

ABSTRACTS

I. Papers from the conference “Louis XIV and Port-Royal”

Keynote address

Olivier CHALINE

Louis XIV and Port-Royal : a historiographical stocktaking

A historiographical stocktaking on the theme of “Louis XIV and Port-Royal” is, above all, destined to attract attention to real gaps and as a result to encourage new research work. It appears that historians working on Louis XIV took little interest in Port-Royal and that historians of Port-Royal were not very much concerned about the monarch. This picture allows us to highlight gaps in our knowledge of the monarch regarding his opinions, his education or his sources of information. It also allows us to show the importance of networks and lineages, thus moderating the impression of omnipotence left by the monarch.

Keywords : Louis XIV ; Historiography

1. Port-Royal as regards Louis XIV

Agnès COUSSON

“God... holds in his hand the heart of kings” : the presence and absence of the king in the letters of Port-Royal abbesses

We will examine the presence of the king in the letters of Port-Royal abbesses, Angélique and Agnès Arnauld, and Angélique de Saint-Jean Arnauld d’Andilly. As the ultimate figure of power, the king holds an important place in moral reflection, in its abstract sense. The “earthly” king, Louis XIV, is chiefly present via the account of the effects of his persecution of Port-Royal. What defence strategies are adopted by the abbesses with regard to a figure whom they recognize as a “holy person” and who cannot be openly accused? What images of the Sun King emerge

from their letters? Lastly, we will analyse the role of the “celestial” kings, God and Jesus Christ, in the struggle of the resisting community when confronted with Louis XIV.

Keywords : King; Nuns

Giuseppe Fulvio ACCARDI

Portus Regalis : theological and political issues between Louis XIV and the Port-Royal nuns

During the persecution, the Port-Royal nuns experience their ability to intervene amid the tragic events that affect them. They reverse their relations with the church hierarchy and the monarchical authority by means of a constellation of complex images that articulate their religious consciousness, their lives and their bodies. This study proposes to examine the nuns’ specific viewpoint in the light of models of representation of power. It is a question of new theoretical constructions of the reign which transpose Port-Royal as an enclave of God’s kingdom on earth.

Keywords : Representation of power; Community resistance

Sylvain HILAIRE

Louis XIV and Port-Royal through the prism of the garden, from Robert Arnauld d’Andilly to Jean-Baptiste de La Quintinie

The paradoxical or even ambivalent position held by a number of founding personalities of classical thought who were divided between Louis XIV’s court in its Versailles showcase and the networks of support around Port-Royal can find a kind of historical and literary perspective through the prism of the garden. The combined approaches of the art and literature of the garden, landscape analysis and horticultural history allow a different grasp of the way in which the nature of exchanges and flows of an aesthetic, cultural and technical order are at work between the Port-Royal friendship networks and the principal bodies of power linked to Louis XIV. Between Robert Arnauld d’Andilly, designated in the Port-Royal memoirs – incidentally, and not without a certain two-fold irony – as “superintendent of the Port-Royal gardens,” and Jean-Baptiste de La Quintinie, one of Louis XIV’s great protégés and creator of the *Potager du roi* (the King’s vegetable garden) at Versailles, a whole context fed by exchanges, transmissions and underlying kinships can be implicitly reread.

Indeed both of them are considered to be the principal founders of modern horticulture and of a large part of the aesthetic of the classical garden.

Keywords : Robert Arnauld d'Andilly ; Jean-Baptiste de La Quintinie

2. Between the court and Port-Royal : rifts, settlements, legends

Hans BOTS

Mme de Maintenon and the Jansenists

Starting from the 1690s, the ecclesiastical authorities in both France and Rome became aware of the eminent role played at court by Mme de Maintenon, the secret wife of Louis XIV. They continually tried to recruit her to their cause, especially in the struggle against Jansenism, which saw in her a fierce opponent. This struggle against the friends of Port-Royal which she led more by personal than political conviction, irrevocably affected her relations with the Cardinal de Noailles.

Keywords : Madame de Maintenon ; Cardinal de Noailles

Véronique MITRANI

Bossuet and Port-Royal

It would be tempting to conclude from Bossuet's position at court and in relation to the king that his relationship with Port-Royal could only have been contentious. Furthermore, didn't Bossuet condemn Jansenius's five propositions? However, the nature of the ties that they maintained seems to be more complex to define than might first appear. The matter of the Five Propositions, the Protestant controversy, the condemnation of Quietism, the row over theatre and the issue of the theology of grace, through a series of successive and complementary touches, allow us to identify the manner in which Bossuet's thought and that of Port-Royal are connected to each other, as well as the Augustinian basis that is common to them both.

Keywords : Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet ; Port-Royal

Rémi MATHIS

*Simon Arnauld de Pomponne between Port-Royal and Louis XIV :
division or peaceful coexistence?*

As the son of Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, the secretary of state Simon Arnauld de Pomponne could be presented as a worldly Jansenist or even as a traitor to the Port-Royal cause. Yet, it appears that he did not abandon his friends and that he knew how to show courage in arguing their case, when necessary, to the king. However he never stopped distinguishing between political loyalty and personal convictions and mixed the two categories.

Keywords : Simon Arnauld de Pomponne ; Secretary of state

Pierre-François BURGER

Conflicting loyalties of Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot

Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot (1648-1720) continued the political engagement of his grandfather and father by serving the Bourbon dynasty, primarily in continuing to publish the *Gazette*, where he had printed news or elements of propaganda language desired by the king and his ministers. He also participated in the preliminary censorship of books and carried out certain secret political missions. But Renaudot also served Port-Royal, beginning in his youth by participating in the publication of the first volumes of *La Perpétuité de la Foi*. From 1704 he extended to other sacraments the arguments used for the Eucharist in *La Perpétuité* and published much historical work on the Churches of the East, as if these publications were the only defence still possible of Port-Royal after the destruction of the monastery and the *Unigenitus* papal bull.

Keywords : Eusèbe Renaudot ; *Perpétuité de la Foi catholique*

Christine GOUZI

*From the court to the monastery and from the monastery to the
court : Jean Jouvenet (1644-1717), painter of Louis XIV*

Many writers served Louis XIV, all the while maintaining links with Port-Royal. Certain artists did the same. This was the case of Jean Jouvenet (1644-1717), a painter specialised in religious painting, and a member of the Royal Academy of Painting of which he was director. Although he was a portrait artist of the Port-Royal *Solitaires*, he was still one of the Crown's favourite artists, and it entrusted him with part of

the most prestigious religious décor of the reign : the Invalides and the Versailles chapel. From the court to the monastery of Port-Royal, it is, however, difficult to read – in terms of tension – Jouvenet’s career, as it seems to have always reconciled these two poles. A meticulous analysis of the sources that link him to Port-Royal bring us a better understanding of his position in the years from 1680 to 1700.

Keywords : Jean Jouvenet; Court art

3. Louis XIV and Port-Royal : creating a narrative and writing history

Constance CAGNAT-DEBŒUF

“A great king when he is left to himself” : Louis XIV in Nicolas Fontaine’s and Pierre Thomas du Fossé’s memoirs

In Fontaine’s and Du Fossé’s memoirs, Louis XIV is not mentioned only as the distant authority issuing the orders of human justice; he is an occasional character in the memoirs, dramatized in some anecdotes that aimed at sketching an “on the spot” portrait of him. This article studies this double mode of presence of Louis XIV in the memoirs, as the context of the persecution encourages questioning the art of storytelling as well as the rhetoric of the eulogy. Indeed, behind the much hackneyed argument of the poor advisor destined to exonerate the king of the unfair persecution thus appears a critical reflection of which the monarch is the target, all the while cultivating around the royal figure a happy and compensatory reverie soothing the memory of some key scenes.

Keywords : Oblique criticism; Reverie

Laurence PLAZENET

Anamorphosis from sun to spectre : Louis XIV in Port-Royalist historiography

The representation of Louis XIV in Port-Royalist historiography concerns as much the image of the monarch and the reception of his reign as the connection of Port-Royal itself to his history. It is Louis XIV who orchestrated the persecution and the destruction of the monastery. For this reason, the king constitutes a subject that is both tricky and essential for the historians close to Port-Royal. Although the nuns and the first historians

never stopped protesting their loyalty regarding the figure of the king, we can see, over time, a shift in meaning of speech to a more and more assertive reconsideration of a king who had become the incarnation of tyranny.

Keywords : Historiography ; Tyranny

Annabelle BOLOT

“Thus, on all sides, I am not Jansenist.” Saint-Simon and the paradoxes of the courtier : some reflections on Port-Royal based on the Memoirs

This article examines the paradoxes of a man who was a court figure, close to the Jesuits, and perhaps even openly “anti-Jansenist”, all the while, however, remaining favourable to the Port-Royal group. How did Saint-Simon experience and think his relationship to a monastery that he only knew in its declining years? And why did he declare himself to be anti-Jansenist while at other times denouncing the invention of a heresy “which had neither author nor sect member”? These contradictions and apparent paradoxes lead us to reflect on the political, intellectual and religious climate in which the memorialist had to live, torn – between service to the king at court and interior spiritual agonies – by multiple allegiances and loyalties that were sometimes difficult to reconcile.

Keywords : Anti-Jansenism ; Memoirs

Claire QUAGLIA

The imaginary confrontation : Louis XIV and Port-Royal in Saint-Simon’s memoirs

This article seeks to grasp the reasons for the fight to the death observed by Saint-Simon between the Jansenists and Louis XIV during the final years of Port-Royal monastery. They are neither truly religious nor even political : only the political imaginary of this king that is reproduced by the *Memoirs* can explain the tragic confrontation between the monarch and a small dying monastery. For a monarch who based his power on a glorified and acclaimed image of himself, in other words on a power of an almost religious nature, the unique place of seduction constituted by Port-Royal competed directly with this hitherto unseen form of political link that Louis XIV attempted to develop with his subjects. It was in terms of desire that the political affects at court were henceforth pronounced,

threatened by the irresistible attraction exerted by a monastery situated a few leagues from Versailles.

Keywords : Imaginary ; Desire

Henri DURANTON

A troubled memory : Louis XIV and Port-Royal in eighteenth-century Jansenist propaganda

Satirical literature of Jansenist inspiration, put into verse, is very present in the handwritten songbooks of the eighteenth century. One could expect it to focus on a recollection of Port-Royal and its persecutor, Louis XIV, but that is not the case. Consulting other similar collections proves just as futile. The reason for this is simple : the controversy was only concerned with current affairs, to the detriment of historical truth. It is the reason why, after 1715, Père Le Tellier was made the only party responsible for the destruction of Port-Royal; and from 1760-1764, the destruction of the Jesuits would be described as the resounding revenge of the destruction of Port-Royal. This constant presence over the whole century of Jansenist propaganda, taking the form of short poems popularly inspired, often intended to be sung on well-known tunes, is a phenomenon that has not been taken into account by criticism. It is, however, revealing of a will to reach, or even convert, a general public, or at the very least to inspire aversion with regard to the Jesuits. This was a successful plan since, according to a well-known remark by the memorialist Barbier, “all of Paris” would end up being Jansenist.

Keywords : Propaganda ; Current affairs

4. Between Port-Royal and the king : the Jesuits and the French clergy

Sylvio Hermann DE FRANCESCHI

Doctoral and theological authorities in the anti-Jansenist controversy : the authorial status of Père Annat (1590-1670), Jesuit, polemicist and the king's confessor

As the target of Blaise Pascal's mockery in the *Provincial letters*, Père Annat is unquestionably the most well-known of the king's confessors. Admittedly he was an ardent anti-Jansenist and a theologian, although the

quality of his writing was much criticized by posterity. We can recall in particular Voltaire's remark : "Annat was neither a doctor nor a learned man." This image of mediocre controversialist deserves, however, to be moderated. Ultimately there is no question that the consequences of Father Annat's intervention will have left their mark on the controversy in the long-term.

Keywords : François Annat ; Theology

Philippe MOULIS

"We don't want the king to find out" : the Jesuits' responsibility in the Unigenitus papal bull dispute, according to Pierre de Langle's correspondence

Named as bishop of Boulogne in 1698, Pierre de Langle was a noteworthy figure in episcopal Jansenism, particularly because of his role in opposing the *Unigenitus* papal bull. He left a large collection of letters whose analysis reveals a deep hostility towards Jesuits. In the end, it appears that Pierre de Langle was convinced that, in the controversies surrounding Jansenism, the king's entourage intended to conceal the truth from him.

Keywords : Pierre de Langle ; Society of Jesus

Thierry ISSARTEL

From anti-Jansenism to the struggle against Port-Royal : Pierre de Marca (1594-1662), archbishop, minister of state and director of Louis XIV's Council of Conscience

Pierre de Marca had been close to the young king Louis XIV, whose Council of Conscience he directed. For this reason, certain historians considered that he was one of those who had educated the young king and had directly influenced him in his anti-Jansenist, then anti-Protestant policies. This complex and ambitious figure, who had clear Gallican leanings and who was not close to the Jesuits, showed an anti-Jansenist involvement whose basis seems to have been largely political.

Keywords : Pierre de Marca ; Anti-Jansenism

Olivier ANDURAND

Louis XIV and his clergy : the issues at stake with the papal bull Vineam Domini Sabaoth

Louis XIV tasked pope Clement XI with resolving a central problem for the kingdom : the thorny question of Jansenism and respectful silence. However in Rome, drafting the papal bull *Vineam Domini Sabaoth* was an opportunity to emphasize papal ambitions of infallibility. The king, defender of his Church's freedoms, had to secure acceptance of these new principles by a particularly reluctant episcopacy. Here is a contradiction which disconcerted the different actors of the reception of the constitution : the members of the 1705 assembly, the parliament, but also all the bishops. It is consequently necessary to understand how the sovereign managed to impose his wish on a clergy hesitating between obedience to policy and maintaining its prerogatives in the framework of a Gallicanism that was henceforth on alert. We will highlight Louis XIV's interventions in the composition of the Roman text, then explore how he influenced the decisions of the large ten-year assembly of the clergy in France, and finally see how the Gallican maxims managed to enter into conflict with the political wishes of the Most Christian King.

Keywords : Gallicanism ; Holy See

Leonhard HELL

An ecclesiastical Demosthenes : the German-speaking legacy of Jean-Baptiste Massillon, preacher at Louis XIV's funeral service

The sentence "Only God is great," uttered by Jean-Baptiste Massillon at one of the funeral services for Louis XIV at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, left a long-lasting mark on minds beyond the borders of France. Translations of the sermons of the man who would become bishop of Clermont spread quickly, particularly in the German-speaking world. Their success can be explained partly by their undeniable literary quality but also by the very particular context of the influence of late Jansenism in Germany and Austria.

Keywords : Jean-Baptiste Massillon ; Sermon

II. Varia

Bernard KOCH

God's universal salvific will and the freedom of men according to Saint Vincent de Paul : De la grâce (between the end of 1647 and June 1648)

A short text by Saint Vincent de Paul called *De la grâce*, written around 1648 and published here in a critical edition, allows us to reveal the author's point of view in theological controversies on this issue. Mr Vincent's hostility to Jansenism is manifest here, as is his sound knowledge of these subjects.

Keywords : Saint Vincent de Paul ; Grace

Guy BASSET

Further information on Jean Hamon, epitaph author

Jean Hamon, the Port-Royal doctor, made a name for himself with the epitaphs that he wrote, in particular on the occasion of the burial of friends of Port-Royal monastery. An updated list of these epitaphs is given here.

Keywords : Jean Hamon ; Epitaph

Jean-Claude LECHNER

On the 1690 Maurist edition of De correptione et gratia : a note on the copy at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana

The insertion of an analysis written by Antoine Arnauld into a Maurist edition of *De correptione et gratia* by Saint Augustine earned its publishers the wrath of the archbishop of Paris, Harlay. The definitive version of this work no longer includes this analysis and the only known non-expunged copy can be found at the Mazarine library. However, a later version of the denounced piece of paper was inserted into a copy of the Maurist edition located at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan.

Keywords : Bibliographical history ; Maurist editing

Gábor TŰSKÉS

Psychomachia of a Christian prince : at the crossroads of autobiographical and religious genres. Francis II Rákóczi : Confessio peccatoris (First part)

The work entitled *Confessio peccatoris* by Francis II Rákóczi (1676-1735) is an important and complex text, but it is relatively little known. It is all the more important as it belongs to the history of subjectivism before Rousseau, and unites several autobiographical and religious genres. The *Confessio* fits within the process by which Jansenism – all along the seventeenth century with other theological and spiritual movements – played a role in the decline of rhetoric and in bringing poetics to the fore in literary essays.

Keywords : Francis II Rákóczi ; Autobiography