but was now a sort of regent for the Protestant Party in France.

The Last Years

Jeanne’s efforts to rally the Protestant troops and to keep them fighting during the Third War of Religion despite their many military setbacks helped bring Catherine and Charles IX to the negotiating table. She and Coligny were rewarded for their firm negotiating by the Peace of Saint-Germain (1570), a treaty that offered French Protestants more legal rights than any of the previous treaties, added the right to worship in certain, specified towns and kept under Protestant control the fortified towns of La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban and La Charité-sur-Loire. Although the conditions were favorable, the application of this peace met with great resistance and Jeanne was ultimately disappointed by its impact.

Jeanne devoted the remainder of her life to the advancement of her religion and her son. She participated in negotiations over Henri’s marriage to Marguerite de Valois, daughter of Henri II of France and Catherine de’ Medici. Although Jeanne wanted Marguerite to convert to Protestantism, Marguerite refused. Increasingly frail, and probably suffering from tuberculosis, Jeanne died in Paris on June 9, 1572, at which point Henri inherited her throne. Jeanne did not live to see her son’s marriage to Marguerite on August 18, 1572 nor his ascension to the French throne as King Henri IV in 1589. But her premature death spared her witnessing the horror of the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre on August 23, 1572, and what would surely have been the great disappointment of her life, her son’s conversion to Catholicism twenty-one years later.

Despite her exceptional political and religious authority and her central role in the Third War of Religion, Jeanne d’Albret’s legacy has been largely overshadowed by that of others, notably the literary reputation of her mother, Marguerite de Navarre, and the prominent political position of her son, Henri IV, first Bourbon king of France. This was not true during her lifetime, when Jeanne’s skill at

36. Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, 312.

37. Son of Henri II and Catherine de’ Medici, born in 1551 as Alexandre Edouard, became King Henri III of France in 1574. His younger brother, François, assumed the title of Duc d’Anjou in 1576.

negotiating and her personal integrity earned praise from her allies and respect from her adversaries. Her clients and fellow Protestants followed her as a valued leader without questioning the limitations of her sex. The author Georgette de Montenay, for example, pays tribute to Jeanne's exemplary life and to its relevance to the Reformed community in her dedication to Jeanne of the *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (1571):

Que l'Immortel de vous faisant son temple
Vous façonna pour estre à tous exemple,³⁸

Clearly the impact of Jeanne as model extends far beyond this community and the specific conflict of the Wars of Religion. It is hoped that this brief introduction and the translation of the *Ample Declaration* will make evident the continued relevance of Jeanne's significant contributions. She possessed skills that have a particular resonance for the twenty-first-century reader: the ability to balance the responsibilities and roles of political leader, wife, mother, religious dissident and author, as well as the judgment and confidence to champion publicly her cause while protecting the interests of her children.

Other Genre, Other Voice

Other women of her era also needed to balance different roles, but Jeanne d'Albret's privileged rank added a unique complexity to her situation. There were few life models for an early modern woman who assumed so many roles over the course of her life and took on such wide-ranging responsibilities. And there were certainly no truly applicable literary models for such a woman writer. Her female contemporaries wrote poetry and letters. Some elite women wrote memoirs, writings often presented as private and intended only for the author's family. Jeanne's own mother, Marguerite de Navarre, had written religious drama and novellas, but she was the sister of a powerful king who protected her from censure.

Before writing the *Ample Declaration*, Jeanne had few compositions to her name: a poetic exchange with the poet Joachim Du Bellay, a quatrain written to the printer Robert Estienne, some epistolary verses addressed to her mother, and an extensive correspondence with her husband and other key figures of the time. Jeanne, however, possessed a solid literary culture, a strong sense of the language, and a mastery of rhetoric exceptional for a woman of this time. She had specific and indeed critical goals in writing her *Ample Declaration*: to explain, to convince, to defend her decisions, and to inspire her readers to take action. The readers that she anticipated for her text were diverse, first among them the royal family, to

38. "God the immortal, in making you his temple, fashioned you as an example for all." Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon: Jean Marcovelle, 1571), a2^v; editors' translation).

whom she addressed the letters she seeks to explicate in her *Declaration*. But she wrote also for all of her contemporaries, and in fact for posterity, denouncing her Catholic adversaries and defending her Protestant allies.

Jeanne was keenly sensitive to her historical legacy, and she was faced with strategic decisions as she took up her plume. Which voice would she adopt? That of a queen? of a mother?³⁹ of a Reformer? What sort of rhetorical strategy would she employ? Which genre or genres would best serve her purpose? One of the most striking features of the *Ample Declaration* is its mosaic of genres; indeed, this text stands at the crossroads of several genres, combining aspects of the epistolary form and the novella, and most significantly, the polemical pamphlet and the memoir.

The Ample Declaration and the Epistolary Form

Much has been written about the importance of letter writing for early modern women. Jeanne herself wrote many letters in the course of her life. In 1568, her epistolary activity appears to have been particularly intense. Some of these letters were initially published in La Rochelle to defend Jeanne's decision to find refuge in this Protestant stronghold. In 1569, they were reprinted together with the *Ample Declaration*, which elaborates upon them. It is useful here to compare and contrast the *Ample Declaration* with the letters it was meant to accompany and to analyze the enactment of letter writing omnipresent in this text.

In 1570, when the *Ample Declaration* was published for the third time, it was included in a volume entitled *Histoire de nostre temps*, which contains letters, *remonstrances*, *discours*, and memoir-type documents. Apparently, for sixteenth-century readers, the common political aim of these genres was more significant than the differences that might exist between them. From the outset, the *Ample Declaration* is presented as a means to go beyond genre boundaries. Jeanne claims that she set out to write her *Declaration* because she felt the need to explain certain things more fully than she had previously done in her letters: "I *only briefly mentioned* matters that I wish to make everyone understand more fully. Therefore I took quill in hand to *elaborate upon the principal subject* in these letters, that is to say, the circumstances that forced me to abandon my sovereign lands. . . . my intention is to *explain in more detail* those motivations that I only outlined in my letters" (173, emphasis ours).

Such detail was required, it seems, not only because of the constraining format of the letter (the length of a letter was kept to a minimum, usually no more

39. Recent studies have addressed the question of Jeanne as mother figure. See Margaret L. King, *How Mothers Shaped Successful Sons and Created World History: The School of Infancy* (Lewiston NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2014), 195–96 and 446, and Marian Rothstein's forthcoming book on the androgyne.

than one side of a sheet of paper⁴⁰), but also because of the inherent limitations of epistolary exchanges, as Jeanne explains more fully in her *Declaration*. For many reasons, some messages could not be explicitly written or even written at all, and needed to be delivered orally by the bearers of abbreviated letters “intended to be merely introductions for the bearers, who were charged with speaking the senders’ actual messages.”⁴¹ In a similar manner, the *Declaration* was intended to provide further information (this was the principal meaning of the word *declaration* at that time) for those to whom Jeanne had previously written letters (her relatives, the Royal family, her religious and political allies), filling in the blanks and revealing what could not be said explicitly in her letters. Whereas the letters were meant to be read together with the *Ample Declaration* since they complement each other, the *Ample Declaration* can be read separately, even though it frequently refers to these letters: “As I said in my letter to the queen of England” (227); “as I said in my letter to the queen” (233).

The *Ample Declaration* shares many of the features of the epistolary genre. The most striking feature common to both genres is traces of orality,⁴² which attest to the survival of oral culture in sixteenth-century France. Many of the stylistic features found in the letters are present in the *Declaration*. Among these, one observes the predilection for redundancy in the form of repetitive construction, emphasis for the sake of comprehension as shown by the repeated use of pairs of words, and “the grafting of subsequent, often unrelated, thoughts to previous ones,” which is, according to Kristen B. Neuschel,⁴³ typical of oral expression. Direct address is also a common trait of both the letters and the *Declaration*. Even though no one is actually designated as the recipient of the *Declaration*, one has the impression in reading this text that Jeanne is addressing the queen mother in particular. On one occasion she even says, “Hoping that one day she [the Queen] will read this” (180).

A characteristic of early modern women’s correspondence, according to Jane Couchman,⁴⁴ is the impossibility of separating private from public. This feature seems more striking in the *Declaration* than in the letters. Jeanne

40. James Daybell, “‘I wold wyshe my doings myght be . . . secret’: Privacy and the Social Practices of Reading Women’s Letters in Sixteenth-Century England,” in *Women’s Letters Across Europe, 1400–1700. Form and Persuasion*, ed. Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb (Aldershot: Ashgate, UK, 2005), 158.

41. Kristen B. Neuschel, *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 114.

42. See Daybell, “I wold whyshe,” 160: “The emphasis on rhetoric in Renaissance humanist letter-writing manuals strongly suggests that letters were often drafted with the intention that they be read aloud.”

43. Neuschel, *Word of Honor*, 104.

44. Jane Couchman, “What is ‘Personal’ about Sixteenth-Century French Women’s Personal Writings?” *Atlantis* 19, no. 1 (1993): 16–22.

occasionally speaks of private matters such as her health and her feelings for her husband and her children, but she never expands on her private life and instead devotes the larger part of her *Declaration* to political events (uprisings, edicts, machinations of the Guise brothers, taking up of arms by the Protestants and so forth). Furthermore, the private matters that she mentions always have a direct impact on the public events recounted. Her illness, for example, prevents her from accompanying Catherine de' Medici to her meeting with the Spanish ambassador in Bayonne. The construction of her self-image as a devoted mother makes even more horrible the machinations of her enemies as they tried to wrench her son away from her.

Another element that gives the *Declaration* a private dimension is the references to people or events only known to some (the implied correspondents) and the secrecy surrounding certain facts. And yet, these silences, dictated by the need to protect the identity of some individuals, could also mean that Jeanne was trying to make her *Declaration* suitable for wider dissemination, foreseeing that it would someday become *public*: "It may be superfluous to speak about my own affairs, nonetheless, to *make known to everyone* the long-standing malice of the Cardinal de Lorraine and his brother the Sieur de Guise, I will say ..." (186); "I want *people* to examine impartially ..." (229, emphasis ours).

This idea of an expanded readership is corroborated by the motivations alleged by Jeanne in writing her correspondence and her *Declaration*. In both, she claims that her intention is to show the truth in broad daylight, to give a fuller explanation in order to justify her actions and rehabilitate her image. Self-justification, which seems to be here the predominant motivation, is also characteristic of the other genres (the pamphlet and the memoir) that Jeanne so masterfully appropriates in her *Declaration*.

The *Ample Declaration* not only shares many traits with the letters published along with it; in addition, it provides valuable insight into both the composition of these letters and the evolving epistolary genre as a whole. The *Ample Declaration* includes information regarding the date when Jeanne wrote the letters, the circumstances in which she wrote, and her real intentions in doing so: "I kept La Mothe at Bergerac Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, while I wrote letters, which he was to deliver to Monsieur le Prince my brother-in-law, to their majesties, to Monsieur brother of the King, and to Monsieur le Cardinal, my brother-in-law. Anyone can read these letters in print, but because they seemed to me *too brief*, I decided to declare clearly my purpose by writing *this expanded treatise*" (236, emphasis ours). It also tells us a great deal about Jeanne's epistolary exchanges during this tumultuous time with her brother-in-law, the Prince de Condé, in order to maintain her network of *sodalitas* and with the king and queen mother, including the content of the letters she sent to their majesties and the answers she received.

By mentioning letters she wrote to the king and queen, Jeanne shows that she did everything she could to avoid civil and religious conflicts: “I wrote to them about the fear I had that all of this would make us fall back into misfortune. I remonstrated with them in complete humility, as their most humble servant, driven by duty to protect the peace and best interests of this kingdom” (203). Elsewhere, references to her epistolary exchange with the queen through the intermediary of La Mothe are meant to show how her enemies, with the queen’s support, tried to lure her back to court under the pretense that she could play a key role in the conservation of peace (see 204–6). Finally, the *Ample Declaration* is a revealing window into the epistolary practices of the time. Much is said about specific letters, when, how, why they were written, delivered, received, read, etc. As letters could have a crucial impact on the political scene, precautions were taken at the time in writing, delivering, or keeping letters in one’s possession.

Several passages in the *Declaration* shed light on the circumstances in which letters were written. We learn for instance that letters were frequently written while others were around. This lack of privacy obviously played a major role in what was said and how it was said. Sometimes the presence of others created such pressure that the writer felt compelled to say the opposite of what he or she meant: “I sent Brandon back to the Queen, and when he returned he brought me some letters in which she commanded me to ask Monsieur le Prince my brother-in-law to lay down his arms. However, the opinion of the messenger was that d’Escars, having entered her chamber in order to make her write that letter, had not left her side while she was writing. This was the reason why she was forced to write the opposite of the opinion she had expressed to the gentleman” (184).

Form and style were affected by the purpose of the letter and its recipient. Jeanne mentions over and over again the humble way in which she addresses the king and queen in her letters, which was her way of showing what a respectful, obedient, and loyal subject she was: “I remember that in my letter to the queen I used the same or similar words, beseeching her humbly to recognize those who had always been devoted to the service of the crown” (197). Besides the *civilités obligées*, we learn about the importance of the language used in letters, for words can easily be interpreted in the wrong way. On one occasion, Jeanne calls our attention to the words used by the queen about the Protestants in her letter to the king of Spain. For Jeanne, these words showed that Protestants were viewed as rebels, but the queen gave Jeanne another explanation, insisting on a diplomatic and historical context for her words.

One of the principal aims of letters was to share information: “I also knew about the strange rebellion in Béarn and later in Navarre of a few of my subjects backed by France (apparent in the letters that their majesties wrote to them)” (196); “The Sieur de La Mothe . . . brought me letters from them [their majesties], informing me that my brother-in-law had been taken prisoner, and that Monsieur

l'Amiral was with him" (232). Another important aim was to spread ideas that could lead to action, bring about some action or reaction on the part of the correspondent and thus have an impact on the world. But on several occasions, Jeanne regretfully admits that her letters to the king and queen did not have the effect anticipated: "I could speak of my legitimate complaints, which motivated me to write many letters without ever obtaining satisfaction" (193); "[Voupillieres] brought me a very strange response, far removed from the hope that La Mothe had tried to give me" (206).

In her *Declaration*, Jeanne mentions another aspect of the performative potential of letters. In time of conflict, letters could indeed be utilized as a stratagem to cause suspicion and confuse adversaries: "Through him [the Sieur de Bouchavannes] she [the queen] instructed me with much firmness ... to send one of my men secretly to the Prince de Condé, my brother-in-law, and Monsieur l'Amiral to warn them not to believe anything signed by the king, nor sealed with his seal, for from that time on he would be doing everything under duress" (182). The queen mother seems particularly mindful of the risk associated with the epistolary medium. On more than one occasion, Jeanne reports the queen's strict instructions to her as to the manner by which their letters to each other should be dispatched: "they [The king and queen] commanded me to identify one of my men through whom we could communicate, either with letters of credence, or should I trust him, without a letter, about how best to serve them" (183). Jeanne goes to great lengths to tell her readers how letter-bearers were designated, what their role was, and how well they accomplished the mission with which they had been entrusted.

For reasons of security and also because of a continued reliance on the spoken word,⁴⁵ letters containing sensitive information were often accompanied by letters of credence guaranteeing the reliability of the letter-bearer who could confirm the content of the letter. The role of the letter-bearer went beyond that of delivering the letter to the addressee. When sensitive material had consciously been left out, he was charged to convey orally what had been omitted, which he did not always do: "in my opinion [La Mothe] did not tell me everything that he was supposed to" (232). He could also report how he found the recipient. Jeanne learns this way how Condé was forced to leave his home in order to avoid being captured: "my messenger recounted to me the way they departed and their journey across the fields ..." (212). Letters delivered were frequently read aloud by someone other than the recipient and sometimes in the company of other people, like the letter the queen had the Sieur de l'Aubespine read to her in the presence of Madame de Savoie (188).

Being in possession of letters could cause just as much apprehension as writing or dispatching letters. Leaving a material trace, a letter could be used as a tangible proof to harm a reputation or impair political interests. The letter from

45. Neuschel, *Word of Honor*, 103–31.

Cardinal de Crequy's agent was sufficient proof to incriminate the Cardinal de Lorraine: "The cardinal's plot has in fact since been unmasked by the letter from Cardinal de Crequy's agent" (31). But letters could also be used as proof of one's good intentions. In trying to explain why she disobeyed the king and queen when they asked her to deliver a message from them to her brother-in-law as she passed through Orléans, Jeanne claims that her husband forbade her to do so and that she has a letter from him to prove it: "The late king my husband expressly forbade this (I still have the letter in this regard)" (183). When Jeanne had reason to be suspicious of one of her husband's secretaries, a certain Boulogne, she had him arrested and she confiscated "his packet of letters" (186). Letters, indeed, could end up in the wrong hands as did that letter found amid debris by Jeanne's little dog. This discovery nearly caused a diplomatic incident. Jeanne initially hesitated to read the letter, aware of the political implications and personal risks inherent in the mere possession of such a letter (188–90).

In sum, the *Declaration* provides ample information about Jeanne's epistolary activity during the crucial year of 1568, important clues to the intentions behind her writing, and an interesting perspective on the epistolary form and sixteenth-century epistolary practices.

The Novellas in the Ample Declaration

"I will tell you," Jeanne assures her readers with a simple phrase that evokes an oral storytelling scenario. Jeanne's mother, Marguerite de Navarre, punctuates her famous collection of novellas, the *Heptaméron*,⁴⁶ with the same phrase. What other connections exist between a text Jeanne obsessively claims is true on the one hand and, on the other, the tradition of oral storytelling and the written fiction that closely mimics it? According to Neuschel, sixteenth-century nobles organized knowledge in narrative form, what she calls, "the dramaturgic expression of and creation of meaning."⁴⁷ Jeanne goes beyond this early modern cognitive habit to deliberately exploit literary traditions of storytelling in certain parts of the *Ample Declaration*. She was certainly familiar with the *Heptaméron* (published posthumously in 1558) and appears to have played a central role in the early editions of her mother's novellas.⁴⁸

The short story in prose was a popular genre in France even before the publishing of the *Heptaméron*. Philippe de Vigneulles wrote the earliest known French collection entitled the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* in 1462. His stories draw

46. Marguerite de Navarre, *The Heptameron*, trans. Paul A. Chilton (London: Penguin Books, 1984).

47. Neuschel, *Word of Honor*, 122.

48. See, for example, Nicole Cazauran, "Boaistuau et Gruget éditeurs de l'*Heptaméron*: À chacun sa part," *Travaux de littérature* 14 (2001): 149–69, and Michel Simonin, "Notes sur Pierre Boaistuau," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 38 (1976): 323–33.