Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland

The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468–1503)

Natalia Nowakowska

Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700

ROUTLEDGE

CHURCH, STATE AND DYNASTY IN RENAISSANCE POLAND

For my grandparents

Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland

The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468–1503)

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Series Editor's Preface

The still-usual emphasis on medieval (or Catholic) and Reformation (or Protestant) religious history has meant neglect of the middle ground, both chronological and ideological. As a result, continuities between the Middle Ages and early modern Europe have been overlooked in favour of emphasis on radical discontinuities. Further, especially in the later period, the identification of 'reformation' with various kinds of Protestantism means that the vitality and creativity of the established church, whether in its Roman or local manifestations, has been left out of account. In the last few years, an upsurge of interest in the history of traditional (or Catholic) religion makes these inadequacies in received scholarship even more glaring and in need of systematic correction. The series will attempt this by covering all varieties of religious behaviour, broadly interpreted, not just (or even especially) traditional institutional and doctrinal church history. It will, to the maximum degree possible, be interdisciplinary, comparative and global, as well as non-confessional. The goal is to understand religion, primarily of the 'Catholic' variety, as a broadly human phenomenon, rather than as a privileged mode of access to superhuman realms, even implicitly.

The period covered, 1300–1700, embraces the moment which saw an almost complete transformation of the place of religion in the life of Europeans, whether considered as a system of beliefs, as an institution, or as a set of social and cultural practices. In 1300, vast numbers of Europeans, from the pope down, fully expected Jesus' return and the beginning of His reign on earth. By 1700, very few Europeans, of whatever level of education, would have subscribed to such chiliastic beliefs. Pierre Bayle's notorious sarcasms about signs and portents are not idiosyncratic. Likewise, in 1300 the vast majority of Europeans probably regarded the pope as their spiritual head; the institution he headed was probably the most tightly integrated and effective bureaucracy in Europe. Most Europeans were at least nominally Christian, and the pope had at least nominal knowledge of that fact. The papacy, as an institution, played a central role in high politics, and the clergy in general formed an integral part of most governments, whether central or local. By 1700, Europe was divided into a myriad of different religious allegiances, and even those areas officially subordinate to the pope were both more nominally Catholic in belief (despite colossal efforts at imposing uniformity) and also in allegiance than they had been four hundred years earlier. The pope had become only one political factor, and not one of the first rank. The clergy, for its part, had virtually disappeared from secular governments as well as losing much of its local authority. The stage was set for the Enlightenment.

Thomas F. Mayer
Augustana College

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Since I first began working on Jagiellonian Poland nine years ago, I have incurred a formidable number of academic and personal debts of gratitude. This research would not have been possible without the financial support of the British Academy and the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB), which funded my masters' and doctoral projects with studentships. Additional research trips to Italy and Poland were supported by an Oxford University Scatcherd European Scholarship, a Polish Government Postgraduate Scholarship and grants from the Colin Matthew Fund and the School of Humanities at King's College London.

This book has grown out of a doctoral thesis written between 2000 and 2003 at Lincoln College, Oxford, where I had earlier spent three years as an undergraduate benefiting from the teaching and encouragement of Susan Brigden and Paul Langford. Whereas the original aim of the thesis had been to explore papal–Polish relations through the prism of Fryderyk Jagiellon's career, it quickly became clear that Fryderyk's contacts with Rome were sadly meagre and that the real significance of his life lay in Central Europe itself. A one-year Postdoctoral Research Fellowship at the History Department of King's College London gave me the opportunity to redeploy the doctoral material, explore Fryderyk's Polish context in more detail and write most of this volume. The very last stages of the project were completed at University College, Oxford, where I was delighted to take up a Junior Research Fellowship in October 2005.

Teachers, colleagues and friends at all these institutions have shaped this book in decisive ways. Norman Tanner and Jacqueline Glomski oversaw my earliest research on Fryderyk and the papacy. Nicholas Davidson supervised the doctorate itself, offering astute guidance, careful feedback and optimistic support over several years; he might have forgotten that it was he who first suggested that the curious Polish cardinal might warrant closer investigation. I am indebted to John Watts for helping me to think more clearly about the fifteenth-century state, and to Ian Forrest for his acute thoughts on the late medieval church. My doctoral examiners, Robert Evans and David Chambers, offered thought-provoking pointers for the development of the thesis into a book. Jinty Nelson read a draft chapter and offered helpful comments. Professor Krzysztof Baczkowski welcomed me to his Late Medieval Europe seminar at the Jagiellonian University's History Institute in 2002, while Dariusz Jach has shared his enthusiasm for and knowledge about Fryderyk unstintingly, and cast a careful eye over the manuscript. Leofranc Holford-Strevens provided expert checking of the Latin. Any remaining errors are my own.

I would like to thank the staff of the Bodleian Library, and Janet Zmroczek of the British Library, who managed to source books and articles from Poland with uncanny speed. In Poland, I also owe a special debt of thanks to Father Jarosław Bogacz, Director of the Gniezno Archdiocesan Museum; Father Wojtek Kujawski, Director of the Włocławek Diocesan Archive; Father Marian Aleksandrowicz, Director of

the Gniezno Archdiocesan Archive, and Elżbieta Knapek of the Metropolitan Curia Archive in Kraków. At Ashgate, Tom Gray and Thomas Mayer have been a pleasure to work with.

In retracing Fryderyk Jagiellon's restless steps across Poland, and working in the great Italian city he never saw, I have spent many months away from home. In Warsaw, the Hydzik family and Jacek and Małgosia Wojciechowski opened their homes to me, while Darek and Marzenka Jach were kind and generous friends in Kraków. The British School at Rome provided a stimulating and warm environment throughout the autumn of 2001. In Oxford and beyond, Emma Furniss and Margaret Small have offered much-valued advice, support and friendship. My parents, Chris and Jolanda, have been supportive throughout, and it was they who first suggested that Polish history should not be taken at face value. My husband, Nick, has offered many years of incisive comments and insights on Fryderyk at the dinner table, suffered the worst of Roman hotels and proved himself to be an upstanding honorary Pole. His love and support have underpinned this research.

This book is dedicated to my grandparents, who left Central Europe in very dark times and found refuge in the United Kingdom when they most needed it – to my grandmothers, Tereska and Janina, and to my grandfathers, Tadeusz Podgórski (1920–86), journalist and political activist; Zbigniew Błażyński (1914–96), diplomat, journalist and political commentator; and Tadeusz Nowakowski (1917–96), novelist and broadcaster. Not all of them have lived to see the seismic changes of 1989 and symbolic turning point of May 2004. If this volume, with its sources freely garnered from across the Continent and upbeat geopolitical assumptions, appears to be a twenty-first-century product, it has nonetheless been shaped fundamentally by their twentieth-century European journey.

Somerville College, Oxford, April 2007

Abbreviations

AAG	Archiwum Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Gniezno
AAP	Archiwum Archidiecezji Poznańskiej, Poznań
ADWł	Archiwum Diecezji Włocławskiej, Włocławek
AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Warsaw
AKK	Archiwum Kapituły Krakowskiej, Kraków
AKM	Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej, Kraków
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican
BJ	Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków
Bodley	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BK	Biblioteka Kórnicka, Kórnik-Poznań
BN	Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw
Czart.	Biblioteka Czartoryska, Kraków
PSB	Polski Słownik Biograficzny

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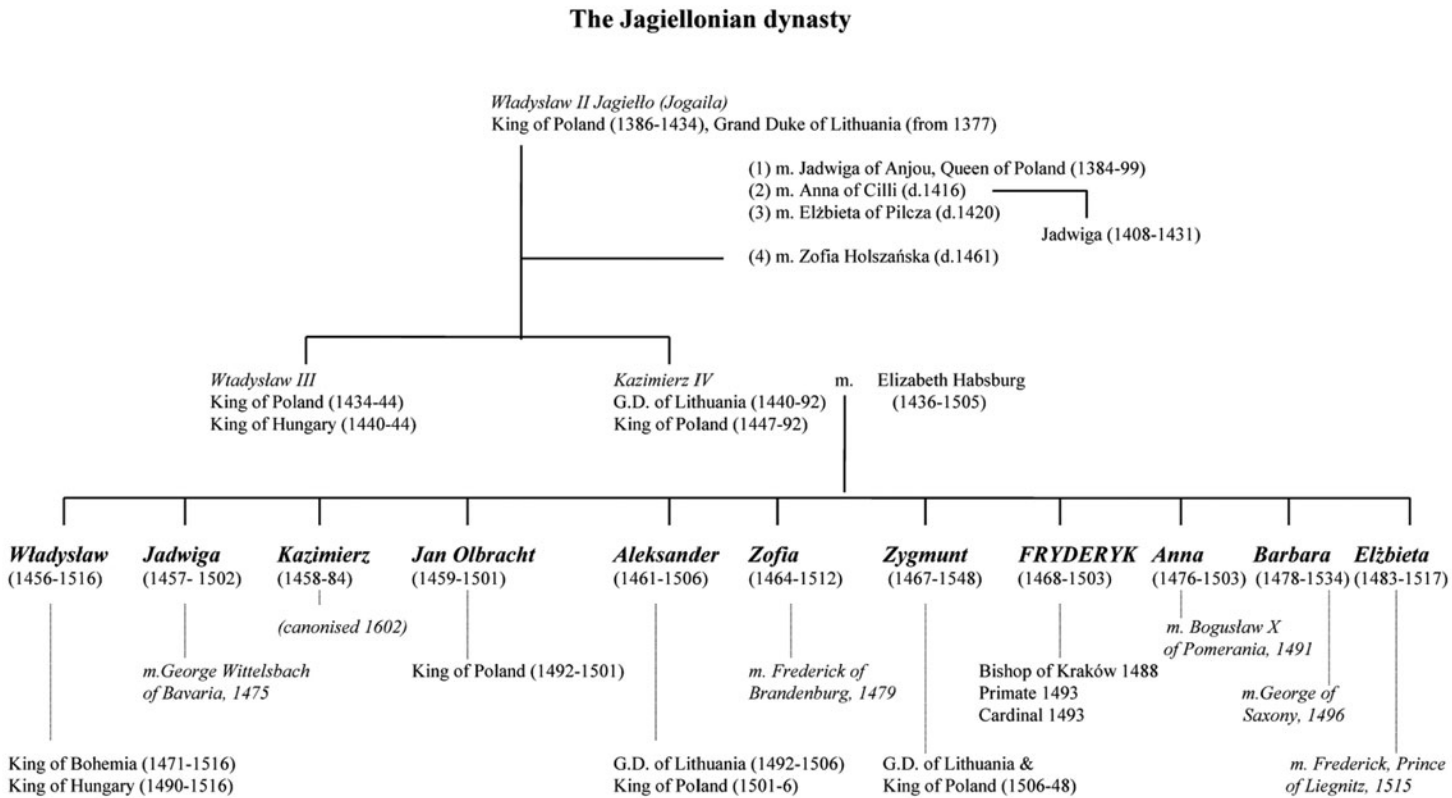

Figure 1 **Jagiellonian Dynasty/family tree.**

Map 1: Jagiellonian Central Europe, c.1500

Chronology
The Life and Times of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon

Reign of King Kazimierz IV (1447–92)

April 1468	Birth of Cardinal Fryderyk in the Wawel palace, Kraków.
May 1471	Fryderyk's older brother, Władysław, elected king of Bohemia.
March 1484	Fryderyk's oldest brother, Kazimierz, dies in Grodno (beatified 1519).
Summer 1485	Sultan Bajezid II seizes Kilja and Białogród, Moldavian cities claimed by Poland and crucial to her trade.
August 1487	Jan Olbracht Jagiellon sets out with a crusader army against the Ottomans, but instead routs a horde of Tartars at Kopystrzyn.
April 1488	Fryderyk elected bishop of Kraków.
February 1489	Bishop Tungen of Ermland dies, triggering a contest over the see of Ermland between Fryderyk Jagiellon and Lukas Watzenrode.
June 1490	Władysław Jagiellon of Bohemia is elected king of Hungary, following the death of Matthias Corvinus.
October 1490	Jan Olbracht of Poland leads an army into Hungary, challenging his brother Władysław for the Crown.
February 1491	Jan Olbracht and Władysław sign a peace deal at Košice, by which the Polish Jagiellonians recognize Władysław as ruler of Hungary.
June 1492	Death of King Kazimierz IV, at Grodno in Lithuania. Prince Aleksander Jagiellon proclaimed Grand Duke

	of Lithuania, followed by a Muscovite invasion of the Grand Duchy, triggering a conflict which is not concluded until 1494.

Reign of King Jan Olbracht (1492–1501)

August 1492	Election of Jan Olbracht as king of Poland at Piotrków, in an election presided over by Bishop Fryderyk.
February 1493	Death of Primate Zbigniew Oleśnicki.
April 1493	Fryderyk Jagiellon elected archbishop of Gniezno and primate of Poland.
September 1493	Fryderyk elevated to the cardinalate by Pope Alexander VI.
April 1494	Jagiellonian dynastic summit at Levoca in Hungary, called by King Władysław.
February 1495	Grand Duke Aleksander of Lithuania marries Helena, daughter of Grand Duke Ivan III of Muscovy, as part of a peace settlement.
July 1496	King Jan Olbracht seizes Płock from the dukes of Mazovia.
1495–96	Financial and military preparations in Poland for a major military campaign against the Ottomans, to reclaim Kilija and Białogród.
August 1497	King Jan Olbracht's army sets out for the Black Sea, leaving Cardinal Fryderyk as governor of Poland.
October 1497	King Jan Olbracht's army is routed by Turks, Tartars and Moldavians at Codrul Cosminului.
February 1498	King Jan Olbracht returns to Kraków.
Spring 1498	First Ottoman raids on Polish soil, in retaliation for the 1497 war; large tracts of Podolia are looted by janissaries and their Tartar allies.

November 1498	Poland, Hungary and Moldavia conclude a series of mutual peace treaties, agreeing to coordinate their anti-Ottoman strategies.
1499	Polish–Hungarian orators attend a series of diets in the Empire, requesting urgent financial aid to shore up Christendom's south-eastern frontier.
December 1499	Cardinal Fryderyk travels to Bratislava for crusade talks with King Władysław.
May 1500	Alexander VI announces a new crusade against the Ottomans; a Jagiellonian–Venetian–papal league is envisaged.
May 1500	Grand Duke Ivan III of Muscovy invades Lithuania with three armies, triggering a three-year war.
August 1500	Papal nuncio Gaspardo Golfo brings the crusade-jubilee bulls to Poland.
Summer 1500	Repeated Tartar raids on south-eastern Poland.
March 1501	King Jan Olbracht tacitly withdraws from the Jagiellonian–Venetian–papal league, sending an orator to Constantinople to seek a truce with the Sultan.
May 1501	The crusade league's terms are agreed in Buda.
June 1501	Jan Olbracht holds court at Thorn, to discuss the Teutonic Order's refusal to swear homage; during these negotiations, the king dies.
June – Sep 1501	Fryderyk acts as 'interrex', assuring King Władysław that he is working for a Hungarian victory at the election, but secretly running Grand Duke Aleksander Jagiellon's campaign in Poland.

Reign of King Aleksander (1501–06)

September 1501	Aleksander Jagiellon is elected king of Poland, signing both a new act of union between Poland and Lithuania, and the Mielnica Constitution, severely curtailing royal powers.

December 1501	Coronation of King Aleksander conducted by Cardinal Fryderyk.
February 1502	The Orthodox Lithuanian Grand Duchess, Helena of Muscovy, makes a ritual entry into Kraków, triggering public debate about the canonical status of the royal marriage.
March 1502	King Aleksander leaves Poland for Lithuania, where he is keen to lead the war effort against Muscovy in person. Cardinal Fryderyk is left as governor of Poland.
Summer 1502	Major Crimean Tartar raids on Poland; Aleksander repeatedly requests funds from the royal council to fuel the faltering Lithuanian war effort.
Summer 1502	Major arguments erupt between branches of the Kurozwęcki family, who launch armed raids on one another's estates, further destabilizing southern Poland.
November 1502	Bishop Krzesław Kurozwęcki is appointed co-regent with Fryderyk.
Winter 1502	Cardinal Fryderyk becomes too ill to perform his governmental or episcopal functions.
14 March 1503	Death of Cardinal Fryderyk in Kraków.
April 1503	Conclusion of Muscovite–Lithuanian peace treaty.
October 1503	Return of King Aleksander to Poland.

Introduction

Parallel Lives

Kraków's fourteenth-century cathedral is a small gothic construction of red-brick towers, copper roofing and one golden dome which sits on the Wawel hill overlooking a sweeping curve of the Vistula river. In the dark central spaces of the church, cluttered with kingly tombs and baroque altarpieces, armies of pilgrims and tourists pass the graves of two of Poland's earliest cardinals. The older of the two resting places is unmarked and all but lost: somewhere beneath the flagstones of the cathedral choir, the body of Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, one of medieval Poland's most formidable politicians, lies in a bronze casket which was first lowered into the ground in spring 1455. His secretary, Jan Długosz, lauded him as 'the parent, liberator and defender of our homeland … the father of the fatherland'.[1]

The second cardinal's tomb is just a few feet away: a huge, blackened sarcophagus wedged right into the steps of the cathedral's high altar, partially obliterating them with its bulk. This elaborate metal casket, produced by the Vischer workshop of Nuremberg, is covered with images. The vertical relief, facing the choir nave, shows a man in full cardinal's regalia with broad hat, accompanied by a saint with buckling knees and a walking cadaver; all three figures venerate a Virgin and Child, who are shown seated on a giant cushion. The tomb's side panels boast angels ringing handbells and cherubs riding dolphins. The main horizontal relief is obscured by a spare piece of carpet and a flowerpot, which hide the engraved face of the tomb's occupant (Figure 2). Roman lettering across the rim of the sarcophagus records that the object was commissioned in 1510 by King Zygmunt of Poland, 'for his dearest brother Cardinal Fryderyk, son of Kazimierz, who died on 14 March 1503 at the age of thirty-five'.[2] This artistically eclectic funerary monument marks the final resting place of Fryderyk Jagiellon, arguably the most powerful churchman seen in Renaissance Central Europe.

Although these two princes of the church never met, they were formidable political rivals and their ascendancies, while separated by three decades, are linked with delicate symmetries. Zbigniew Oleśnicki and Fryderyk Jagiellon, now

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[1] Jan Długosz, *Annales Regni Poloniae* (2 vols, Leipzig, 1711–12), vol. 2, p. 167; 'parentem et liberatorem patriae et defensorem … pater patriae.' A new scholarly, multi-volume edition of Długosz was in preparation in Poland at the time of writing: J. Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, K. Ożóg, K. Baczkowski & D. Turkowska (Warsaw, 1998–2006).

[2] 'Hoc opus Federico Cardinali Cazimiri filio (qui quinque et triginta annis exactis MDIII Marcii XIIII obiit) fratri carissimo divuus Sigismundus Rex Poloniae pientissimus posuit ab incarnatione domini MCX'. Fryderyk Jagiellon's tomb is discussed by Adam Bochnak, 'Mecenat Zygmunta Starego w zakresie rzemiosła artystycznego', *Studia do dziejów Wawelu* 2 (1961): 131–301.

neighbours on the Wawel, were on opposing sides of a fierce battle over the character of the Polish monarchy waged throughout a turbulent fifteenth century. Zbigniew Oleśnicki was born into a minor noble family in 1389, but rose rapidly through the ranks of the Polish royal chancellery, becoming bishop of Kraków in 1423 at the age of 34. He immediately forged a powerful noble faction, rallying magnates such as the Tarnowski, Tęczyński and Koniecpolski around his episcopal throne. From 1423 to 1434, Oleśnicki was the king's principal political opponent, and the succession of an infant king in 1434 enabled the bishop to emerge as de facto ruler of Poland for over a decade. During the schisms which plagued the fifteenth-century church, Oleśnicki was named cardinal by no fewer than three popes and anti-popes, thereby consolidating his national and international authority. Zbigniew Oleśnicki was by far the most successful and ambitious leader of what we might term the 'magnate party' in fifteenth-century Poland: that is the section of the kingdom's high nobility who wished to see an elective monarchy with highly circumscribed powers, where effective political authority rested in the hands of the royal council – the 'prelates et barones regni Poloniae' – as a small self-governing elite possessed of carefully enshrined rights.[3]

Fryderyk Jagiellon, by contrast, was of impeccably royal pedigree and outlook. He was born in the Wawel palace in April 1468, in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral where he would be baptized, enthroned as bishop and later buried. He was the sixth and youngest son of Kazimierz IV (1447–92), the third Jagiellonian king of Poland, and his queen, Elizabeth Habsburg (see Figure 1). Fryderyk's five sisters were married to the electors and princes of the Holy Roman Empire, while his brothers became sovereigns: Władysław in Bohemia (1471–1516) and Hungary (1490–1516), Jan Olbracht in Poland (1492–1501), Aleksander in Lithuania (1492–1506) and Poland (1501–6), and Zygmunt too in Poland (1506–48). In 1488, at the age of 20, Fryderyk was elected bishop of Kraków, and in 1493 he became archbishop of Gniezno and thus primate of Poland. Later that same year, the Borgia pope Alexander VI elevated him to the cardinalate, with the title of cardinal-presbyter of Santa Lucia in Septem Soliis, making Fryderyk the only legitimate son of a European king to wear the red hat in the fifteenth century. Fryderyk became a senior member of the royal council and a leading dynastic politician, presiding over the elections of the new kings in 1492 and 1501. In those years he also enjoyed brief spells as 'interrex', culminating in his final twelve-month governorship of Poland in 1502–3.

Throughout his short life, Fryderyk Jagiellon was an aggressive proponent of the regalist programmes espoused by his grandfather King Władysław-Jogaila (1386–1434), father Kazimierz IV (1447–92), brother Jan Olbracht (1492–1501) and their

[3] For scholarship on Oleśnicki, see M. Dzieduszycki, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki*, 2 vols, (Kraków, 1853–4); Maria Koczerska, 'Zbigniew Oleśnicki', *PSB* 23 (1978): 776–84 and *Zbigniew Oleśnicki i kosciół krakowski w czasach jego pontyfikatu (1423–1455)* (Warsaw, 2004); Zbyszko Górczak, *Podstawy gospodarczej działalności Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego biskupa krakowskiego* (Kraków, 1999); Tomasz Graff, 'Wokół sprawy kardynałatu biskupa krakowskiego Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego', *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Historyczne* 129 (2002): 19–50 and 'Katolicki episkopat gnieźnieński i lwowski wobec pseudo-papieża Feliksa V przez sobór bazylejski', *Nasza Przeszłość* 99 (2003): 55–129.

noble allies. In opposition to the magnate party, this Jagiellonian faction sought to forge a more centralized royal government, enhance the legal powers of the king, introduce an increasingly autocratic style of rule and assert the hereditary nature of Jagiellonian sovereignty in Poland. Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon's singular career can best be understood as a studied reprise of Zbigniew Oleśnicki's own ecclesiastical-political life; it was intended to ensure that the Roman Catholic church in Poland would be an instrument of increasingly centralized Jagiellonian monarchist rule, rather than a vehicle for magnate government and opposition. His brief spell in public life from 1488 to 1503 thus represented a major opportunity for the Polish regalist party at the dawn of the early modern period.

Church and State

Fryderyk Jagiellon not only illuminates the vagaries of Poland's rich factional and constitutional politics in the Renaissance period, but is also a figure of general European significance.[4] Historians have long argued that a key feature of European political history in the fifteenth century was a gradual metamorphosis in relations between the two pillars of medieval society – church and state. It is argued that the titanic struggles waged between emperors and popes in the Middle Ages over the relative rights of secular and clerical authorities – culminating in the fiery pontificate of Gregory VII (1073–85) and the investiture contest – were in later centuries inherited by local princely rulers.[5] This struggle was increasingly played out not at a universal level, but on a local stage by national rulers such as King Philip IV of France (1285–1314). The fifteenth century has traditionally been seen as the moment when these medieval trends accelerated, to the point at which 'national churches' became discernible – meaning that princes substantially increased their own powers (of taxation, jurisdiction and appointment) over the Catholic church in their realms, striking a blow against ecclesiastical autonomy. As Francis Oakley argued in 1979, this period witnessed 'the disintegration of what had been under papal leadership and government a genuinely international church into a series of what were, de facto if not de jure, national and territorial churches dominated by kings and princes'.[6]

Major studies of the late medieval church written in the 1980s and 1990s took as their theme this narrative of creeping ecclesiastical 'nationalization'. John Thomson's general study *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (1980) explained how Catholic princes across Europe had steadily consolidated their control of local churches, through taxation and

[4] The term 'Renaissance' is used in this book as a shorthand for a historical period, and also in reference to debates on the political history of late fifteenth-century Europe which have taken place in 'western' scholarship. In Polish historiography, however, the term Renaissance is understood primarily in artistic terms and is not routinely applied to Poland before 1506.

[5] B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050–1300* (Toronto, 1988).

[6] Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, Mich., 1979), p. 72.

appointments.[7] In 1988, Peter Heath published his account of relations between 'church and realm' in the English kingdom between 1272 and 1461. In this reign-by-reign analysis, Heath, too, flagged up the Crown's growing powers of taxation and appointment over the clergy, arguing that this story had to be told in order to reassert the political importance of the church in medieval England for an increasingly secularized twentieth-century readership.[8] A very different treatment of the topic can be found in Bernard Guenée's 1991 book *Between Church and State*, which seeks to explore the church–state interface in France in the era 'between the universal and the national church' through a biographical approach, offering stretches of the lives of Bernard Gui (d. 1331), Gillies de Muisset (d. 1353), Pierre d'Ailly (d. 1420) and Thomas Basin (d. 1490).[9]

In recent years, the dusty, high-political world of church–state relations has become distinctly unfashionable. The great majority of recent research on the late medieval church has abjured the study of bishops, kings and cardinals, focusing instead on 'grass-roots' phenomena such as lay piety, confraternities, preaching, literacy, pilgrimage and religious theatre.[10] This neglect is unfortunate, because the emergence of more 'national' churches has implications which reach far beyond the sphere of the ecclesiastical historian. These processes slot directly into another major trend of the fifteenth century, the appearance of a different kind of monarchy, which laid the foundations of the early modern – and, by implication, the modern – state. Across Christendom, the middle and later decades of the fifteenth century had seen a rash of prolonged civil wars in which local magnates had undermined local monarchies – in the Trastamara dynasty's war of succession in Castile (1468–79), the leagues formed against the French Crown (such as the League of the Public Weal, 1465), or England's Wars of the Roses (1453–85). Since the nineteenth century, historians have pointed to the generation of rulers who emerged from these conflicts, such as Isabella of Castile, Henry VII of England and Louis XI of France, as the architects of so-called 'new monarchy' or 'Renaissance monarchy' – a new model of secular government, with new ambitions. Crudely speaking, the features of these burgeoning Renaissance states are held to be a centralization of power around the monarch, the expansion of governmental bureaucracy, increasingly regular taxation (replacing the Crown's reliance on income from its private estates), use

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[7] John Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London, 1980).

[8] Peter Heath, *Church and Realm, 1272–1461: Conflict and Collaboration in an Age of Crises* (London, 1988); see also Denis Hay, 'The church of England in the later middle ages', in D. Hay (ed.), *Renaissance Essays* (London, 1988), pp. 233–48.

[9] F. Guenée, *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four French Prelates in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, Ill., 1991).

[10] See, for example, C. Trinkaus and H. Oberman (eds), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974); John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence: Religious Confraternities from the Middle of the Thirteenth to the Late Fifteenth Century* (London, 1983); Susan Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private Piety as Public Performance* (London, 2000); Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2002).