

**A Prince-Abbot at the Court of the Sun King:
Philippe de Lorraine-Harcourt (1643-1702)**

Introduction

Towards the end of the 17th century, the Benedictine Gabriel Gerberon rebelled against the injustice of ecclesiastical benefices, “which had never been greater”: “now, more than ever, it is time to reform this abuse”, he claimed.¹ Indeed, this system of the granting of ecclesiastical benefices *in commendam* had long been marred with a poor reputation. In accordance with monks’ complaints in this regard, historiography has often considered this as one of the causes, and even the main cause, of the crisis which – from the end of the Middle Ages – would come to touch monastic life and its great properties. However, pioneering research has questioned this approach, drawing historians’ attention to the granting of benefices across Europe, to its complexity, and to its dynamic nature.² Furthermore, the very concept of a ‘crisis’ of monastic property in the modern age is questioned by studies which demonstrate, on the contrary, the relevance of abbatial

¹ *Les sentiments de Criton sur l’entretien d’un Abbé et d’un Religieux touchant les commendes* (Cologne, 1674), p. 8. On Gabriel Gerberon (1628-1711), author of the *Histoire générale du Jansénisme* [Amsterdam, 1700, 3 vol.], see: Jean Orcibal, ‘La spiritualité de dom Gabriel Gerberon, champion de Jansénius et de Fénelon’, *Revue d’Histoire de l’Église de France*, 140 (1957), pp. 151-222.

² Dominique Dinet, ‘Une institution méconnue: la commende’, in J. Bardet, D. Dinet, J. Poussou, M. Vignal (dir.), *État et Société en France au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Mélanges offerts à Yves Durand* (Paris, 2000), pp. 195-200; Id., ‘L’évolution de l’institution de la commende dans l’espace religieux des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles’, in G. Constable, M. Rouche (eds), *Auctoritas, Mélanges offerts au professeur Olivier Guillot* (Paris, 2006), pp. 727-39.

assets until the Revolution, and their relation with the economic and social dynamics of local communities.³

The management of benefices consists in granting a regular benefice to a secular cleric or layman, appointed by the Pope or chosen by the sovereign prince and then approved by Rome: part of the abbey's income is therefore devolved to a person who does not belong to the monastic community and who may use it as they see fit. From this perspective, an abbey granted *in commendam* is based on the same system of benefices as the secular clergy:⁴ when a commendatory abbot is a layman, this essentially serves as a replica, in the domain of regulars, of the secular *jus patronatus* model.⁵

From the 16th century onwards, benefices were systematically imposed on Cistercian and Benedictine monastic institutions, as well as on monasteries of canons regular; on the other hand, it remained unknown within the governance of Mendicant orders. While networks of Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian convents fall under a centralised

³ Fiorenzo Landi, *Confische e sviluppo capitalistico. I grandi patrimoni del clero regolare in Europa e nel Continente Americano* (Milan, 2004); Id. *Accumulation and Dissolution of Large Estates of the Regular Clergy in Early Modern Europe* (Rimini, 1999). For France, see: Dominique Dinet, 'Les grands domaines des réguliers en France (1560-1790): une relative stabilité?', in Id., *Au cœur religieux de l'époque moderne. Études d'Histoire* (Strasbourg, 2011), p. 447-61; Preston Perluss, 'From Alms to Investments: Monastic Credit Structures in 17th and 18th Century Paris', in F. Ammannati (ed.), *Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia europea, 1000-1800* (Firenze, 2012), pp. 307-27. For the States of Savoy, see: Marco Battistoni, *Abbazie e ordini religiosi nel Piemonte di Antico Regime. Patrimoni e giurisdizioni* (Genova, 2017). For Spain, see: Á. Atienza López, *Propriedad y señorio en Aragón. El clero regular entre la expansion y la crisis (1700-1835)* (Zaragoza, 1993). For England, voir: D. Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder. European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁴ L. Balavoine, 'Les réguliers dans le système bénéficial. L'exemple du diocèse de Bayeux au temps de Louis XIV', *Revue Mabillon*, 82 (2010), pp. 209-29.

⁵ M. Battistoni, *Abbazie e ordini religiosi*, pp. 121-27.

authority, which refers to an order as an extraterritorial organism, each abbey and each monastery of canons regular is a legally autonomous entity, which may be linked to another via direct filiation, and whose monastic life is guided by regulations shared by institutes of the same order.⁶ The autonomous status of abbeys, who are also denied the support of a central order, makes them more vulnerable to abuse on the part of commendatory abbots. To resolve this structural weakness of the ancient monastic orders, the Council of Trent encouraged the diffusion of a congregational model: grouping abbeys of men into powerful congregations offered them unprecedented negotiating power, which allowed them define the means of managing abbatial assets with the abbot.⁷

In the majority of cases, and in particular from the second half of the 16th century onwards, concordats between monks and the commendatory abbot provided for the division of benefices into three equal lots: of which one was intended for the abbot, another for the monks, and a final share reserved for the settlement of community offices. However, we also find cases in which a more complex division of income and offices is employed, as well as examples in which the abbot fully disposes of the benefice and pays an allowance to the monks. In all cases, this system is based on two premises. Firstly, the former division between the abbatial *mensa* – that is to say, the assets reserved for the abbey – and the conventual assets, which fell to the monks; secondly, the idea that the

⁶ Á. Atienza López, *Tiempos de conventos. Una historia social de las fundaciones en la España moderna* (Madrid-La Rioja, 2008); F. Rurale, *Monaci, chierici, frati: gli ordini religiosi in età moderna* (Rome, 2008); G. Le Bras and J. Gaudenet (eds), *Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Église en Occident*, t. XV: *L'époque moderne (1563-1789)*, vol. 2: (R. Lemoine, ed.), *Le monde des religieux*, (Paris, 1976).

⁷ Dominique Dinet, 'L'abbaye de Saint Bénigne, à l'époque de la congrégation de Saint Maur', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 76 (2004), pp. 41-58.

practice of granting benefices exclusively concerned community revenue and offices, without affecting religious observance and the religious life of the monks.⁸

The attribution of benefices is a fundamental resource for the families of abbots: for its part, the sovereign power made use of the distribution of benefices to pay its faithful and gain their support. According to Rome, benefices – and in particular those of large abbeys – were a precious instrument with which to finance key positions within dioceses and within the College of Cardinals. Of course, commendatory abbots were often tempted to divert benefices for their own benefit, to the detriment of the religious community. However, we should not be taken in by the protests echoed by monks. Far from representing a sign of corruption and weakness within the beneficial system, benefices were fully in line with the dynamics of patronage and supporters that structured societies of the *Ancien Régime* and the curial hierarchy.⁹ Commendatory abbots played no role in the internal administration of monasteries, with this entrusted to priors; moreover, the presence of a commendatory abbot – who may sometimes belong to the aristocracy, and enjoy good relations at Court – offered advantages that, in this case, the monks were keenly able to exploit.

In the following paragraphs, I will follow the career of a commendatory abbot, from the highest aristocracy within the court of Louis XIV: Prince Philippe de Lorraine-Harcourt (1643-1702), descended from the powerful Lorraine-Guise family, the younger branch of the Dukes of Lorraine.¹⁰ I will analyse, on the one hand, the possibilities offered by the

⁸ E. Lesne, 'Évêché et abbaye. Les origines du bénéfice ecclésiastique', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, 5 (1914), pp. 15-50; Id., *L'origine des menses dans le temporel des églises et des monastères de France au IX^e siècle* (Lille-Paris, 1910).

⁹ Susan Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*, (Oxford, 1986).

¹⁰ Philippe de Lorraine's father is a son of Charles de Lorraine-Guise, duke of Elbeuf.

benefice system in the accumulation of aristocratic assets, while on the other hand, I would like to highlight the role of a Prince-Abbot, within a complex network of relations, both as a powerful patron and protector of a religious community that constitutes a legal entity with its own dynamics.

In France, until the end of the *Ancien Régime*, the congregational model is represented by the congregation of *Feuillants* within the Cistercians, and by the congregation of *Saint Maur* within the Benedictines, inspired by the reformation of Saint-Vanne in Lorraine.¹¹ Carthusian monasteries and mother abbeys were excluded from the benefice system, as well as those in recently annexed provinces; as for women's abbeys, these were entrusted to regular abbesses, professed for at least ten years, and often belonging to the nobility.¹² Priors without any pastoral duties were easier to manage, but less prestigious: on the other hand, abbeys of men were coveted by cadets of the nobility, including by members of the Court aristocracy, who, in the management of their income, reproduced the competition between lineages at the base of curial hierarchies.

Philippe de Lorraine belonged to a small social group of 'princes étrangers' within the French Court, meaning members of a foreign sovereign house, but subjects of the king of France; the honorary privileges they enjoyed, by virtue of their proximity to the sovereign dynasties, placed them after the 'princes du sang' but before dukes and peers, with whom

¹¹ See Daniel-Odon Hurel (dir.), *Guide pour l'histoire des ordres et des congrégations religieuses. France, XVI^e — XX^e siècles* (Turnhout, 2001); Benoist Pierre, *Le Bure et le Sceptre. La congrégation des Feuillants dans l'affirmation des États et des pouvoirs français (vers 1560-vers 1660)* (Paris, 2006); D. O. Hurel, 'Mauristes', in *Guide pour l'histoire des ordres*, pp. 53-56; Y. Chaussy, *Les Bénédictins de Saint Maur* (Paris, 1989-1991), 2 vol.; R. Hesbert, 'La Congrégation de Saint Maur', *Revue Mabillon*, 1961, pp. 109-56.

¹² Dinet, 'Une institution méconnue', p. 200.

they were great enemies.¹³ Did the Prince-Abbot use the benefice as an advantage in competing with other princely families? Did he choose to exploit the community's revenue, or did he act as a true lord, compensating to some extent for the territoriality that his princely status lacked?¹⁴

To attempt to answer these questions, I will use as a primary source the archive collections of the abbeys granted to Philippe de Lorraine: Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire or Saint-Benoît de Fleury in the diocese of Orléans, Saint-Jean des Vignes in the diocese of Soissons, La Sainte-Trinité de Tiron and Saint-Père-en-Vallée in the diocese of Chartres.¹⁵

¹³ Jonathan Spangler, 'Les Princes étrangers: Truly Princes? Truly Foreign? Typologies of Princely Status, Transnationalism and Identity in Early Modern France', in *Adel und Nation in der Neuzeit Hierarchie, Egalität, Loyalität, Jahrhunderte*, Ostfildern, Thorbecke, 2016, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/161891202.pdf> (last consulted October 14th, 2020); Robert Oresko, 'Princes étrangers', in Lucien Bély (dir.), *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1996), pp. 1019-20; S. Hodson, 'Princes étrangers at the French Court in Seventeenth Century: the Grimaldi, the La Tour d'Auvergne and the La Trémoille', *The Court Historian*, 1 (1998), pp. 24-28. Guy Antonietti, 'Les princes étrangers', in *États et société en France*, pp. 33-59.

¹⁴ The condition of princes remained, for quite a long time, legally controversial, both as actual sovereigns of a territory and as someone who exercises some form of authority, claiming a share in sovereignty of a ruling dynasty based on birth. See Lucien Bély, *La société des princes* (Paris, 1999); Jonathan Spangler, *The Society of Princes. The Lorraine-Guise and the Conservation of Power and Wealth in Seventeenth-Century France* (London, 2009).

¹⁵ Saint-Jean-des-Vignes: Laon, Archives départementales de l'Aisne, Archives Anciennes [*hereafter* ADA], H.1177-1282. Saint-Père-en-Vallée et Sainte-Trinité de Tiron: Chartres, Archives départementales d'Eure et Loire, Archives Anciennes [*hereafter* ADEL], H. 1-347, 1371-1769. Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (today in the diocese of Bourges): Bourges, Archives départementales du Cher, Archives Anciennes [*hereafter* ADC], 1G/123-197; Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, Archives Anciennes [*hereafter* ADL], 3H, 21, 22, 38.

Philippe de Lorraine-Harcourt at the Court of the Duke of Orléans

Around 1685, in a poem dedicated to Philippe de Lorraine, the parish priest of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire expressed the wish that ‘History will be able, despite all the laws of fate, to avenge you of the oblivion of time and death: you will be painted there, and your greatest exploits will be admired in thousands of locations’¹⁶. Unfortunately, historians have held an entirely different image of him. For a long time, they have been content to echo a ruthless image painted by his fiercest enemies: Elizabeth-Charlotte von der Pfalz, sister-in-law of Louis XIV, and Saint-Simon. The latter described Philippe de Lorraine as the ‘archimignon’ of Philippe de France, Duke of Orléans and brother of Louis XIV.¹⁷ In fact, his position as the duke’s favourite long shielded Philippe de Lorraine from historical research, a fate common to those closest to kings and princes, who often disturbed the official hierarchy of the Court. However, recent research is attempting to reverse this trend and restore an autonomous place to favourites.¹⁸ In the case of Philippe de Lorraine, his role as an active member of a family of ‘princes étrangers’ and as a patron and sponsor of the court of Monsieur, between Saint-Cloud and the Palais Royal in Paris, has been highlighted.¹⁹

¹⁶ ADL, 2J. 892: P. Chartier, *À Monseigneur le Prince de Lorraine*.

¹⁷ The reference here is to the ‘archimignons’ of King Henri III: see Nicole Le Roux, *La Faveur de roi. Mignons et courtisans au temps des derniers Valois* (Seysssel, 2001).

¹⁸ Jean-François Solnon, *Histoire des favoris* (Paris, 2019); J. Elliot and L. Brockliss (eds), *The World of the Favourite* (Yale, 1999).

¹⁹ Spangler, *The society of Princes*, pp. 75-93; Id., ‘The Chevalier de Lorraine as “Maître en Titre”’, *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles*, 2017.

Youngest son of Henri de Lorraine, Earl of Harcourt-Armagnac and attached to the cardinal of Richelieu, Philippe de Lorraine was baptised in the chapel of the Palais Royal, with Queen Anne and Cardinal Mazarin as his godparents²⁰. From the age of seven, he was known as the 'chevalier de Lorraine', given his affiliation with the order of the Knights of Malta or of Saint John of Jerusalem.²¹ While his older brother Louis de Lorraine, Earl of Armagnac, inherited the offices of governor of Anjou and of *Grand Écuyer* from their father, forming a deep friendship with Louis XIV, the chevalier de Lorraine joined the court of the king's brother, dominated by the Gramont clan, who were very close to the prince of Condé. Armand de Gramont, Earl of Guiche, was the favourite of Monsieur, while his aunt, Suzanne-Charlotte de Gramont, Marquess of Saint-Chaumont, obtained the highly lucrative office of governess of the Duke of Orléans' children. Blessed with physical appeal and an imposing personality, Philippe de Lorraine immediately formed a close and very long-lasting relationship with Monsieur, in which sexual attraction no doubt played a determining role.²²

The networks of the chevalier de Lorraine's supporters, and of his family, soon came into conflict with the coterie of Henrietta-Anne Stuart, first wife of the Duke of Orléans, and of Armand de Gramont, a firm supporter of Henrietta-Anne.²³ However, the Gramonts

²⁰ P. Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* (Paris, 1728), t. 3, p. 499.

²¹ However, Philippe de Lorraine, by permission of the Pope, will never wear the religious habit of the Order: S. de Danville-Barbiche (ed.), *Correspondance du nonce en France Fabrizio Spada, 1674-1675* (Rome, 1982), p. 168, 6 April 1674.

²² See Spangler, 'The chevalier de Lorraine'. In 1666, Philippe de Lorraine is already influential enough to recommend some officier from Monsieur's household to Jean-Baptiste Colbert: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale [*hereafter* BNF], *Mélanges de Colbert* 135, f. 77, Philippe de Lorraine to Colbert, 3 March 1666.

²³ About Henrietta-Anne and Armand de Gramont, the best work is still Dina Lanfredini, 'M^{me} de La Fayette e Henriette d'Angleterre', *Archivio storico italiano*, 116 (1958), pp. 178-206, 511-43.

were allied by marriage to the Grimaldis of Monaco, who also coveted the rank of ‘princes étrangers’, long granted to the Lorraine-Guises.²⁴

In 1670, the conflictual relationship of Henrietta-Anne Stuart and Philippe de Lorraine, who had now established himself as Monsieur’s great favourite, eventually led to the chevalier’s dismissal, by order of Louis XIV.²⁵ After a golden exile in Genoa, accompanied by his younger brother Charles de Lorraine, Earl of Marsan, Philippe de Lorraine joined the Roman salon of the Colonna family. According to rumours that spread between Rome and Paris, he is said to have developed romantic relations with Marie Mancini, wife of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, great constable of Naples and Viceroy of Aragon.²⁶

Having returned to the French Court in January 1672, Philippe de Lorraine regained his privileged position with the king’s brother. His princely status prevented him from occupying any role within the Court of another prince, but the Duke of Orléans effectively granted him the direction of his household. Louis XIV granted him an allowance from the

²⁴ Since the end of 13th century, Monaco belongs to the Italian dynasty of Grimaldi; in 1660, the Earl of Guiche’s sister, Catherine-Charlotte de Gramont, marries Louis Grimaldi de Monaco. Philippe de Lorraine attempts to break the solidarity between the Gramont and the Grimaldi, encouraging rumors about his liaison with Catherine Charlotte. Later in 1688, Louis Grimaldi is granted the rank of ‘prince étranger’ thanks to the marriage between his elder son, Antoine, and Marie de Lorraine, the Earl of Armagnac’s daughter.

²⁵ Julian Swann, *Exile, Imprisonment, or Death: the Politics of Disgrace in Bourbon France, 1610-1789* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 44-52.

²⁶ E. C. Goldsmith, *The King’s mistresses. The liberated lives of Marie Mancini, princess Colonna, and her sister Hortense, Duchess Mazarin* (New York, 2012); A. Renée, *Les nièces de Mazarin: mœurs et caractères au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1858), pp. 306-10. See also a letter from the chevalier, exiled in Rome, to Joseph-Nicolas de Berton, marquis of Crillon: J. Cordey (ed.), *Inventaire des archives des ducs de Crillon* (Paris, 1908), p. 99, 3 March [1671].

Treasury of 18,000 pounds; the chevalier was also able to dispose of the vacant offices in Monsieur's Court, which earned him a rich salary.²⁷

From the 1680s, the Earl of Armagnac and Philippe de Lorraine established themselves as dominant figures in the Lorraine-Guise clan. They were friends and allies of the Marshall of Villeroy – the former tutor of the king and of Monsieur, whose daughter had married the Earl of Armagnac – and of the Duke of Vendôme, whom they had supported since his first military successes during the Nine Years' War.²⁸ The chevalier de Lorraine had an apartment in Saint Cloud and in the Palais-Royal, as well as an apartment on the ground floor of the *aille des Princes* in the Palace of Versailles, near that of the Marquis of Louvois, with whom he had maintained correspondence since his exile in Italy.²⁹

Despite the hostility demonstrated by the second Madame, Elizabeth-Charlotte von der Pfalz, Philippe de Lorraine successfully gained Louis XIV's respect. To this end, he increasingly distanced himself from Armand de Gramont, who, having been exiled in Navarre since 1669, died in the Prince of Condé's army in November 1673; he also avoided all contact with any friends of Guiche, and particularly with the chevalier of Rohan and his accomplices, executed for high treason in November 1674.³⁰ He cleverly established his

²⁷ In September 1691, Monsieur provided a position as first president of his Council for Philippe de Lorraine, who sold it for 2,000 pistoles. E. Soulié, L. Dussieux and P. de Chennevières (eds), *Journal du marquis de Dangeau, avec les additions du duc de Saint-Simon* (Paris, 1854-1860), t. III, p. 406.

²⁸ D. Jones, 'Sur une lettre inédite de l'abbé de Chaulieu', *Cahiers Saint-Simon*, 7 (1979), pp. 68-73.

²⁹ We can still read three letters by Philippe de Lorraine to the marquis of Louvois: Vincennes, Service Historique de la Défense, Archives Anciennes, Correspondance, GR A 299 [microfilm DE 2014 SA 861], f. 47, 19 January 1672; GR A 361 [microfilm DE 2014 SA 924], f. 240, 10 August 1673; f. 273, 27 March [1673].

³⁰ On the clash between Louis de Rohan and Philippe de Lorraine, the primary source is a letter by Rohan to the marquis of Pomponne: BNF, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms-5422, tome 13, f. 811, 3 January 1673. See L. Monmerqué (ed.), *Lettres de Madame de Sévigné, de sa famille et de ses amis* (Paris, 1862), vol. 3, p. 189,

position as a favourite, attracting into his circle a potential rival, Antoine Coëffier de Ruzé, Marquis of Effiat and Monsieur's *Premier écuyer*. At the same time, he gradually pushed aside another close friend of the Duke of Orléans, Charles d'Harcourt, Earl of Beuvron, who would eventually lose the trust of his master.³¹

In September 1672, Philippe de Lorraine was in talks to marry Marie de Nemours, Princess of Neuchâtel, but negotiations failed: the chevalier de Lorraine remained unmarried. However, he did not fail in his moral and social obligation to support the family's lineage. In 1688, he advocated the candidacy of his nephew, Henri de Lorraine, son of the Earl of Armagnac, among the new Knights of Saint Esprit, despite his very young age; he largely settled the dowry of Marie de Lorraine, elder daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, married to Antoine Grimaldi; and finally, he granted priories dependant on his abbeys to his nephews. In 1674, he also legitimised one of his biological children, by granting him the seigneurie of Beauvernois in Burgundy.³²

According to a widespread rumour within the court, later peddled by Saint-Simon, Philippe de Lorraine had secretly married one of his cousins, Béatrice-Hiéronyme de Lorraine, daughter of François-Marie de Lorraine-Elbeuf, Prince of Lillebonne. However, upon the chevalier de Lorraine's death, in Paris on 8 December 1702, his sole heirs were

9 February 1673; Marquis de La Fare, *Mémoires et réflexions sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis XIV*, dans *Collections des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1828), t. 65, p. 212. About Armand de Gramont and Rohan's friends, implied in the so-called 'complot de Latréaumont', see M. Klaus, 'Complots et conspirations contre Louis XIV dans la deuxième moitié du XVII^e siècle', *Dix-septième siècle*, 186, 47, pp. 113-33.

³¹ After the death of the chevalier, his apartments in Versailles were given to Beuvron's nephew, duke Henri d'Harcourt: *Journal du marquis de Dangeau*, t. IX, p. 59, 8 December 1702. The Harcourt de Beuvron, a Norman family, have nothing to do with the Armagnac-Harcourt, cadet branch of the Lorraine-Guise.

³² Spangler, 'The Chevalier de Lorraine'.

the Earl of Armagnac and the Earl of Marsan. The two brothers presided over the drafting of his post-mortem inventory: this document records Philippe de Lorraine's property at the Palais-Royal, at Saint-Cloud and at Versailles, as well as the Château de Frémont in Île-de-France and his *hôtel* in the parish of Saint-Roch in Paris. This inventory of his possessions bears witness to his taste for collections of paintings, especially landscape paintings, among which we find two works of Salvator Rosa, who Philippe de Lorraine probably met during his stay in Rome; despite his position as commendatory abbot and Knight of Malta, only a single painting of a religious subject can be found among his collections.³³

As a teenager, the chevalier de Lorraine began a career in arms, an obligatory step for young men of the *noblesse d'épée*. It appears that he never fulfilled his obligations as a Knight of Saint John of Jerusalem, particularly in the Mediterranean race, a form of piracy practiced in the name of upholding the fight against Muslims. Nevertheless, a few months before his death, he commanded the French warship *Le Content*, which landed in Algiers in November 1701.³⁴

Rather than setting his sights on military glory, Philippe de Lorraine and his brothers preferred to establish a career as courtiers and to obtain a secure income: aside from allowances and the sale of offices, ecclesiastical benefices paid a key role, not only in the accumulation of their fortune, but also in the competition between princely dynasties within France.

³³ Paris, Archives Nationales (*hereafter* AN), MT/ET/CXIII/199, 'Inventaire après-décès de Philippe de Lorraine', 29 December 1702. See also Paul Micio, *Les collections de Monsieur, frère de Louis XIV* (Paris, 2014), CD-65 and pp. 160-63.

³⁴ AN, AE/B/I/118, 29 November 1701. The *Content* was a warship with 60 canons, built in Toulon, serving between 1696 and 1712.

The race for ecclesiastical benefices

According to Daniel de Cosnac, bishop of Valence and first chaplain to the Duke of Orléans, before winning Monsieur's favour, Philippe de Lorraine only enjoyed an annual income of 1,000 *écus*.³⁵ It is possible that Cosnac, a supporter of Henrietta-Anne Stuart and fiercely hostile against the chevalier de Lorraine, had exaggerated the latter's 'distress' in order to then better insist on his shameless enrichment; the fact remains, however, that Philippe de Lorraine obtained substantial benefits from his closeness with the king's brother.

In January 1670, Louis de La Rivière, bishop of Langres, a member of Gaston d'Orléans' inner circle and a former grand chaplain to Queen Anne, died in Paris. Since 1644, he had been the commendatory abbot of the thriving Benedictine abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, whose former abbots included the cardinals of Richelieu, and of Saint-Père-en-Vallée in Chartres.³⁶ The two abbeys, incorporated into the congregation of Saint-Maur in 1627 and in 1650, were located within the apanage of the Duke of Orléans, who, as apanagist, had the right to appoint all benefices, except for bishoprics. Philippe d'Orléans wanted to grant the abbeys in *commendam* to the chevalier de Lorraine. However, Louis XIV did not wish to provoke the King of England, brother of the Duchess of Orléans, who

³⁵ Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1852), vol. 2, p. 61.

³⁶ Jean Laporte, 'Abbaye de Fleury', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1969), Tome XVII, cols. 441-76; Georges Chennesseau, *L'abbaye de Fleury à Saint-Benoît sur Loire: son histoire, ses institutions, ses édifices* (Tours, 1931); J. Napoléon, M. Rocher, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire* (Orléans, 1865). Richelieu had provided his nephew Jean-Baptiste Vignerot with the benefice: but Gaston d'Orléans refused to agree, arguing that the abbey was included in his own apanage, and imposing Louis de La Rivière.

had repeatedly complained of the poor treatment his sister had received from Philippe de Lorraine: he refused to approve his appointment, on the pretext that the chevalier was not a priest.³⁷ Despite this, the benefice remained, so to speak, in the family: in June 1670, the Duke of Orléans and his Council named a younger brother of Philippe de Lorraine, Raymond-Bérenger de Lorraine, already a commendatory abbot of Saint-Faron in Meaux, belonging to the congregation of Saint-Maur since 1618.³⁸ Installed in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire in December 1670, Raymond-Bérenger would not receive the papal bull of approval until December 1675, while the bull for Saint-Père-en-Vallée had been signed on 27 September 1671.³⁹

In his later years, Louis Barbier, an unfortunate scheming man drawn into disgrace during the Fronde, despite his attempt to gain the protection of the Cardinal Mazarin, was no longer able to protect the interests of his abbeys. On the other hand, the monks of Saint-Benoît would soon be able to appreciate the benefits to be gained from a commendatory abbot with friends in high places, acting as a legal representative of their interests. From February 1671 onwards, they paid Raymond-Bérenger de Lorraine an allowance of 1,000 livres. This was a way of thanking him for his assistance before the Duke of Orléans: Monsieur's Council cancelled two fines of 4,991 and 7,987 livres for them, imposed by the

³⁷ However, according to the Sabaudian ambassador, the marquis of Saint-Maurice, Louis XIV was ready to offer a pension of 40,000 livres to Philippe de Lorraine: Marquis de Saint-Maurice, *Lettres sur la cour de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1910), vol. 1, p. 386, 31 January 1670; p. 390, 3 February 1670.

³⁸ D. Blanchard, 'La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Faron sous l'Ancien Régime', *Abbayes et prieurés. Communautés religieuses en Île-de-France*, 48 (1997), pp. 367-83.

³⁹ Napoléon and Rocher, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, p. 409; ADEL, H. 35, 39. Another brother of Philippe de Lorraine, Alphonse-Louis de Lorraine (1644-1689), is since 1650 abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont in Val-d'Oise.

generality of Orléans as a result of the wood from the forest used to heat the abbey.⁴⁰ The new abbot took a direct interest in the administration of the properties and seigneuries of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, initiating various procedures against several farmers in payment arrears.⁴¹ He concluded, to the monk's advantage, a long dispute with Jean-Baptiste Le Féron du Plessis, grandmaster of the waters and forests of Normandy, who claimed rights over the woods of the abbey.⁴²

In December 1672, the benefice of La Sainte Trinité de Tiron, the former mother house of a reformed Benedictine branch, became vacant. Placed under the jurisdiction of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur in 1629, the abbey managed a school attached to the monastic building, and its high income made this a highly coveted benefice, reserved for the offspring of the high aristocracy.⁴³ In June 1669, it was granted to a sovereign prince, Jean II Casimir Vasa, King of Poland, who, after his abdication, withdrew to Paris.⁴⁴ Immediately after the death of Jean II Casimir, in 1672, the Duke of Orléans asked Louis XIV to grant the nomination to Philippe de Lorraine, who had just returned to the Court. The king, who two years earlier had been opposed to the idea of granting the chevalier an ecclesiastic benefice, gave his consent. Several reasons justify this change of attitude. On the one hand, Louis XIV was pleased with his brother at the time, who had just procured

⁴⁰ ADC, 1G/150, n. 3, 18 February 1671 ; n. 6, 22 February 1671.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1G/138, n. 37, 1674.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1G/138, n. 38-43, 1674-1677.

⁴³ Today Thiron-Gardais, département of Eure-et-Loir. See: J. Bascheer, 'L'Abbaye et l'ordre de Thiron. La réforme Mauriste', *Cahiers Percherons*, 1992, n. 3, pp. 17-41; Y. Charbonnier, 'L'abbaye et le collège de Tiron au XVII^e siècle', *Cahiers percherons*, 1999, n. 2, pp. 1-18.

⁴⁴ L. Merlet (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron* (Chartres, 1882-1883), vol. 2, p. 249: 'Prise de possession de l'abbaye de Tiron au nom de Jean-Casimir, roi de Pologne', 28 June 1669.

a useful alliance for him, in marrying Elizabeth-Charlotte von der Pfalz, and who had performed well while exercising command for the first time in Bouchain. On the other hand, the king needed officers for his campaign in Holland and, after the occupation of Lorraine in 1670, wanted to encourage the nobility of the duchy to take up arms for France: the example of cadets from the sovereign family could only serve to benefit his cause.⁴⁵ As a result, in 1674, Philippe de Lorraine took possession of the La Sainte Trinité de Tiron abbey.⁴⁶ The sources available do not allow us to precisely determine the income guaranteed by the abbatial assets; however, we know that, in 1669 and until the start of the 18th century, the abbey – with a dozen dependent priories – was worth over 14,000 livres in income. It welcomed over a hundred monks and just as many boarders.⁴⁷ These were made up of both the students studying in the school and, in an annexed building, former soldiers from the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris, inaugurated in 1674 and largely insufficient to house those unfortunate people who crowded at its doors. The abbey of Tiron also owned many houses in Paris; as such, the chevalier de Lorraine fitted out the manor *hôtel* in the capital, property of the abbey, to his own tastes.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See Anne Motta, *Noblesse et pouvoir princier dans la Lorraine ducale, 1624-1737* (Paris, 2015).

⁴⁶ J. Boissière and C. Michaud (eds), *L'intendance d'Orléans à la fin du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1989), p. 174.

⁴⁷ ADEL, H.1440, 'État des biens et revenus de l'abbaye de Tiron', 1669; C. de Boulainvilliers, *État de la France* (London, 1728), tome 1, p. 135. According to Dangeau, the revenues of the abbey are estimated to more than 10,000 livres: *Journal*, vol. IX, p. 69, 19 December 1702. At the end of 15th century, the dependant priories of Sainte-Trinité de Tiron were 86 while the dependant abbeys 14. Around 1670, only survived the abbey of Notre-Dame du Joug-Dieu, in the diocese of Lyon, attached to the Cathedral chapter of Villefranche in 1688; in 1720, we can still find a dozen of priories attached to Tiron. Voir *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron*, vol. 1, p. CXVI-CXXXVIII.

⁴⁸ ADEL, H.1686, 'État des propriétés de l'abbaye de Tiron à Paris', 1722; H.1689, 'Plan des possessions de l'abbaye de Tiron en la rue Saint-Antoine'; H.1692, 'Plan de l'hôtel seigneurial de Tiron et des maisons qui

Towards the middle of the 1670s, Philippe de Lorraine therefore already enjoyed a fairly significant income. Not only the abbot of La Sainte-Trinité de Tiron, he was also the principal heir of his mother, Marguerite du Cambout, deceased in December 1674. He settled this maternal succession via a transaction with the Earl of Armagnac, retaining 200,000 livres as a dower and the lands of Beaune in Burgundy.⁴⁹ Four years later, the death of the abbot of Saint-Jean des Vignes, abbot of the canons regular of Saint Augustin, allowed Philippe d'Orléans to name the chevalier de Lorraine in his place.

For about fifty years, the abbey of Saint-Jean des Vignes, which served several rural parishes, had been monopolised by the dukes of Savoy and the Piedmontese nobility at their service.⁵⁰ The cardinal Maurice de Savoie, son of the duke Charles-Emmanuel I, took possession of the abbey in 1623. Then, in 1640, he resigned in order to marry his niece, Louise-Christine de Savoie. His successor was Gianfrancesco San Martino d'Aglié, younger brother of Filippo San Martino, a great favourite of Christine de France, Duchess of Savoy.

⁵¹ Relations between Gianfrancesco San Martino and the Augustinians of Saint-Jean des Vignes were very tense, to the extent that the monks initiated several procedures against their abbot and his prosecutor, appealing to the King's court and accusing them of embezzlement.⁵²

sont de sa dépendance, à Paris' [1677]; BNF, Manuscrits, Français 26313, f. 115: 'Fiefs de l'abbaye de Tiron à Paris'; AN, MT/ET/XXXVI/337, 11 June 1712. See Y. Carbonnier, 'Les biens de l'abbaye de Tiron à Paris: état des lieux aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles', *Cahiers Percherons*, 2004, n. 4, p. 1-20.

⁴⁹ Spangler, 'The chevalier de Lorraine', note 129.

⁵⁰ The annual revenues of the abbey were listed to 25,000 livres: *Journal du marquis de Dangeau*, vol. IX, p. 69: 19 December 1702.

⁵¹ P. Batillot, *Saint-Jean des Vignes à Soissons* (Soissons, 1983); C. de Louen, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Jean des Vignes de Soissons* (Paris, 1710).

⁵² De Louen, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, pp. 187-89.

After the death of the abbot San Martino, in May 1678, the canons of Saint-Jean des Vignes, not forgetting their past grievances, offered a cold welcome to the appointment of Philippe de Lorraine, who would, however, prove to be more accommodating than the previous abbot.⁵³ Indeed, though not assiduous, Philippe de Lorraine did not totally neglect his duties as commendatory abbot: he provided the monks with the necessary permissions to use the trees of the Duke of Orléans' forest, advanced them the money to repair the abbey's buildings, and financed a part of the work on the abbey's farms from his own funds.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the monks themselves did not fail to cause trouble. In perpetual legal conflict with the bishops of Soissons, they were often noted for their unruliness: in 1700, after several complaints made to the bishop, three monks were removed from the abbey.⁵⁵

Family transactions and agreements with the monks

The Lorraine-Armagnac brothers formed a close-knit group and often worked together to increase the family's fortune. It is within the context of this familial solidarity that we should understand the transactions made between Raymond-Bérenger and Philippe de Lorraine regarding their abbatial benefices.

⁵³ AN, O/1/22, f. 100, 110: provisions given to Philippe de Lorraine. According to Madame de Sévigné, in August 1675, during a spat with Monsieur, the chevalier went first to Chilly castle, held by the marquis d'Effiat, then to 'une abbaye qu'il a en Picardie', which the editors usually identify with Saint-Jean des Vignes. But this abbey was not in the chevalier's possession yet: perhaps, Madame de Sévigné means Saint-Faron, by then a possession of Raymond-Bérenger de Lorraine. *Lettres de Madame de Sévigné*, tome 4, p. 46: 12 August 1675.

⁵⁴ AN, MT/ET/CXIII/196, 3 September 1702; O/1/46, f. 234, 7 February 1702.

⁵⁵ AN, O/1/44, f. 110, 117.

In September 1679, Raymond-Bérenger de Lorraine renounced the benefices of Saint-Benoît sur Loire and of Saint-Père en Vallée, resigning in favour of his brother, Philippe. In exchange, the latter undertook to pay him an annual allowance of 9,000 livres, to be taken from the income of the two abbatial assets.⁵⁶ Installed as abbot of Saint-Benoît on 17 November 1679, Philippe de Lorraine would have to wait for the papal bulls, signed at the beginning of the following year, to take possession of the abbey.⁵⁷

The new abbot immediately initiated proceedings against the monks for a debt they had contracted with Raymond-Bérenger: the latter had advanced them a sum to pay a fine to Monsieur's Council, as a result of the damage they had caused in the forest of Orléans.⁵⁸ In 1682, in Paris, the monks of Saint-Benoît, represented by the prior Pierre Fresney and the cellarer Gatien de Morillon, came to an agreement with Philippe de Lorraine for the management of their property and the reimbursement of the debt, according to the principle of division of benefices into three lots: between the abbatial assets, the conventual assets, and the community. As such, the monks ceded to the chevalier de Lorraine the seigneuries of Sonchamp and Châtillon-sur-Loire, the castellany of Saint-Benoît – except for the parish of Fleury and convent's censives – and the right to fish in the Loire. The woods of the forest of Orléans were split between the monks and the abbot, with the exception of the woods of the seignury of Moulinet, whose use was granted to Philippe de Lorraine. In return, the later agreed to pay the monks 1,400 livres per year, ceded the seignury of Teillay-Saint-Benoît and the tithes of the seigneuries of Bouzonville-aux-Bois, Bouilly and Allerand, with the rights of patronage to the parishes

⁵⁶ ADC, 1G/187, n. 1: 5 September 1679.

⁵⁷ Napoléon and Rocher, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, p. 411; C. Poisson, *Chroniques de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Père-en-Vallée* (Chartres, 1857), p. 274, 312.

⁵⁸ Napoléon and Rocher, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, p. 413.

located in their domain. The abbot reserved, for his exclusive use, part of the abbatial buildings, of which a main building was converted into a bakery.⁵⁹ According to the inhabitants of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, represented by the bailiff, they allowed the abbot the use of the town's moats, on the condition that he would ensure maintenance of the bridges.⁶⁰

The agreement between the chevalier de Lorraine and the monks of Saint-Benoît is not unlike that which was concluded between the prince and the monks of Saint-Père en Vallée, with the former taking possession of the abbey on 23 November 1680.⁶¹ However, the two benefices are not comparable: Saint-Père en Vallée had to make do with an annual income of 600 livres, as well as the revenue generated from less valuable lands and rights from the abbey of Saint-Florentin de Bonneval.⁶²

In 1688, upon the insistence of the Duke of Orléans, who had requested it several times, Pope Innocent XI granted the abbeys of Saint-Benoît, Saint-Jean des Vignes and Saint-Père

⁵⁹ ADC, 1G/123, n. 7: 25 November 1682; ADL, 3H.21: *Histoire abrégée de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît sur Loire*, manuscrit, f. 57r-58r [1682]. Now Guilly, Bouzonville-aux-Bois and Teillay-Saint-Benoît, department of Loiret; Moulinet-sur-Solin, near de Gien; Bouilly, department of Aube; Villers-Allerand, department of Marne.

⁶⁰ ADC, 1G/123, n. 10: 26 September 1683.

⁶¹ B. Guérard (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres* (Paris, 1840), tome 1, p. CCXLIV. The chevalier de Lorraine is appointed by papal bull on 8 October 1680: ADEL, H.39.

⁶² ADEL, H.43. The abbot of Saint-Florentin de Bonneval is César Auguste du Plessis-Praslin, duke of Choiseul: see V. Bigot (ed.), *Histoire abrégée de l'abbaye de Saint-Florentin de Bonneval* (Chateaudun, 1875). According to Dangeau, the annual revenues of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire and Saint-Jean-des-Vignes were listed to 25,000 livres, while Saint-Père en Vallée was worth around 10,000 livres: *Journal*, vol. IX, p. 69, 19 December 1702.

en Vallée the same privileges as those awarded to La Sainte-Trinité de Tiron in 1674.⁶³ The chevalier de Lorraine took great interest in Saint-Benoît sur Loire: likely because the abbey guaranteed him a substantial income, but above all, because he enjoyed hunting in the forest of Orléans.⁶⁴ To this end, he took over the abbatial residence, abandoned by his predecessors, and had a hunting lodge built – known as the ‘pavillon de Lorraine’ – to the west of the monastery, on the site of an old tower.⁶⁵ To finance the works, he borrowed from François Lestoret, a lawyer at the Parliament of Paris, who was rewarded with the office of bailiff and lieutenant of the castellany of Saint-Benoît.⁶⁶ Between 1682 and 1683, the abbot had the Conception de la Sainte Vierge chapel destroyed. This had served as the former parish church of Saint-Benoît sur Loire, and had been constructed near the abbey church of Notre-Dame; the stones were then reused in the construction of the abbey’s stables.⁶⁷ At the same time, he undertook to pay the monks 2,000 livres per year for the church’s maintenance.⁶⁸ Despite the agreement with the Bishop of Orléans, Pierre du Cambout, Philippe de Lorraine’s uncle, and the Prior Michel Briant, the people of Saint-Benoît – denied a place of worship managed by local confraternities – insisted that this was desecration: so much so that some believed God himself responsible for the abbot’s death, which took place on the day of the Immaculate Conception.⁶⁹

⁶³ *Correspondance du nonce en France: Angelo Ranuzzi, 1683-1689* (Rome, 1973), vol. 2: p. 147, 8 September 1687; p. 160, 30 September 1687; p. 296, 20 April 1688.

⁶⁴ Chennesseau, *L’abbaye de Fleury à Saint-Benoît sur Loire*, p. 49.

⁶⁵ ADC, 1G/146, n. 24-26.

⁶⁶ ADL, 1J.77: provisions by Philippe de Lorraine for François Lestoré, 26 November 1685.

⁶⁷ L. Marchand, *Souvenirs historiques de l’ancienne abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire* (Orléans, 1838), pp. 113-114.

⁶⁸ Napoléon and Rocher, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale*, p. 413.

⁶⁹ ADL, *Histoire abrégée*, f. 69r [1702]; Napoléon and Rocher, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale*, p. 467.

The two seigneuries of Châtillon-sur-Loire and Sonchamp, which guaranteed rich incomes, were also the subject of transactions between the monks and the abbot. Philippe de Lorraine ceded the seignury of Sonchamp by emphyteutic lease to tenants chosen among the servants; this type of contract is often the subject of repeated agreements, which benefit both the commendatory abbot, who could reward their loyal followers and guarantee themselves income, and the monks – as the tenants often agreed to pay them a land rent with annual interest, in order to be joined to the conventual assets. In 1680, Dominique de Richemont, acting as the chevalier de Lorraine’s prosecutor, ceded the seignury of Sonchamp for nine years to Gilles Deshayes, a Parisian member of the bourgeoisie, for an annual price of 3,000 livres; in 1691, he signed a nine-year lease for another Parisian member of the bourgeoisie, Martin Richer; then, in 1695, an emphyteutic lease of nine years was signed by the Knight of Lorraine for the benefit of François Arnault, esquire, for 2,150 livres per year. Finally, in 1701, the abbot signed a 99-year lease for the benefit of Nicolas Gerbé, prosecutor in the bailiwick of Montfort-l’Amaury, for 20,000 livres and an annual rent of 2,150 livres. With regard to the monks, the tenant was obliged to provide them with a bequest worth 20,000 livres, with annual interest: after the expiration of the lease, the funds would remain in their possession.⁷⁰ In Châtillon-sur-Loire, the monks obtained a Financial Council Order in 1696, which required the abbot to pay them 200 livres in order to retain his rights to markets and fairs in the town.⁷¹

⁷⁰ ADC, 1G/170, n. 1, 5, 8, 10-12; AN, AB/XIX/3292/A, n. 11, 26 June 1680.

⁷¹ ADC, 1G/154, n. 5: 28 June 1696.

The patronage of a Prince-abbot

In May 1684, the general hospital of Saint-Benoît sur Loire, until then jointly administered by the monks and the town, but long since unused, was sold to the Knights of Saint-Lazare of Boigny. When, nine years later, the new administrators announced their intention to convert the return to hospice to its original function and join it with that of Sully, the monks of Saint-Benoît and the town hall rose up in rebellion. The abbatial community turned to Philippe de Lorraine to defend their interests before the financial Council of Louis XIV. In 1699, the abbot obtained letters patent from the king, which re-established the hospice's administration in favour of the Prior of Saint-Benoît and the town's mayors.⁷² The same dynamics of patronage can be observed during a legal dispute between the monks of Saint-Jean des Vignes and a clerical advisor at the Parliament of Paris, who, moreover, was a supporter of the Princes of Condé. Philippe de Lorraine's intervention put an end to a longstanding conflict: the king's Council ruled in favour of the monks. In 1690, acting as commendatory abbot of La Sainte-Trinité de Tiron, the chevalier de Lorraine sued the Prince Henri-Jules de Condé for an unpaid rent due to the monks, established in the earldom of Dunois, belonging to Jean-Louis d'Orléans-Longueville, for whom Condé served as tutor.⁷³ These minor episodes undoubtedly marked personal successes for Philippe de Lorraine, as part of the rivalries between 'princes étrangers' and 'princes du sang'.

In other cases, abbey rights were the subject of transactions between Philippe de Lorraine and people very close to the king. In 1692, Madame de Maintenon obtained the chevalier's

⁷² Napoléon and Rocher, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, p. 415.

⁷³ *Factum pour messire Philippe, prince de Lorraine [...] contre messire Henry-Jules de Bourbon*, Paris, [1690]; ADEL, H. 1544.

support to persuade the monks of Saint-Benoît to cede the priory of Saint-Benoît-du-Saul, which held six monks, to the Société des Missions Étrangères in Paris, responsible for the management of the Maison Royale de Saint-Louis of Saint-Cyr.⁷⁴

Most significantly in the case of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, we can therefore note the commendatory abbot's personal involvement, not only in the management of abbatial assets, but in the administration of the conventual estate. To this end, Philippe de Lorraine made use of his family's loyalties. This is evidenced, for example in the case of Antoine Barré, lawyer at the Parliament of Paris: secretary of Raymond-Bérenger de Lorraine's benefices, he regularly acted as prosecutor of Saint-Faron and Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, both on behalf of Raymond-Bérenger and of his brother. In 1687, the chevalier de Lorraine instructed him to withdraw all titles and papers concerning the two abbeys, which were at that time in the hands of private individuals, to confer these to his chaplain, François Arnault. His successors did not care much for administrative paperwork: the documents classified upon the orders of Philippe de Lorraine were only found in 1743, in the safe of Father Arnault at the Palais-Royal.⁷⁵

Conclusion

It is not easy to precisely establish the income enjoyed by Philippe de Lorraine from the 1680s onwards. He possessed four abbatial benefices, and his allowance from the

⁷⁴ Napoléon and Rocher, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, p. 414.

⁷⁵ ADC, 1G/194, n. 19: 'Inventaire des titres et papiers concernant les abbayes de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et de Saint-Père-en-Vallée, retirés des mains de particuliers et remis au chevalier de Lorraine', 3 March 1687. See M. Prou and A. Vidier (eds), *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire* (Orléans-Paris, 1900-1912), vol. 1, pp. XX, XXIV.

Treasury reached 20,000 livres; he also benefited from a portion of the income generated from the family lands in Burgundy and from the control of 198 acres of woods in the bailiwicks of Mantes and Meulan; and, finally, was lieutenant of the hunt of the Duke of Villeroy in the forest of Sénart, in Île-de-France.⁷⁶ To these fixed incomes, we must add other sources of revenue, including donations: in 1685, he received 100,000 francs from Louis XIV to pay his debts, while, 13 years later, the king gave him 20,000 *écus*, payable over three years.⁷⁷ In any case, towards the end of his life, despite Saint-Simon's recriminations, Philippe de Lorraine's income reached 119,418 livres: which was not enormous, however, and did not stop him from falling into debt at the time of his death.⁷⁸

After the death of the chevalier de Lorraine, what happened to his benefices?

On 31 December 1702, Louis de Thésut, brother of Jean, secretary of the Duke of Orléans, took possession of Saint-Père en Vallée, while the fiefdoms of his family had long been under the jurisdiction of the Earl of Armagnac, granted in 1643 to Henri de Lorraine-Harcourt.⁷⁹ As for Saint-Benoît sur Loire, this fell to Hardouin Roux de Medavy, first chaplain of the Duke of Orléans, already abbot of Notre-Dame de Relec in Brittany; Notre-Dame de Beaugency, in the diocese of Orléans; and of Saint-Pierre de Preully, in the diocese of Tours. Hardouin Rouxel was the half-brother of Louise-Élisabeth Rouxel, governess to Monsieur's children and close friend of the chevalier de Lorraine, with whom

⁷⁶ Arthur de Boislisle (ed.), *Mémoires des intendants sur l'état des généralités dressées pour l'instruction du duc de Bourgogne*, tome 1, *Généralité de Paris* (Paris, 1881), p. 210, 312; *Journal du marquis de Dangeau*, vol. VI, p. 257: 30 December 1697; vol. IX, p. 98: 16 January 1703.

⁷⁷ *Journal du marquis de Dangeau*, vol. I, p. 199: 1 July 1685; vol. VI, p. 380: 11 July 1698.

⁷⁸ ADC, 1G/147: 'État des revenus du chevalier de Lorraine' [1700].

⁷⁹ ADEL, H.35; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, vol. 1, p. CCXLIV; Poisson, *Chroniques de l'abbaye royale*, p. 274.

she is said to have had a child.⁸⁰ His appointment was approved by Louis XIV at the end of December 1702, although his abbacy did not last long: he died two years later.⁸¹

La Sainte-Trinité de Tiron was granted without much fuss to Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, first chaplain to the Duchess of Orléans.⁸² With regard to Saint-Jean des Vignes, however, a dispute emerged between the Duke Philippe II of Orléans and the King's Council. The abbey was located near Soissons, which was not within the Duke of Orléans' apanage; however, the prince argued that, in reality, the buildings of the abbey belonged to the Valois, and only became part of Soissons during the town's fortification. Indeed, the abbey of Saint-Jean des Vignes is situated on a natural mound to the south-west of Soissons; at the start of the 17th century, with the growth of the fortified perimeter, the town's walls enveloped the abbey, which, like all faubourgs, had been part of the bailiwick of Valois, gradually replaced by the presidial seat of Soissons.⁸³ Louis XIV, who wished to please his nephew, recognised his right to appoint the abbatial benefice, which fell to Achille-Bérenger de Sassenage, descendant of the Dauphinoise nobility and brother of the first gentleman of the bedchamber of the Duke of Orléans.⁸⁴

In the case of both Saint-Benoît sur Loire and Saint-Père en Vallée, therefore, Philippe de Lorraine seems to have paved the way for his protégés. However, after the abbacy of Jérôme Du Faur de Pibrac, the benefice of Saint-Benoît was granted to Daniel-Joseph de Cosnac, bishop and Earl of Valence: great-nephew of Daniel de Cosnac, a great enemy of

⁸⁰ Spangler, 'The chevalier de Lorraine', note 25.

⁸¹ ADC, 1G/139, n. 28-33; V. Des Diguères, *Familles illustres de Normandie: étude historique et généalogique sur les Rouxel de Médavy-Grancey* (Paris, 1870), p. 445-448.

⁸² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité*, vol. 1, p. LXXV.

⁸³ D. Roussel, 'Soissons', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, 16 (1999), pp. 134-35.

⁸⁴ *Journal du marquis de Dangeau*, vol. IX, p. 59: 8 December 1702; p. 69: 19 December 1702; Batillot, *Saint-Jean des Vignes à Soissons*, p. 98.

the chevalier de Lorraine, who had never accepted the appointment of Raymond-Bérenger and his brother. Daniel-Joseph de Cosnac appeared determined to destroy the memory of Philippe de Lorraine: he immediately ordered the destruction of the 'pavillon de Lorraine', and the sale of the 228 elms that the chevalier had had planted on the lands of a smallholding near the abbey.⁸⁵ With regard to the two other abbeys held by Philippe de Lorraine, we have seen that his successors neither belonged to his family nor to his group of supporters: as such, it can be assumed that the chevalier had no involvement in their appointment.

Finally, throughout the long duration of the family's history, the abbacies of Philippe de Lorraine ended in failure, to the extent that he was unable to retain his major benefices within his lineage. However, his record as a commendatory abbot is great example of the reciprocal collaboration between abbots and monks, which forms the subtle balance between patronage and personal ambition serving as the basis for the practice of benefices in the modern age.

⁸⁵ ADC, 1G/124, n. 17; 1G/143, 24-26; 1G/146, n. 65.

