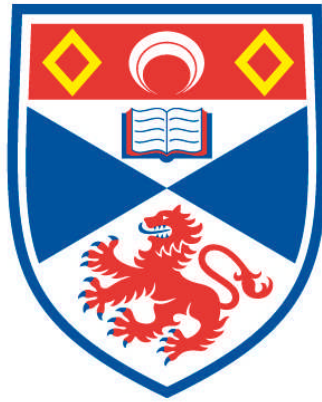


**DEVELOPING FRENCH PROTESTANT IDENTITY:
THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS WRITINGS OF
ANTOINE DE CHANDIEU (1534-1591)**

S.K. Barker

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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S. K. Barker

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph. D. at the University of St. Andrews,
August 2006



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- (i) I, Sara Katherine Barker, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 04.03.07 Signature of candidate

- (i) I was admitted as a research student in September 2002 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2003; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2002 and 2006.

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Abstract

As French Protestantism emerged in the 1550s, the young community needed charismatic leaders. The main impetus came from native pastors with strong links to Geneva.

Antoine de Chandieu was a key figure amongst these men. His writings promoted the values of French Protestantism over three decades and provide insight into how this vulnerable community faced the challenges of the civil war years. This study uses Chandieu's prose and verse writings to examine how French Protestants defined themselves from the 1550s to the 1590s.

Chapter one looks at Chandieu's life and career, placing his works in the context of the Wars of Religion. Chapter two examines the early structural development of the French Church and the attempt to establish a system independent of that in Geneva. Chapter three concentrates on the Conspiracy of Amboise, and the tension that developed between the political and religious concerns of the movement. Chapters four and five explore the ways in which Chandieu engaged with perceived threats from internal and external sources. Chapter six focuses on the shift towards meditative writing provoked by the Protestants' losses during the later wars, whilst chapter seven highlights the continuing preoccupation with theological issues throughout Chandieu's later years of exile.

Chandieu's career provides a personal experience of the French religious wars which underlines how French Protestantism tried to retain its independence. This became increasingly difficult as the wars progressed, and the movement consistently returned to the refuge of Genevan influence. Although his faith was never shaken, the sustained losses suffered by the Protestants caused Chandieu to abandon his hopes of a fully independent French Church, and to reflect deeply on the emotional torment that resulted from years of interconfessional strife. In his works we see the French church's struggle to find a workable group identity in the face of civil war.

Acknowledgments

Many people have made this study possible, let alone easier and enjoyable. Monetary assistance came from two sources: the AHRB in the UK, through the St Andrews French Vernacular Book Project, and La Bourse Française in Geneva. Both proved invaluable.

The staff of the libraries and archives I visited in France, Switzerland and the UK were unstintingly helpful. Special thanks must go to the staff of the Réserve at the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève, the Réserve Précieux of the Bibliothèque Cantonale Universitaire de Lausanne, the Manuscript Room of the University of Basle, and Edinburgh University Library Special Collections. Marianne Tisoli-Bodenmann of the BPU and MHR in Geneva was especially generous with her time and knowledge.

The Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation in Geneva, especially Irena Backus and Reinhard Bodenmann, made my time in Geneva more profitable than I had dared anticipate. The community of the St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute has been a vibrant, thought-provoking and informative home. Dr Alexander Wilkinson and Philip John have been particularly supportive. The challenging interest in this work of Dr Malcolm Walsby and his vast knowledge of Renaissance and Reformation France has been especially valuable and (for the main part) enjoyable.

On a personal level, the support of friends and family has been unstinting, and too frequently unacknowledged. Andrew and Christine Barker, George and Pat Thomas, Lillian Barker and Liz Barker have all given time, interest, and the occasional spare room. The Prévot family, Charlie Schwiver, Deb Gallant, Emily Yelling, Mette Skötte, and Alexandra Sarma have been on hand with advice, support, and more spare beds, and only belatedly are they thanked.

Finally, I would like to recognise two people who have influenced my studies. Professor Jennifer Britnell gave me my first introduction to sixteenth-century French Literature as

an undergraduate. Her support and infectious interest first inspired me to exploit my love of books. Finally, but certainly not last in my considerations, Professor Andrew Pettegree has been a challenging, engaging, instructive but above all supportive supervisor. His comments have never failed to challenge my assumptions and encourage my progress.

Abbreviations

Works by Chandieu:

<i>Histoire</i>	<i>Histoire des persecutions et martyrs de l'eglise de Paris, depuis l'an 1557 iusques au temps du Roy Charles neufiesme</i> (s.l., 1563).
<i>Confirmation</i>	<i>La confirmation de la discipline ecclésiastique observée es eglises réformées du royaume de France, avec la reponse aux obiections proposées alencontre</i> ([Geneva],[Estienne],1566).
<i>Méditations (G)</i>	<i>Méditations sur le psalme XXXII, traduites du latin...Ont aussi esté adjoutez 50 octonaires sur la vanité du monde, par A. Zamariel</i> (s.l. [Geneva], J. Laimarie, 1583).
<i>Profession (1586)</i>	<i>La Response a la Profession de foy publiée contre ceux de l'Eglise Reformée. Avec la refutation tant des calomnies qui y sont contenues, que generalmente des erreurs de l'Eglise Romaine pretendue Catholique.</i> (La Rochelle, P. Haultin, 1586) .
<i>Sacrifice</i>	<i>Traité Theologic et Scholastique De l'unique Sacrificature & sacrifice de IESUS CHRIST: contre le controuué sacrifice de la Messe. Escrit en Latin par ANTOINE DE CHANDIEU excellent theologien, & nouvellement mis en François, par S.G.S. de l'imprimerie de Jean le Preux</i> ([Geneva], Le Preux, 1595).
<i>Pechez</i>	<i>Traité Theologic et scholastique de la vraye Remission des pechez. Contre les satisfactions humaines & le controuvé Purgatoire de l'Eglise Romaine. Escrit en latin par Antoine de Chandieu, excellent theologien, et nouvellement mis en François, par S.G.S. De l'imprimerie de Jean le Preux</i> ([Geneva], Le Preux, 1595).
<i>Parole</i>	<i>Traité theologic et scholastique de la parole de Dieu, escrite, Contre les traditions humaines. Fait en Latin par Antoine de Chandieu, excellent theologien. Plus un briefenseignement touchant la mesme parole escrite, ou sont sommairement remarquees les principales matieres considerables en cest article de doctrine. Le tout nouvellement mis en François par S.G.S</i> 1 <i>Timoth 3 v 15.16 Tu as connu des ton enfance les saintes lettres, lesquelles te peuuent rendre sage a salut par la foy qui est en Iesus Christ. Tout l'Escriture est diuinement inspiree, & profitable a enseigner, a conuaince, a corriger& et instruire en iustice: afin que l'homme de Dieu soit accompli, apareille a toute bonne oeuvre</i> ([Geneva], Jean Le Preux, 1596).
<i>Octonaires</i>	<i>Octonaires sur la Vanité et Inconstance du Monde</i> Françoise Bonali-Fiquet (ed.) (Geneva, 1979).

Other Works:

Bernus	'Le ministre Antoine de Chandieu d'après son journal autographe (1534 – 1591)', Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français: Bulletin Historique et Littéraire, Tome XXXVII (1888, tire-apart 1889) – citations taken from original journal article.
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BHR	<i>Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance</i>
BSHPF	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Français</i>
FH	<i>French History</i>
HE	Bèze, Théodore de, <i>Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées au Royaume de France</i> Vol 1-3 G. Baum & Ed. Cunitz (eds.) (Niewkoop, 1974)
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
Kingdon, <i>Wars</i>	<i>Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France</i> (Geneva, 1956)
Knecht	R. J. Knecht, <i>The French Civil Wars</i> (Harlow, 2000)
RCP	R.-M. Kingdon et J.-F. Bergier (Eds.), <i>Régistres du Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève</i> (Geneva, 1962-)
SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>

Electronic Resources:

FVB	Database of the St Andrews French Vernacular Book Project.
EEBO	Early English Books Online

Note on Transcriptions:

Where possible, the original sixteenth century publications have been consulted and cited. I have kept to the original spelling and punctuation, the only modification being the extension of outdated abbreviations, thus 'religiō' has been rendered 'religion' etc.

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Introduction

Aim and Focus of Study

For over 150 years, the French Protestant movement played an often tense role in the life of the developing French nation. At once alien and yet undeniably French, Protestantism emerged from a native evangelical movement to become embroiled in the turmoil of the civil war years, before enjoying varying levels of protection under the monarchy until 1685. Louis XIV's final rejection of the Protestants in many ways embodies their contradictory status within their own society. Their religion made them outsiders in the eyes of their fellow countrymen, who saw them as ideologically sympathetic to old national enemies, primarily England, but even then eradicating the remains of a force once feared to threaten the monarchy itself took over twenty years and a multiplicity of economic and political sanctions.¹

Even as Protestantism made inroads into French society, its adherents were torn between their country and their religion. This dichotomy was an integral aspect of their group identity. And at no point was this identity more fragile than during the Wars of Religion. This is at once logical and perplexing. The movement, such as it was, was in its infancy when Henry II died in 1559, having emerged from the shadows of Evangelical groups over the 1550s. It lacked an obvious national figurehead around whom to coalesce and incorporated a range of religious beliefs covering the widest possible definition of 'Calvinism' or 'Reformed Protestantism'. What historians often treat today as a relatively cohesive association, albeit with distinctive 'noble' and 'religious' branches, was actually a far more amorphous coalition that struggled to find a workable identity with which to face its opponents. The formation of this identity was challenged not only by the situation of civil war, but also by internal rifts between Protestants who wanted to shape this identity in conflicting, or at best contrasting, directions.

The wider aim of this study is to examine the development and formation of French Protestant identity during the period of the civil wars, by focusing on the writings

¹David J Sturdy, *Louis XIV* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 89-99.

of one key figure. The period of the Wars of Religion has been studied in many ways. Traditional political surveys of the court charting the events that unfolded around king and courtiers date back to the work of Lucien Romier. There are the case studies of particular towns or groups of people like Benedict's survey of Rouen, Roberts' of Troyes or Diefendorf's of Paris City Councillors.² And there are those which focus on specialised areas or abstract concepts and still encapsulate the confusion of this period: studies of the use of pamphlets, clientage networks, music and literary trends have all touched on the social breakdown that occurred in France at the end of the sixteenth century.³ All have contributed to a much more profound understanding of the circumstances in which this conflict arose. Yet findings on such varied subjects are difficult to judge in the wider context, and profit from being considered from a different perspective. Introducing personality back into our understanding of the Wars of Religion helps us remember these were not events that took place in a vacuum, but that involved people from all ranks of society.

Antoine de Chandieu is perhaps not the first person who springs to mind when discussing the reformers of the sixteenth century. He has not been treated kindly by posterity. His poetry is read today only by experts in the field. The theological concerns to which he dedicated his life and work are too embedded in the Reformation world for him to hold a widespread appeal for modern 'lay' readers. However, he left an impressive literary corpus that has not been exploited to its full potential as to its insights into French Protestant life during the Wars of Religion.

² Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the wars of Religion* (Cambridge, London & New York, 1981); Penny Roberts, *A City in Conflict: Troyes during the French wars of religion* (Manchester & New York, 1996); Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Paris city councillors in the Sixteenth century: the politics of patrimony* (Princeton, 1983).

³ See for example F. Charbonnier, F, *Pamphlets Protestants contre Ronsard 1560-1577* (Paris, 1923); Geneviève Guilleminot, 'La polémique en 1561: les règles de jeu' in *Le Pamphlet en France au XVIe siècle. Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre V. -L. Saulnier le 9 mars 1983*, (Paris, 1983); Davis Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640* (Stanford, 1969); G. D. Jonker, *Le Protestantisme et le Théâtre de langue française au XVIe siècle* (Gronigen, 1939); Weber, Edith, *La musique protestante en langue française* (Paris, 1979).

Chandieu is not unknown to specialists, but rather parts of his work are of interest to specialists in three distinct fields. He is known to literary scholars as the main figure in the polemical contest around Ronsard in the early 1560s, and for his meditative works, the *Octonaires*.⁴ Theologians know him for his application of scholastic theory to reformed theology in his attacks on Jesuit writers, and for his work in standardising reformed practice throughout France.⁵ Historians might know him in a similar context, as one of Calvin's foot soldiers bringing the word to the people of France, but more often as the link between Geneva and the rebels of the Conspiracy of Amboise.⁶ All of these are valid observations, but it is rare to find studies that acknowledge the extent of his multifaceted career. And rarer still to be admitted that this was not at all extraordinary, that the disciplinary boundaries taken for granted today did not exist at the time Chandieu and his contemporaries were working.

The surviving information about Chandieu's life comes to us from several sources. His first biographer was the Genevan historian, lawyer and magistrate Jacques Lect, who wrote an account of his life in Latin two years after Chandieu's death. It was included in the second edition of Chandieu's collected works, and also published separately. Although he was continually referred to by seventeenth century theologians, notably in England, it was several centuries before Chandieu would be fully appreciated once more. Nineteenth-century Protestant writers saw him and his ilk as shining examples of the Reformation man.⁷ The apogee of this approach is the work by Auguste Bernus, the starting point for most modern scholars.⁸ Bernus had access to the few surviving letters from Chandieu's correspondence, and his manuscript journal.⁹ The journal covered the years between 1563 and 1591. Thus it encompassed the majority of

⁴ Discussed in chapters five and six.

⁵ See chapters two and seven.

⁶ See chapter three.

⁷ The articles and monographs produced by the members of the Société d'Histoire de Protestantisme Français not only give valuable factual details otherwise lost, in many instances they examine secondary players most modern treatments do not reference.

⁸ Auguste Bernus, 'Le ministre Antoine de Chandieu d'après son journal autographe (1534 – 1591)', *Société de d'Histoire du Protestantisme Français: Bulletin Historique et Littéraire*, Tome XXXVII (1888).

⁹ Bernus mentioned about twenty surviving letters in 1888, which were mostly found in Swiss university libraries, Bernus, p. 4. See also Appendix C. The Journal was at that point in the possession of the Tschärner family in Berne.

his writing career. Bernus's work provides an invaluable wealth of detail, as the manuscript later disappeared. Without Bernus, innumerable details pertaining to Chandieu would be unknown. It is highly regrettable Bernus never realised his ambition to publish the journal and the accompanying correspondence.

For several decades, Chandieu remained firmly in the shadow of Bernus' interpretation. By the 1920s, however, a counter-argument emerged, at least for the early part of his career. Lucien Romier's influential work on the Conspiracy of Amboise presented Chandieu as the manifestation of all that was seditious and rebellious about the early reformed movement: his account of the events of 1558-1560 paints Chandieu as the most manipulative and conniving of political operators, exploiting the tensions at court between Antoine de Bourbon and Condé for his own ends.¹⁰

This outlook has been redressed to some extent by the work of N. M. Sutherland, but still Chandieu has not had a good press.¹¹ His continuing rejection and refutation of the supposedly "democratic" ideas of church structure advocated by Jean Morély in the 1560s marked him down as staunchly Genevan-Calvinist in the face of a more utopian interpretation. He could be seen as a reactionary whose grasp of scholarship enabled him to curtail the more "modern" tendencies at work in the French Reformed movement which Morély had tried to articulate. Chandieu's attacks on Ronsard earned him few supporters in the literary world, for the bemusing combination of reasons that he dared criticise the star of the Pléiade, whilst causing Ronsard to write some of his most partisan "commercial poetry", thereby proving that the 'prince des poètes' was inspired as much by political circumstance as by his traditional muse.

In all this, Chandieu is accepted to be the embodiment of French Calvinism, obeying Calvin and Geneva at every turn. Yet his deviation from Calvin in various areas, such as the independent development of a Discipline and Confession, active resistance to persecution and the use of Aristotelian scholastic theory, have been noted by Glenn S.

¹⁰ Lucien Romier, *La Conjuration d'Amboise* (Paris, 1923).

¹¹ N. M. Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven & London, 1980).

Sunshine and Donald Sinnema.¹² Clearly, figures central to the French Reformed movement could be as independent in their ideas as those traditionally held to be radical. And with the resurgent interest in Catholic and Protestant meditative poetry of the later sixteenth century, Chandieu the poet has enjoyed a second flurry of interest in his much-loved *Octonaires*.¹³ His role was much more complicated than that traditionally ascribed to him, and was as much influenced by the circumstances in which he found himself as the ideals he held. This is not in any way to suggest that Chandieu was not a committed Calvinist, rather the contrary: in his determination to see the triumph of the light, he was clear-sighted enough to recognise that the fight was taking place on many levels and in different spheres than that which might be safely directed from Geneva.

Chandieu's career and writings show how French Protestants saw themselves and how they were seen by others. On the one hand, Chandieu needs to be reexamined not as a poet, or a theologian, or a political player, but as an intellectual of action, whose ideals were reflected in all his deeds and writings, and in whom all these supposedly distinct elements were in fact combined. In addition, he is emblematic of the men who pushed the Reformation through its later stages, the less showy figures whose faith was no less steadfast than their more famous counterparts. In the words of Denis and Rott: "Chandieu n'appartient pas à la génération des fondateurs, les Calvin, les Viret et les Farel ... Il est plutôt l'homme de la consolidation".¹⁴ His career distills many of the crucial elements that defined French Protestantism: loyalty to country and family balanced by duty to God, the need for structure in accordance with faith, the reaction to mass violence and the experience of exile. His life and work personify the struggle French Protestantism never really overcame, of how to establish oneself in a hostile

¹² Glenn S. Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557-1572* (Kirkville, Missouri, 2003); Donald, Sinnema 'Antoine de Chandieu's call for a scholastic reformed theology (1580)' in W. Fred Graham (ed.) in *Later Calvinism: international perspectives* (Kirkville, Missouri, 1994), pp. 159-190.

¹³ The *Octonaires* were republished under the editorship of Françoise Bonali-Fiquet (Geneva, 1979). The musical editions had been re-edited earlier in the century by Henry Expert as part of his series *Monuments de la musique Française au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1929). Recently two CDs have been released of recordings of the *Octonaires*: *Claude Le Jeune: Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde* (Arion, 1999) by the Ensemble Jacques Feuille and *Inconstance et vanité du Monde: Musique aux cours de France et de Savoie en 1601* (Ambronay & Naïve, 2000) by Anne Quentin.

¹⁴ Philippe Denis & Jean Rott, *Jean Morély (ca 1524-1594) et l'Utopie d'une démocratie dans l'église* (Geneva, 1993), p. 96.

country, the modifications needed to survive in these conditions, and the changes forced by war, repression and exile.

This of course needs to be considered within the context of ongoing academic debate about the religious and political climates of the sixteenth century. Was Chandieu living in the eschatologically charged universe envisaged by Denis Crouzet?¹⁵ Was he a victim of the declining fortunes of middling nobles?¹⁶ Did his career owe more to the workings of clientage than to his religious convictions?¹⁷ What can be learnt from his experience about family life in the early modern period? These are the kinds of broader questions that need to be asked to fully contextualise a figure like Chandieu, and to situate him in the ongoing construction of French Protestant identity.

In using Chandieu and his life as a template for investigation, this study will focus on some of the varied historiographical arguments that have emerged from sixteenth century French studies. These will be addressed in turn through chapters which take a broadly chronological approach to Chandieu's career. The aim is not to make a survey of Chandieu's theology, although at some points his religious thinking is integral to understanding his actions. Rather, his works are to be seen as a guide to the emotional fortunes of French Calvinists, the nebulous entity that might be defined as 'Protestant Identity'.

What do we mean when we talk about 'Protestant identity'? For all that 'Identity' has been much discussed, there seems to have been little engagement with what this term actually might have meant to the people to whom it has been applied. Rather, the focus has been on the surviving evidence and what it tells us, perhaps best demonstrated in Bruce Gordon's introduction to a collection specialising in the application of historical writing to the formation of identities:

"...Protestant history-making was situational, that it varied greatly depending upon the particular circumstances in which it was being nurtured. Whether in

¹⁵ Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525 – vers 1610* (Paris, 1990).

¹⁶ Davis Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640* (Stanford, 1969).

¹⁷ Sharon Kettering, *Patronage in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France* (Aldershot, 2002).

positions of power or exile, the Protestant understanding of scripture and history provided individuals and communities with a set of models which served as raw materials for the creation of identities.”¹⁸

Although this brings us into the heart of the methods of identity production, it tells us little about why people chased after a collective identity or why this might have been necessary. For this study, I have assumed ‘Protestant Identity’ to be a modern rendering of an unspoken trend in self-identification that enabled those of minority religions, as the French Protestants undoubtedly were, to have a clear idea of self and purpose. Much as a modern individual might ask themselves ‘Who am I? What am I here for?’, the sixteenth-century Protestant seems to have needed some level of self-definition in order to sit easily with themselves and more pertinently, their fellow Protestants. And this identity was in turn reaffirmed by the publication of these works as books, which could be purchased, read and distributed amongst the Protestant community in order to sustain the faith through periods of difficulty. The need to belong to a group has been strongly identified by Pettegree; what Chandieu’s writing lets us survey is how this group shifted its self-definition as the events unfolding around it impacted on their lives.¹⁹

The opening chapter surveys Chandieu’s life and career within the context of the Wars of Religion. Starting with his family and education, his social status as a nobleman is addressed and analysed. Chandieu’s career, especially the places he visited and the people he met, illustrate the breadth of influences upon the thinking and conduct of men of his station. Central to this are his dealings with the Bourbon family. His was not a ‘traditional’ client relationship, as investigated by social and political historians.²⁰ Rather, it was grounded fully in Chandieu’s religious faith and his hopes for the Protestant cause. This idea of nobility as a form of leadership in French Protestantism is juxtaposed with the other major identity-forming factors. The first of these is the concept of being part of a wider Reformed movement with comparable ideas and practices

¹⁸ Bruce Gordon ‘The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century’ in Bruce Gordon (Ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth Century Europe Vol II The Later Reformation*, (Aldershot, 1996), p. 6.

¹⁹ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, (Cambridge, 2005), chapter 9.

²⁰ For the role of patron-client relations in Sixteenth Century France, see Sharon Kettering, *Patronage in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France* (Aldershot, 2002).

stretching across national boundaries, but having emerged from a strong French tradition. Additionally, facing both official repression and unregulated fury, this community had to deal with levels of inter-personal violence unanticipated by the ideals of Reformation at its purest.

Having established these criteria for examining Chandieu's career, the chapters place Chandieu's individual works in close context with the events of the wars and the ongoing trends of intellectual development. Chapter two looks at the establishment of the French Reformed churches. The extent to which evangelism was embedded in the national consciousness is seen by the retention of indigenous practices alongside the system assumed to have been transplanted wholesale from Geneva. Chapter three considers the emerging political tensions, and how these manifested themselves in a split between 'noble' motivated and 'religious' motivated Protestants, exemplified by the Conspiracy of Amboise.

Chapters four and five deal in parallel with the aftermath of Amboise and its longer legacy. Having established a church, and with a superficially French identity forming, two major hurdles remained. Chapter four looks at the first of these, the internal divisions that threatened to tear French Calvinism apart. What emerges are two visions of the ideal French Protestant: the first from Chandieu's use of martyrology and the second from the clash between divergent interpretations of church order. Chapter five tackles the opposite side of this coin: external opposition to Protestantism. It focuses on the debates played out in the poetry of the early 1560s, in which Chandieu and others presented themselves as truly Christian Frenchmen in opposition to Catholic critics. In examining political poetry, an important neglected source for expressions of emerging identity is introduced to the idea of religion and community.

Chapter six looks at the 'middle period' of the wars, traditionally dominated by the build up to, climax and aftermath of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacres. This study takes a different approach to this undeniably formative period. By keeping Chandieu's works as the focus, an alternative Protestant experience is constructed. The

main line of enquiry in this chapter is the evolution of a stronger introspective aspect for a community overcome by events. Although it is widely accepted that the massacres to a great extent wiped out the Protestant leadership, this gave lower-level nobles like Chandieu the opportunity to provide focal spiritual counselling at a time when the continuity of Protestantism in France was not assured. Chapter seven investigates the impact of the reality of civil war on everyday Protestant life and in turn how this shaped Protestant identity. Reading Chandieu's writings on religious practice, the consistent need for stability is evident. What is more intriguing about the later writings is the extent to which reality has somewhat crashed in on Chandieu and the Protestants, leading to writings on death and spiritual approaches to life that indicate a people trying to make sense of their surroundings as best they could.

Sources

As befits the study of a polymath like Chandieu, the sources here "belong", so to speak, to various academic fields. Interdisciplinary studies are not always a welcome concept, but when the subject himself took an interdisciplinary approach centuries before the term was coined, any attempt to avoid a similar methodology would be detrimental. This study considers the multiple aspects of Chandieu's career alongside each other. Obviously, Chandieu's works provide the core of the material used, along with his extant correspondence. These have been consulted in the original editions and languages where possible. Other contemporary printed sources include the several *Histoires* and *Mémoires* of the era. Some lost items only survive in later collections, such as the *Mémoires de Condé*. What is important is not only what the work says literally, but how it says it: each piece needs to be understood in terms of its conception, its place in Chandieu's overall development, in relation to its intended audience, and what we know of its actual readership. What does our knowledge of the various editions and translations and anthologies of Chandieu's work bring to our understanding? How is his message served by the various styles (poetic, martyrological, scholastic) which he chooses to use?

In addition, the records of National and Provincial Synods have been consulted. The data gathered by the St Andrews Sixteenth Century French Vernacular Book Project has proved invaluable in giving a consolidated view of how the book world worked in the sixteenth century, and what a printed book, in its varying forms, might be expected to achieve. Care has also been taken to consolidate what research has been done on the genealogy of the Chandieu family, through various regional studies and genealogies where the family held lands during the middle ages.²¹ Essentially, this is not only the study of a man alone, but rather a man who represented the strengths and weaknesses of French Protestantism. In Chandieu, the Protestants of the French Wars of Religion found a voice whose mastery of genres ensured they would never be forgotten, and that their sufferings would never have been in vain.

²¹ See chapter one.

Chapter One: The Life of Antoine de Chandieu.

Family Background: the Chandieus through the Middle Ages

The Chandieu family was one of the oldest in Dauphiné. In his *Histoire generale de Dauphiné*, Chorier suggested the Chandieu family was descended from Roman colonisers, the name a modification of the Latin Canidius.¹ The earliest references to the family itself date back to the tenth century, without any documentary evidence. The first documented reference dates to 1130, when Berlion de Chandieu gave homage to the Comte de Savoie. The family line can be traced to 1200, when Étienne, sire de Chandieu, Meyzieu and Chessieu gave a donation to the Chartreuse d'Aillon. His eldest son Berlion stood as guarantor for the dowry of Marguerite de Savoie in 1218, and in 1241 gave homage to the Archbishop of Lyon for the territory of Chandieu, with lands that stretched from Les Fourches de Falavier to the Pont du Rhône in Lyon. Belion had four children: Pierre, the first Baron de Chandieu, Étienne, a monk,² Artaud, the father of Alix, whose beauty was celebrated by the poet Pistoleta at the court of Charles II of Naples, and Jean, whose descendants succeeded to the titles when Pierre died with no heir.

Throughout the middle ages, the Chandieu family embedded itself into Dauphinoise society. Their success in this endeavour is marked in two ways: their court

¹ Nicolas Chorier, *Histoire Generale de Dauphiné* (Grenoble, reprinted 1971), p. 160. Compiling a detailed history of the Chandieu family is not straightforward. Bettencourt's *Noms Féodaux* and Saffroy's *Bibliographie Généalogique* make no individual reference to the Chandieu dynasty, presumably because by the time each was undertaken, the family was established in Switzerland. The main Swiss sources have only scant references to the family prior to the seventeenth century, when they became properly established in the Cantons of Geneva and Vaud: most of their entries start with an account of Antoine de Chandieu, the initial Swiss link.. Some of the more useful works in this area include Adolphe Rochas, *Biographie du Dauphiné contenant des hommes nés dans cette province qui se sont fait remarquer dans les Lettres, les Sciences, les Arts etc, avec le Catalogue de leurs Ouvrages et la Description de leurs Portraits* (Geneva, 1971), Dom Urban Plancher, *Histoire Générale et Particulier de Bourgogne Tome IV* (Paris, 1974), Albert de Montet, *Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Genevois et des Vaudois qui se sont distingués dans leur pays ou a l'étranger par leurs talents, leurs actions, leurs oeuvres littéraires ou artistiques etc* (Lausanne, 1877), D. L. Galbreath, *Armorial Vaudois* (Baugy sur Clarens, 1943) and Guy Allard, *Dictionnaire Historique, Chronologique, Géographique, Généalogique, Héraldique, Juridique, Politique et Botanographique du Dauphiné* (Geneva, 1970). Two valuable articles published in *Héraldique et Généalogie* in 1993 by Gérald de Villeneuve and P.G. de Lorient construct the basic genealogy of the Chandieu family and highlight links to other nobles by marriage.

² A number of members of the Chandieu family followed church careers in the Chapters of Lyon and Vienne during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For more details, see Bruno Galland, *Deux Archevêques entre la France et l'Empire. Les archevêques de Lyon et les Archevêques de Vienne du milieu du XIIe siècle au milieu du XIVe siècle* (École française de Rome, 1994).

activities and their marriage alliances. Both are impressive. As regards the first, perhaps the greatest achievement was that of Antoine, Baron de Chandieu, who witnessed a peace treaty between the Comte de Savoie and the Dauphin in 1352. This same Antoine married into another powerful Dauphinoise family, the Allemans, whilst his grandson married the sister of the Governor of Dauphiné, and his great-grandson a lady in waiting to the Duchesse de Bourbon.

In the fifteenth century, the family's focus shifted from Dauphiné to Burgundy, where they had acquired territories by marriage. Many of the ancestral lands were gradually sold off. This is not entirely symptomatic of a declining family, more of a changing geographical sphere: marriages were still concluded with significant regional families, Antoine de Chandieu's grandmother being from a prominent Burgundian family.

The generations immediately preceding Antoine are shrouded in some obscurity, and there are differing interpretations of who married whom, when and fathered which children. According to Chevalier,³ the sons of Jean de Chandieu and Françoise d'Amanzé were Louis, whose son's early death plunged the family into long legal disputes, Guillaume, husband of Claudine du Molard and father of Bertrand and Antoine, and finally Miles, who died childless. The more established interpretation put forward by Loriol is that Guillaume was the eldest son, a member of François I's entourage and one of those taken into custody after Pavia; Antoine's father, Guy (also known as Miles) was the second son,⁴ and was given the territory of Poules by his brother on 17 February 1516,⁵ and it was he who married Claudine du Molard in November 1529. He died around 1538, and the inheritance passed to Bertrand, and to Antoine on his brother's death at the battle of Dreux in December 1562. Antoine's will, dated 9 September 1567 gave his titles as 'Antoine de Chandieu, seigneur dudit lieu en Dauphiné, et Pole et de

³ Alice Chevalier, 'La Famille Chandieu et la Réforme', in *Divers Aspects de la Réforme aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 1975).

⁴ The third son Bertrand was in Holy orders in 1556.

⁵ Witnessed by Notary Dumas. Loriol, Op. Cit.

Prepriers (Beaujolais), seigneur de Chabottes et de Viellecourt (Mâconnais), de Grevilly (Bourgogne), de la Roche (Dauphiné) et de Folleville (Beauce).⁶

Hence Antoine de Chandieu came from a family that had married into other prominent families, moving their base from Dauphiné towards Burgundy, in the process ridding themselves of some of the more ancient parts of the patrimony. At the same time, complications over inheritances, the fortunes of war and unexpected deaths seem to have plunged the family into a short-term crisis at the time of Antoine's birth.

Birth, Childhood and Student Years

Antoine was born around 1534, at the château de Chabottes, near Mâcon, the second son after Bertrand.⁷ His father Guy de Chandieu died when Antoine was about four years old. Since his elder brother was destined for a military career, Antoine was educated to enter the administrative ranks, and as such was trained in jurisprudence. Sent to Paris at about the age of five, his tutor was Mathias Granjean. Granjean was an early convert to the Reformation, and later relocated to Geneva.⁸ From Paris, the young Chandieu undertook legal studies at the respected faculty in Toulouse, where there was some criticism of the established church, perhaps not surprising in such an educationally dynamic university. It was said that the Bible and Calvin's writings were more studied than the law, even in the face of strong opposition in the form of the local Parlement apparently reputed to be 'le plus sanguinaire de France'.⁹ It is not clear how Chandieu arrived in Geneva, or of the circumstances of his introduction to Calvin and his decisive conversion to the Reformed faith. He spent time in Geneva in the mid 1550s, before

⁶ Witnessed by Demouroux and Saint-Vaast, notaries of the Châtelet de Paris, A second will was dated 23 February 1591 Geneva. Bernus, p. 170.

⁷ Being the younger son not only affected Chandieu's education, it also influenced his name. Until 1567, he was known as Antoine de la Roche, and it was with his brother's death, and his accession to the title, that he took the title of Antoine de Chandieu. This is in addition to his various pseudonyms.

⁸ RCP Tome I-II pp. 70-1 & 75-6, Kingdon, *Wars*, pp. 26-7, discussed further in chapter two. Grandjean died as pastor of Russin & Dardagny near Geneva in 1561.

⁹ Bernus, p. 6. The official history of the University skims over this period very quickly, admitting to Protestant inroads being made in the faculties, but being more concerned with how this affected the relations with the local *parlement*. See *L'Université de Toulouse: Son Passé, Son Présent 1229-1919* (Toulouse, 1929).

going back to Paris to help in a family legal dispute concerning his uncle's inheritance.¹⁰ It was in Paris that Chandieu's Protestant career really began.

The Origins of the French Reformed Community.

There is no one event in France to match the drama of the posting of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses; nor was there a figure such as Zwingli in Zurich around whom a successful reform movement could coalesce.¹¹ In fact, the French had no strong tradition of heresy. The Albigensian heresy of the thirteenth century had been completely wiped out, whilst the Waldensians were concentrated in a rural corner of eastern France.¹² Instead, evangelical ideas took root in different places at different times, relying on nothing more concrete than individual conscience. Literacy, economic pressures, and preexisting traditions of dissent all contributed to the growth of embryonic evangelical communities, but not to the creation of a coherent church. David Nicholls neatly defined the difficulty of the historian's task in describing the French situation as 'a multitude of personal quests for salvation in a hostile environment'.¹³ However, the early years of the French Reformation movement certainly left an important legacy, instilling a sense of independence and parochialism that would never really be stamped out by Genevan Calvinism. The crown's support for humanist learning, epitomised by the relationship between Lefèvre d'Étaples and François I, led to further confusion as to what actually constituted heretical doctrine throughout the 1520s. Consequently, groups such as that encouraged by Bishop Briçonnet at Meaux inevitably clashed with bastions of conventional orthodoxy such as the Sorbonne.

The Meaux group attempted to reform many of the practices criticised in the late medieval church; inadequate preaching and absenteeism being the most obvious. However, Briçonnet's efforts inevitably attracted criticism from those who felt their own interests were potentially compromised, and those who realised some of the preachers employed were taking advantage of the situation to promote the same kind of ideas as

¹⁰ As yet, no details of this legal dispute have been uncovered. Bernus, p. 7.

¹¹ Calvin, although very influential in the course of the French Reformation, appeared too late in the proceedings to be considered to have this role.

¹² Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford and New York, 1987), pp. 5-7.

¹³ David Nicholls, 'The Nature of Popular Heresy in France, 1520-1542', *HJ* 26 (1983), p. 262.

were being discussed in Germany and the Swiss Cantons. Whilst they had the protection of François I's sister Marguerite de Navarre, the Meaux group had some security. This ended abruptly in 1525, with François' capture at Pavia, after which domestic politics were dominated by the regent Queen Mother Louise de Savoie and the Sorbonne. Although not all the preaching clergy of Meaux accepted reformed ideas (Briçonnet and Lefèvre d'Étaples certainly remained inside the boundaries of Catholic doctrine) some, including Guillaume Farel, found it expedient to quit the country at this point. But crown policy remained inconsistent. Even after the incendiary sacramentarian Placards of 1534, when the crown started to take steps to act against 'Lutheran' and Sacramentarian partisans, there was no consistent course of action. Depending on which area of the country one was in, it was possible to escape harsh punishment.¹⁴

In such circumstances, it is unsurprising that there was no coherence to the way in which evangelical Christians behaved throughout this period. Conversion was very much a matter of individual contemplation. It is not known how families like that of Chandieu came to be part of the Reformed fold. Although the "official" version of Reformed history as espoused in de Bèze's *Histoire Ecclesiastique* states that the first Reformed church was that of Paris, in fact there were already communities worshipping in places like Sainte-Foy (1541), Aubigny and Meaux (1542), Tournai (1544), Tours and Pau (1545).¹⁵ The main influence in the 1530s and 1540s came from Strasbourg, with Bucer's community there, and via books smuggled in by traders. Geneva did not exercise substantial influence over French affairs until it began to send out missionary preachers in the mid 1550s. Calvin himself was not very secure in Geneva until this point. Although he was invited back to the city to direct the Reformation in 1541, he experienced problems with unsuitable ministers until the mid 1540s, which prevented his system being fully effective. Once he did have a body of good men about him, the fact that these ministers were mainly French and seemed to be representative of the ever-

¹⁴ David Nicholls gives the example of Jean de Rez who played off the conflicting jurisdictions of Paris and Amiens to avoid punishment. Nicholls, 'Popular Heresy', p. 263.

¹⁵ Arlette Jouanna, *La France du XVI^e siècle 1483-1598* (Paris, 1996), p. 325.

growing refugee community provoked intense reactions from some of Calvin's Genevan opposition.¹⁶

The large refugee community in Geneva provoked strong antagonism and continued to be an important force in city politics even after Calvin's eventual success in 1555. Not only were the refugees seen as a drain on resources, they were also suspected of exercising excessive influence in Genevan domestic politics. This challenging environment remained Calvin's dominant concern for more than a decade. Naphy's work clearly demonstrates the importance Calvin attached to his pastoral work in the city, which tends to be ignored when looking at the international context. Calvin's first priority was to his flock in Geneva, who needed an exemplary pastorate and this was beginning to be achieved around 1545-6. There were always, however, connections to France. Many of those men who would become missionaries later were refugees from France who returned to their home towns and areas to preach after a period of training in Geneva.¹⁷ Antoine de Chandieu was almost certainly numbered amongst them.

Chandieu in Paris: Church Formation in an era of persecution

From 1555, Chandieu apparently attended secret Protestant assemblies in Paris. In September of this year, the burgeoning Protestant community asked Geneva for help in setting up a structured church with a pastor.¹⁸ Chandieu's own *Histoire des persecutions* describes the events thus:

L'An de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ mil cinq cens cinquante cinq au regne de Henry second de ce nom, comme Dieu ... fit aussi misericorde à la ville de Paris, y recueillant vne Eglise. Les deux premieres années se passerent assez paisiblement, & sans que les ennemis en eussent guieres de cognoissance: pource que les commencemens estoient petis & foibles, & estoit besoing qu'en repos les choses prisent leur train & se fortifiassent:¹⁹

¹⁶ See William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Louisville, 1994), chapter 2 on Calvin's problems with the Genevan pastorate in the 1540s.

¹⁷ Naphy, *Consolidation*, chapter 2.

¹⁸ See *Histoire Ecclesiastique* on the establishment of the Paris church.

¹⁹ [Chandieu], *Histoire des persecutions, & martyrs de l'Eglise de Paris, depuis l'An 1557. iusques au tepms[sic] du Roy Charles neufiesme* (Lyon, 1563), p. 72.

The Paris church elected as its first pastor Jean le Maçon, sieur de Launay, also known as La Rivière. He had spent time in Geneva and Lausanne, and had been disowned by his father due to his adoption of the new faith.²⁰ He was unable to fulfill the obligations to the new church on his own, however, and so a team of helpers was set up. One of the first to be assigned was François de Morel, sent from Geneva on the recommendation of Calvin, de Bèze and Farel. Morel in turn encouraged the promising recruits he encountered to take their faith further.²¹ Some, such as Jean Chassanion²² were sent out into the provinces to communities in need of guidance, whilst others, including Chandieu, were set to work in Paris. Chandieu's first task was to revise the catechism, which he completed with such success that at only 22 years of age, he was appointed second regular pastor of the Paris church sometime around the end of 1556 or start of 1557. In late 1557, the congregation was joined by Jean de Lestre. Together, La Rivière, Chandieu and Lestre formed the core of the new church's structure, and received support from various visitors from Geneva.²³

Little is known of how the Paris church functioned in its early days. What we know of the church tends to focus on the extraordinary incidents, such as martyrdoms and large-scale persecutions.²⁴ This secrecy about day-to-day activities is hardly surprising: too much information about the church would have put its members in grave danger. In a period when the authorities vacillated between persecution and limited toleration, discretion had to be exercised about how the church met: most services took place in private houses and at night. This was satisfactory when the congregation was small, but as soon as the church began to attract larger groups, it became harder to conceal their

²⁰ Jean Le Maçon (c.1533-1572) continued to serve the Paris church into the 1560s. He was a representative at the synod of La Rochelle in 1571, by which time he appears to have been serving the church in his native Angers. He was murdered during the season of St Bartholomew in the garden of his home.

²¹ Morel would return to Geneva in 1557, but was returned to Paris in 1558. He would again be sent out from Geneva to various other places in France, including the court of Renée de France.

²² According to Bernus & Haag, Jean Chassanion (1531-1597) was sent out from Meaux. He would also work in the South of France, before settling in Metz in 1576, and producing a number of polemical works that saw several re-editions.

²³ Including Gaspard Carmel, Nicolas des Gallards, Morel again, Augustine Marlorat (for whom Chandieu would write a sonnet after his martyrdom in 1562), and Girard de Corlieu.

²⁴ See Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Protestants in Sixteenth Century Paris* (Oxford, 1991).

activities. Some meetings could draw three to four hundred people.²⁵ On 4th September 1557, in the notorious incident in the Rue Saint Jacques, members of the congregation clashed with priests of the Collège du Plessis. A crowd formed, over 100 people were trapped in the building, and an armed escort was necessary to allow them to make their escape. This incident caused a public scandal but it did not dissuade the Protestants from meeting.²⁶

Clearly, as a leading figure in the church, Chandieu was in an especially vulnerable position. In the last days of the reign of Henri II, the tide of public opinion flowed heavily against adherents of the new religion. Chandieu's *Histoire* illustrates how steps were taken to combat this wave of adverse publicity:

... que ces faux bruits qui couroient de leurs saintes assemblées, au déshonneur de Dieu, soient rabbatus par defenses & Apologies... Ilz font doncques vne remonstrance bien longue au Roy, & la font secretement tomber en sa chambre, & venir entre ses mains: par laquelle ilz taschent d'adoucir son coeur, impetrer audience à leur cause, & oster ceste mauuaise opinion d'eux, qu'on luy auoit imprimée malicieusement.²⁷

The remonstrance mentioned in this extract was possibly the first polemical work by Chandieu. It appears not to have been printed, and survives only in the synopsis forms in Chandieu's own *Histoire des Persecutions* and the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*.²⁸ Its ideas were expounded in another pamphlet by Chandieu, the *Apologie ou defense des bons chrestiens contre les ennemies de l'Eglise* which now only survives in its abridged form in the *Histoire des Persecutions*.²⁹ This tract provoked controversy, as it presented the Protestants as peaceful and innocent in the face of Catholic cruelty. One former pupil of Chandieu's, Jean Morel, was jailed in part because of his possession of Chandieu's writings.³⁰ Providing support to those held in prison became a more pressing issue. The

²⁵ Bernus, p. 10, Diefendorf, p. 50 ff.

²⁶ Bernus mentions a similar incident in April 1561, when over 120 Protestants were trapped in the Tour Quarré of the Chancellerie until released by sympathisers. Bernus, p. 11-12. Diefendorf makes no mention of this incident, but does point to references that Protestants worshipped in the great hall of the Palais de Justice and to other clashes throughout this period. p. 57.

²⁷ Chandieu, *Histoire*, p. 85.

²⁸ *HE*, p. 146.

²⁹ This was apparently published in Lyon in 1563, but probably circulated in manuscript before then.

³⁰ In fact, Chandieu and Lestre visited him in prison before his death there in February 1559 at the age of 20. Bernus, p. 59.

ministers addressed this either by smuggling letters inside to provide spiritual guidance, or in some instances managing to disguise themselves in Catholic habits and getting inside the prisons for personal visits.³¹

Chandieu's writings made him the most prominent spokesman of the Paris church: in this time of danger he was therefore also the most at risk.³² The church lived in constant fear that its leaders would be denounced or that the location of its meetings might be betrayed. At one point, there was a plan to move the entire church to Strasbourg.³³ The ministers were continually moved around to keep them safe. Even so, in June 1558, Calvin received word that Chandieu had been jailed, but that he had been released on the intervention of Antoine de Bourbon.

In order to protect both Chandieu and the Paris church, he was sent out to work with other nascent churches. He visited Orléans in June 1558, Poitiers in July and August, and Chartres the following year. He also appears to have been in Tours in 1560. Despite this constant movement, he remained dedicated to the Paris church.³⁴ Around this time, he refused an offer made by Calvin through Des Gallars to join the French church in London. Instead, he became deeply involved in the development of a confession and discipline.³⁵

Whilst in Poitiers in 1558, Chandieu came across Le Vau. A friend of Servetus influenced by the ideas of Castellio, Le Vau had caused confusion amongst church members. The churches in the Poitiers region decided they wanted a more formal church structure, with a confession and a discipline applicable to their situation, and they asked Chandieu for help in drafting such a document. This led in May 1559 to the meeting of the first national synod in Paris, which did indeed develop a confession and discipline.

³¹ See Letter from Morel to Calvin, cited in Bernus p. 60.

³² He and his brother Bertrand are mentioned on a list produced in 1558 by the Cardinal de Lorraine, of nobles whose property should be confiscated. Property transactions of which there remain traces are the donation by Bertrand of a tract of land to Condé, and that in 1563 the territory of Chandieu was re-bought by Antoine, and was still in the hands of his descendants a century later. Bernus, p. 124.

³³ In fact, in November 1559, all three ministers were to visit the reformed town. Bernus, p. 67.

³⁴ This is very much Bernus's impression.

³⁵ See chapter two.

The *Confession* was addressed to François II, and was prefaced by a letter, attributed to Chandieu, intended to be given to the king by Condé. When Chandieu visited the provincial churches, he had been in contact with the leading Protestant nobles, Antoine de Bourbon and Condé. Throughout 1558 and 1559 Bourbon was criticised for not openly declaring true dedication to the Protestant cause, and his friendship with Chandieu was one means by which the church tried to bring him closer. At one point, Bourbon wanted Chandieu for his personal chaplain: it is probably because of this that it is sometimes erroneously stated that it was Chandieu who travelled to Béarn to bring him to court after the death of Henri II.³⁶ What is certain is that when Chandieu was arrested in June 1558 in Paris, he was released through the intervention of Bourbon who told the *cour de la justice* Chandieu was his chamberlain. Chandieu gave thanks at a special assembly attended by Bourbon, where he preached on Psalm 124, 'If the Lord had not been on our side', a song of thanksgiving for the Lord's help in times of persecution. It appears the *lieutenant criminal* never knew who it was that had been imprisoned, and the relevant papers were never examined. The intervention of Antoine de Bourbon in the life of Antoine de Chandieu would later be recalled when Chandieu's son dedicated the posthumous collected works to the son of Antoine de Bourbon, the future Henri IV.³⁷

In August 1558, Chandieu was sent to Condé to secure his help in freeing other religious prisoners. He also became known to Catherine de Médici, who had heard of him through Madame de Roye, Condé's wife. Catherine is said to have wanted to talk to the young pastor and a meeting was arranged at Villers-Cotterêts near Reims for September 1559. This never happened, due to Madame de Roye's concern for Chandieu's safety.³⁸ This critical year saw Chandieu implicated in a conspiracy that was to ruin his standing in the eyes of the French political elite, and to ensure that he would always be a marked man in the eyes of the French Catholic authorities. For in this year, some malcontents within the Protestant camp formulated what would eventually become

³⁶ Cited in Bernus, p. 62.

³⁷ Bernus, p. 67 ff. Eventually Bourbon rejected Protestantism in favour of Catholicism.

³⁸ Letter from Morel to Calvin, 11 September 1559, cited Bernus, p. 63.

the abortive coup known as the Conspiracy of Amboise, the effects of which are described in chapter three.

By the end of 1560, Antoine de Bourbon was lost to the Protestant cause and the Guise seemed stronger than ever. At this time, Chandieu was sent to Orléans to be with Coligny. After the Conspiracy of Amboise, Catherine apparently asked twice more for an interview with Chandieu, but instead was sent a memoir setting out the Protestant position. According to La Planche:

Par la bouche de La Roche elle désirait merveilleusement être instruite de la vraie source et origin des troubles, et quel moyen on tiendrait pour donner état paisable à ceux de sa religion. Car, ajoutait-elle, j'ai réciter tant de vertus [et des] grâces singulieres de ce jeune gentil-homme, que je crois qu'il ne me trompera point, vu aussi que ce sont gens de paroles.³⁹

Yet Chandieu's tarnished reputation meant that he would not be invited to join the representatives of the Reformed religion at the Colloquy of Poissy, where de Bèze led the Protestant delegation.⁴⁰ Rather, from this point, Chandieu would restrict his political contact to counselling Calvinist nobles in the capacity of a religious advisor, albeit with an eye to the effect of their political decisions on the Protestant cause.

The Road to War: Political Fragmentation and Religious Tension

The early 1560s saw a spiralling of tensions that would eventually result in open warfare. After Amboise, it might be expected that the Crown would clamp down on Protestantism as a seditious force within the realm. Instead, the religious element of the conspiracy was played down and the political actors were the ones who faced official punishments. The Edict of Romorantin in May 1560 transferred the prosecution of heresy to the church courts, making the process quicker (pleasing to Catholics) but also allowing for less stringent sentences, which encouraged Protestants. Was it this climate that led Protestants out into the open, or was there now a groundswell of Protestant belief that was impossible to quash? This was the high point of Protestant expansion in France,

³⁹ Cited Bernus, p. 65.

⁴⁰ The database of the St Andrews French Vernacular book project records around 8 editions of de Bèze's Poissy speeches published in 1561-2. See below for further discussion of the Colloquy.

when the movement was at its strongest both numerically and politically.⁴¹ In any case, from early 1560, Protestants ignored the provisions of the Edict of Amboise against group meetings, and met in large public groups in towns like Paris and Rouen, as well as continuing the established practice of meeting in fields outside towns. There was now a political edge to the tension between Catholics and Huguenots, as the Protestants now came to be called more and more frequently.⁴² The Protestants represented rebellion and social instability to the Catholics. That Protestant meetings took place largely at night did nothing to still Catholic fears, and this was one of the aspects of Protestant conduct castigated by Catholic preachers, along with the more general accusations of subversion.⁴³ The power of the word was becoming increasingly apparent, as can be seen in descriptions of public orations as well as printed texts. Claude Haton for example noted the words of the preacher Pierre Dyvolé at Provins in 1561:

And furthermore he predicted the evil to come which would slowly be wrought by them [Protestants] in France; how they would rise in arms and rebellion against the King, his state and the public peace, laying waste towns, sacking churches and temples, ill-treating priests, trying to abolish true religion, all divine, politic and civil laws, all sacraments and divine service; how by their pride they would take up arms to exterminate the King and his state as well as all the Catholic people...⁴⁴

Catherine had confirmed the appointment in 1560 of a new Chancellor, one who shared her ideals of peace and co-operation. Michel de l'Hôpital thought the best way to achieve concord in France was through open participation in government by the nobles, leading to reform of the administrative and church systems.⁴⁵

⁴¹ For general reviews of this phenomenon, see Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion (1562-1629)* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 53 ff., Knecht, *French Civil Wars*, p. 72 ff.

⁴² The origin of the term Huguenot has been widely discussed. Sutherland uses it as a term to describe the politically operative Reformed Protestants in France, whereas others have used as a synonym for 'Protestant'. For one summary of the multiple origins, see Henri Naef, "'Huguenot' ou le Procès d'un mot", BHR 12 (1950), pp. 208-227. Whilst not attempting to end this long running intellectual debate, this study has preferred 'Reformed Protestant' when keeping the religious focus in mind.

⁴³ Arlette Jouanna, Jacqueline Boucher, Dominique Bigoghli and Guy Le Thiec, *Histoire et Dictionnaire des Guerres de Religion* (Paris, 1998), p. 68-9.

⁴⁴ Claude Haton, 'Mémoires contenant le récit des événements accomplis de 1553 à 1587' reproduced in David Potter (ed.), *The French Wars of Religion: Selected Documents* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 39.

⁴⁵ Seong-Hak Kim, *Michel de l'Hôpital: The Vision of a reformist Chancellor during the French Religious Wars* (Kirkville, Mo., 1997)

In the meantime, unrest was brewing throughout the country, with bands of Protestants arming themselves, and leading nobles such as Condé beginning to gather troops.⁴⁶ When a letter was intercepted from the vidame de Chartres to Condé promising troops as long as they were not to be used against the king, Bourbon was ordered to bring his brother to court. There, Condé was arrested, and was only saved from execution as a traitor by the death of François II in December 1560 from an ear infection. At the time of the monarch's passing, Chandieu was in Orléans, supporting Coligny after the capture of Condé. In these stressful times, Chandieu's health suffered and he requested a leave of absence, which he spent in Burgundy.

The political situation was somewhat different from that of 1559. François II had been legally of age to rule, albeit under the guidance of advisors. His successor, his younger brother Charles IX, was only 10 years old and had not reached the established age of majority, and indeed would not reach it for several years. A regency would have to be established, and the regent would have to manage the growing political and religious unrest.⁴⁷ Catherine secured the regency for herself by manipulating Bourbon into giving up his dominant claim: in return for accepting his protestations of loyalty, which had been called into question by his brother's actions, she made him *Lieutenant-General* of the kingdom. The overall government of the country was now divided, somewhat precariously, between the Guise and the Bourbons. Throughout early 1561, Catherine promoted co-existence between Catholics and Protestants in at least five edicts and proclamations: either by making expression of discontent illegal,⁴⁸ setting out new statutes,⁴⁹ or providing stronger regulations of incidents that might prove provocative.⁵⁰ The Estates-General had decided in December 1560 to give a general pardon, not requiring people to reconcile to the Catholic church. This 'Huguenot Lent' saw not only

⁴⁶ Knecht, *French Civil Wars*, p. 71.

⁴⁷ Knecht, *French Civil Wars*, p. 74.

⁴⁸ *Lettres patentes du Roy. Envoyées à Monsieur le Bailly d'Orleans. Par lesquelles il defend à toutes personnes d'entrer en debat, esmouuoir seditions & de se reprocher aucunes choses les vns aux autres pour le fait de la Religion, sur peine de la hart, & sans aucun espoir de grace ou remission* (19.04.1561).

⁴⁹ *Edict du Roy defendant à toutes personnes de ne se contendre ne de battre pour le fait de la religion* (15.02.1561).

⁵⁰ *Lettres du roy nostre sire dressans au seneschal de Lyon ou son Lieutenant pour pourveoir à la surté de la procession du S. Sacrement* (25.05.1561).

open worship, but the arrival of more ministers from Geneva, more pamphlet literature and ultimately more clashes with Catholics. Confrontation spread to all parts of the country. The dispatches of Joyeuse to Montmorency are illustrative of the situation in Languedoc: urgently in need of troop reinforcements, the royal representative felt too weak to act, whilst Protestants held more services, collected more men and sent out more missions.⁵¹ Against the wishes of their synods, Protestants took increasingly aggressive action against Catholic churches: the leaders believed that the cleansing of churches and their interiors was to be undertaken by the authority of the magistrates only, not by self-appointed vigilante groups. But still the violence continued.

This wave of increasingly inflammatory activities inevitably brought a backlash from the Catholic population. Paris was seized by the eloquent preaching of militant Catholics looking to rally its citizens in defence of the church.⁵² Society was becoming more confessionally polarised and confrontations increased, with riots between Protestants and Catholics in Paris in April 1561 and at St Médard in late December 1561. Picardy, Brittany, Languedoc and Burgundy all experienced outbreaks of violence, often centred around obvious flashpoints like Catholic processions or Huguenot services.⁵³ Catholics started to form military alliances that would later be recognised as proto-Leagues, the most obvious being the Triumvirate, the alliance of Guise, Montmorency and Saint-André. Their supposed agreement envisaged intervention from Philip II of Spain, the removal of Antoine de Bourbon by intimidation or force, and an international attempt to eliminate Protestantism, in France, Germany and the Swiss Cantons, before the restoration of Catholicism Europe-wide.⁵⁴

In so confessionally charged a political situation, it is curious that this period saw one of the most adventurous attempts at securing religious concord, the Colloquy of Poissy. At this meeting, representatives of the Protestant contingent led by Théodore de Bèze met with Catholics under the Cardinal de Lorraine. Chandieu might well have

⁵¹ Potter, *French Wars*, pp. 45-6.

⁵² Diefendorf, pp. 56 ff, pp. 147-9.

⁵³ See Potter, *French Wars* chapter two for English translations of some of the accounts of religious clashes in the early 1560s.

⁵⁴ Text of Treaty in Potter, *French Wars*, pp. 28-9. This document's authenticity is not confirmed.

found himself at this historic meeting, had not his involvement in the conspiracies of the previous year rendered him unacceptable to Catherine de Médici. After weeks of debate, the colloquy was eventually disbanded on 13 October when it became obvious no agreement could be reached over the Eucharist and no compromise was possible. The Protestants took advantage of this climate of open discourse to push for greater concessions. In December 1561, they petitioned the Crown for more recognised places of worship, claiming to have more than 2,100 churches. One of their contentions was that because they were forced to conduct their services at night, Catholics were more inclined to perceive Protestants as dangerous, depraved and seditious.⁵⁵ Catherine continued her moves towards concord by publishing the Edict of January 1562, granting Protestants the right to public worship outside walled towns, and private worship within walled towns. Synods were made legal on the condition that they were conducted under royal authority. Huguenots were obliged to return commandeered property and buildings. Such an arrangement pleased nobody, and only served to provoke further unrest.

Seeing their dominant position at court waning, the Guise retired first to their estates in Champagne-Lorraine, and then to a meeting with the Duke of Württemberg, leader of the German Lutheran Princes, at Saverne. Returning from this meeting a week later, as he travelled from Joinville to Paris, François, duc de Guise came across a group of Protestants worshipping in a barn outside the village of Vassy. In circumstances that were hotly disputed between the two confessions, the duc's soldiers set upon the congregation: 30 worshippers were killed and another 100 or so injured. As news of the massacre spread across France, violent incidents were reported in other towns, including Paris, Sens, and Toulouse. The massacre of Vassy was interpreted by Protestants as a Guise declaration of war. With unrest in the capital intensified by the presence of both Condé and Guise, Catherine tried to pacify the situation by appointing the moderate Cardinal de Bourbon as gouverneur of Paris. He ordered both men to withdraw from the city. Condé did so on 23 March 1562, but decided not to go to the Court at Fontainebleau: instead he withdrew to Orléans and began marshalling his forces. This left Guise and his

⁵⁵ Potter, *French Wars*, p. 30.

allies, including Montmorency, Bourbon and Saint-André, to take control of the King at Fontainebleau and persuade him to return to Paris, now securely under Catholic control.

Whilst declaring their independence from the Guise, the King and Catherine de Médici struggled to raise troops. They had no standing army and many experienced officers defected to the Protestant side. The only recourse was to hire Swiss and German mercenaries.⁵⁶ Mediation attempts were made throughout the spring of 1562, fruitlessly, and the Huguenot forces took a number of strategic points along the Loire, including Tours, Angers and Blois. It was in these strategic towns of the Loire valley that Antoine de Chandieu spent most the first war. Forced out of Paris by the intense confessional hostility towards the Protestant congregations, Chandieu now served as a trusted advisor to Condé and the Protestant leadership, based mostly in Orléans. He seems to have spent about a year there, along with his colleague La Rivière.

Both the Crown and the Huguenot leadership began to look increasingly outside France for support, with the Crown achieving more success. Over the summer of 1562, the royal forces besieged and recaptured both Blois and Bourges. In the decisive campaign of the conflict, 30,000 royal troops were then committed to the siege of Rouen, which had been launched in May by the brother of the Duc de Guise, Aumale.⁵⁷ The siege lasted until October 1562, when the city's Huguenot leadership surrendered, although the siege had by this point cost the life of the royal commander, Antoine de Bourbon. Among the estimated 1000 who died in the siege and its aftermath was the town's most prominent minister, Augustine Marlorat.⁵⁸

The fall of Rouen was followed by the first major pitched battle of the war, on 19 December 1562 at Dreux, east of Paris.⁵⁹ The conflict was fierce, with the Crown emerging as the eventual winner, and for Chandieu, that loss was compounded by the

⁵⁶ Knecht, *French Civil Wars*, p. 87 ff.

⁵⁷ Jouanna, *La France du XVI^e siècle*, p. 403.

⁵⁸ Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 101.

⁵⁹ For a description of the battle, and the other military encounters of the Wars, see Knecht, *French Civil Wars*.

death on the field of his elder brother Bertrand.⁶⁰ Bertrand had been part of the Conspiracy of Amboise, which he had escaped with his life, and he went on to figure amongst Condé's noble captains.⁶¹ The political situation was perilous: Condé and Montmorency had both been captured at the battle and Guise was in control of the armies. The Crown was in financial difficulties after relying on mercenaries, and Catherine took advantage of the situation to promote a peace treaty.

Meanwhile whilst preparing to lay siege to Orléans, Guise was shot by a Huguenot noble, Poltrot de Méré. In subsequent interrogations, Poltrot implicated Coligny, setting up one of the longstanding feuds of the wars, between his family and the Guise. In the ensuing instability of 1563, Condé and Montmorency were released to act as peace negotiators. With the return of Condé to the table, the Huguenots' divisions became more apparent. Condé and the nobles accepted the need to make certain concessions to achieve peace. Coligny and the pastors with him at Orléans, Chandieu being one of the most prominent, expected the interests of the urban congregations to be respected. Attempts to influence Condé into asking for more recognition for the Protestant religion failed, and Condé's eventual settlement with Montmorency was seen by many, including Coligny and Calvin, as a grave disappointment: communal worship was limited to one town in each *bailliage* outside Paris, but noblemen were able to worship with their families and workers on their estates.⁶² This might keep the Protestant religion alive, but it radically shifted the balance of influence within the movement between urban congregations and their noble protectors. It also stored up future difficulties with regard to the emerging system of church government with which Chandieu had been so closely associated.

⁶⁰ Bernus, p. 169. Bertrand's death is discussed in a letter from Bèze to Calvin dated 12 January 1563, *Opera Calvini*, t. XIX, p. 633.

⁶¹ David Potter, 'The French Protestant Nobility in 1562: The "Associacion de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé"' FH 15 (2001), pp. 307-328.

⁶² Knecht, *French Civil Wars* pp. 111-2, J. Shimizu, *Conflict of loyalties, politics and religion in the career of Gaspard de Coligny : Admiral of France, 1519-1572* (Geneva, 1970), p. 113.

The roving advisor: Chandieu in the mid 1560s

Quite apart from his bitter disappointment at the general tenor of its provisions, the peace of Amboise had serious personal consequences for Chandieu since it forbade a Protestant church in Paris. Chandieu was therefore unable to return to his former charge but available for a new period of wide-ranging pastoral work around France. The death of Bertrand at the battle of Dreux had also changed Chandieu's personal situation: he was now the head of the family. His title changed from Antoine de la Roche to Antoine de Chandieu. In 1563, he had married Françoise de Félin, dame de Folleville, from a family strongly committed to the Reformed religion, the Banthelu. The contract was witnessed on 30 May by La Rivière and de Lestre, and the marriage celebrated on 20 June. Bernus gives us little information about her, except that she supported her husband for 28 years, and was in large part responsible for the education of their children.

In this same year, 1563, Chandieu published his *Histoire des persecutions et martyrs de l'église de Paris, depuis l'an 1557 iusques au temps du Roy Charles neufiesme*. This work was published both as a separate volume and was reproduced with few changes by Crespin in his martyrology. Chandieu never forgot his obligation to the Parisian church: indeed it was apparently partly through his efforts that the Paris congregation was reestablished on a much smaller scale in 1563.⁶³ The situation in Paris was, however, too adverse for the church to recover its influential position within the French Reformed community. As a whole, the French Reformed churches relied on Geneva for their maintenance: good men had to be trained and sent out to help set up and maintain new Reformed congregations. Chandieu himself did not return to Paris. Even had he wished to do so, his notoriety would have made this too dangerous a charge. Instead, Chandieu continued his work in the provinces: in August 1563, he was at the fourth national synod in Lyon. In April-May 1564, he presided over a provincial synod at La-Ferté-sous-Jouarre, a meeting of around 45 ministers from the Île de France, Picardy & Brie. He also visited the churches of Autun, Châtillon-sur-Seine and Mâcon in Burgundy.⁶⁴ In December 1565 he was a delegate at the fifth national synod in Paris. In

⁶³ Bernus pp. 134-6.

⁶⁴ Aymon, *Synods*: Bernus, p. 172.

1567 he returned to Beaujolais to help ministers there and to establish a congregation in Belleville.

There was evidently much work to be done in restoring the French churches, which had been badly disrupted by the war, especially in Burgundy, where the main opponent was the ardent Catholic Gaspard de Saulx, sieur de Tavannes.⁶⁵ Although the rights set out in the Edict of Amboise were enforced in some towns, it was difficult to maintain this position, and Chandieu seems to have worked on getting Protestant cells set up within noble houses, as permitted in the edict.⁶⁶ This arrangement protected Protestants from outside scrutiny, and made it easier to persuade nobles to follow the *Discipline*.

Extracts from Chandieu's diary demonstrate the kind of work he was engaged in, be it the establishment of congregations: 'L'église d'Amanzé est fondé. Dieu veuille la protéger, la fortifier et la conserver, par nostre seigneur Jésus-Christ, et bénir aussi mon travail. Amen. (16 July 1564)' or preserving the faith of individuals, such as nobles celebrating the Eucharist on their private estates: 'J'ai été chez la dame de Saint-André et y air prononcé quelques discours, que Dieu veuille bénir. (29 October 1564)' This role played by the provincial nobility in the maintenance of the faith in the provinces is seen in other instances in the diary: 'J'ai été à Vinzelles, pour rétablir l'Église de Mâcon; on y délibéra sur les réglemens ecclésiastiques à établir parmi la noblesse. (26 November 1564)'⁶⁷ Chandieu preached at the estate of Gilbert Regnaud at Vaux-Mazille. A reference in correspondence dated 21 April 1565 suggests Tavannes tried to stop this, acting without the authority of the king.⁶⁸ Despite attracting the displeasure of Catholic nobles, Chandieu had a good relationship with the churches of Burgundy, and was their representative at synods. Nearby Lyon was a relatively established church, and had prospered under Pierre Viret from June 1562, but a Catholic restoration by the maréchal de Vieilleville in June 1563 only left three churches for the Protestant community, and

⁶⁵ Bernus, p 171.

⁶⁶ See Potter, *French Wars*, pp. 86 ff.; Holt, *French Wars*, p. 57; Knecht, *French Civil Wars*, pp. 106-112.

⁶⁷ Bernus, pp. 172 ff.

⁶⁸ Bernus, p. 173.

the situation worsened when first Jean de Losses and then the duc de Nemours took over the city. In 1565, Lyon lost 5 ministers.⁶⁹ Chandieu went to the aid of the remaining ministers, and on 15th October 1565 was made a temporary pastor. Pierre Merlin wrote to him here the next year, encouraging him in his work.⁷⁰ Throughout 1566 and 1567, the position of the Lyon church deteriorated. The Protestants of Lyon were prevented from rebuilding their ransacked churches, their goods were confiscated and members of the community expelled from the city. In 1567 book stocks held by Protestant printers were seized and burned.⁷¹ Soon Catholics turned on leaders of the congregation themselves. Many were attacked and their bodies thrown in the Rhône, including the pastor Salvard. He was still alive and managed to escape to Geneva, where many refugees were congregating. The difficulty of this situation is shown in Chandieu's journal:

Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Chef et Roi de ton Église, efface nos péchés par ton sang répandu pour nous! Aie pitié de nous! Apaise ces troubles! Conserve ton Église! Viens à mon secours, assiégé comme je le suis de toutes parts. Par ton nom saint, à la gloire duquel ma vie et celle des miens est consacré.
(10 November 1567)

Seigneur Dieu, prends soin de ton Église, et témoigne combien t'est précieux le sang des tiens, dont tu es le vengeur éternel! (5 December 1567)⁷²

Chandieu was still the titular pastor of the Paris church, but could only make secret visits, based at his wife's family's estate at Banthelu-en-Vexin. In June 1567 he stayed for three months until he was forced to leave for good.⁷³ After this he appears to have returned to his estates: the peace of Longjumeau brought little in the way of respite to the provinces, and Chandieu experienced this first hand, his friend Pierre d'Amanzé being murdered at home in July 1568, on a day when Chandieu was due to have visited him. Chandieu was himself under watch, as his journal testifies: 'Je suis sorti de ma maison, fuyant devant

⁶⁹ These were: Jacques Roux (expelled 25 June), Viret and David Chaillet (royal interdict August, go to Vaudois and Neuchâtel respectively), Jean-François Salvard (royal interdict?), and Christophe Fabri (called to Neuchâtel when Farel died).

⁷⁰ Geneva BPU Ms. fr 406, ff. 17-18.

⁷¹ Jean de Tournes lost over four thousand books and was jailed in the Couvent des Célestins. Antoine Vincent died after eight months in captivity. Bernus, p. 176.

⁷² Bernus, p. 177.

⁷³ Chandieu and de Lestre were given the title "Ministres de la parole de Dieu dans l'Église de Paris" by the 1578 synod of Sainte-Foy which proposed to send them to Germany in this capacity, See Aymon records of ninth national synod (pp. 126-137).

les emouches et les menaces des impies. Que mon Seigneur, pour le nom duquel je souffre ces choses, me conduise et me protège! Qu'il conserve ma famille et tout ce que j'ai, et me ramène heureusement sain et sauf après des miens intacts! Amen!' (20 August 1568)

The first Swiss Exile

On 29 August 1568, Chandieu crossed the Saône at midnight, arriving in Lausanne on 6 September where he stayed until moving to Geneva in December. The third War of Religion saw the expulsion of all ministers from France, and the sequestration of Chandieu's estates and property. His wife Françoise tried to recover the family lands, staying in France with the rest of the family. Chandieu stayed in Geneva for over a year, returning to Lausanne for the months of May to September 1570. This two year period of exile included two visits from Françoise, the second of which saw the conception and birth of Suzanne, who was left in Switzerland with her father.

Although all shared in the hardships of overcrowding and plague, the refugees used their ordeal to forge strong interpersonal bonds. For Chandieu, we can see this in the people he asked to become godparents to his children, who were often other refugees. When Suzanne was baptised on 12 June 1570, her absent godfather Jacques de Broulart, baron de Montjay and seigneur de Lisy was represented by an old friend from Burgundy, Honoré Sommat, seigneur Du Castellar. Gilbert Regnaud, sieur de Vaulx, was made godfather to Jacques de Chandieu. In 1575, Antoine de Pize, Chandieu's banker, and a refugee from Lyon, was godfather to Anna de Chandieu. Other godparents to Chandieu children included Louis de Laye, baron de Saint-Lagier (1571), the theologian Claude Aubéry, the publisher Jacques Boeuf (Daniel in 1574), Sébastien Loys (presented Esaïe for baptism in 1576), Jean de Serres (Paul) and Georges de Lorient (Pierre in 1582).⁷⁴

In spite of finding friends amongst the dense network of refugees, Chandieu was eager to return to France, to help the churches and to see his family, who were in danger after the family chateau was occupied in February 1570. He wrote of this period: 'Que le

⁷⁴ Bernus, pp. 182 ff & 409 ff.

Seigneur me garde et bénisse mon labeur; que bientôt il me ramène d'ici auprès des Églises de France, pour jouir de la paix et de la liberté que je demande pour elles, par Jésus-Christ, mon Seigneur, Amen. (29 November 1569)⁷⁵ The main demonstration of this *mal-à-l'aise* was the poem *Ode sur les misères de l'Eglise françoise*, in which Chandieu stated that the situation could only be remedied by God, not man. He was, however, pleased by the advent of peace brought about by the Edict of Saint-Germain in August 1570, and wrote the following prayer:

O Seigneur, Dieu de la paix, toi qui, prenant pitié de ton Église, a mis fin à cette guerre cruelle, qui a flambé pendant trois ans, continue selon ta clémence; et confirme de telle manière cette paix en France, que la prédiction de ton Évangile, s'enracinant de plus en plus, remplisse et illumine toute la France, bien plus, la terre entière. Par Jésus-Christ, mon seigneur. Amen.⁷⁶

The return to France, St Bartholomew's Day and the move to statesmanship

A meeting was held under de Bèze in Nyon, near Geneva on 4 September 1570, to decide the best way in which to reorganize the churches in France. Chandieu left Lausanne on 22 September 1570 and reached France on 3 October.⁷⁷ This was a period of intense rebuilding: Chandieu was a delegate with de Bèze at provincial synods for Lyonnais and Burgundy, he attended the 1571 synod of La Rochelle which ratified the *Confession*, and wrote to the Genevan *Compagnie des Pasteurs* on the synod's behalf. In May 1572, he attended the synod of Nîmes, which adopted the *Discipline*, rejecting the teachings of Morély and Ramus. He advised Jeanne d'Albret on the Navarre-Valois marriage. Alongside these weighty considerations, there was also the practical business of church building. Chandieu returned to Lyon, where in October 1571 the King had allowed the re-establishment of two places of worship.

These promising developments were overtaken with the advent of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacres in August 1572. Chandieu was in the Lyon area when this momentous event occurred, so he was able to leave France and reach Switzerland quickly. He arrived in Geneva on 5 September, and registered alongside his friend and

⁷⁵ Bernus, p. 185.

⁷⁶ Bernus, p. 187-8.

⁷⁷ Journal entries in Bernus, p. 188.

fellow poet Benoît Alizet as an 'habitant' two days later.⁷⁸ This was the start of torrent of refugees from France, among whom were such significant figures as Hughes Doneau, François Hotman (2 October), Joseph Scaliger, Lambert Daneau and Pierre Merlin (8 June 1573). Although Geneva was unquestionably sympathetic to the plight of their co-religionists, this influx caused serious logistical problems for the city.⁷⁹ Many of the refugees attempted to earn a living through teaching, although the *Compagnie des Pasteurs* did pledge money to help preachers. It says much for Chandieu's status even in this distinguished company that he was chosen to be the spokesman for the French churches in their representations to the *Compagnie des Pasteurs*. He is recorded as thanking the city for their welcome and for their financial support; in response to the suggestion that the exiled ministers might wish to preach in the city, he modestly declined, saying the French pastors were content to be sheep of the flock, but they appear to have continued to hold some services separately from the Genevan church.⁸⁰

In the following months, the number of refugee pastors increased steadily, many having been delayed by difficulties traveling through France. Contemporary estimates put the numbers of refugee pastors as around 20 on 15 September 1572, 50 by December, and the total may have reached 120.⁸¹ With more arriving through 1573, the *Compagnie* could no longer afford to support their brothers. On 19 June 1576, Chandieu again spoke on behalf of the refugee ministers in the *Compagnie*, to thank them for their support after the massacres, their consolation, and the places of worship given to them.⁸² The following day, he delivered a similar message to the Genevan Council. There were many other non-ministerial refugees, however, and the situation was worsening all the time, due to plague, bad harvests, unemployment, wars and harsh winters. De Bèze started some attempts at poor relief, and Chandieu was made part of a commission to represent

⁷⁸ All the documentation pertaining to the legal status of refugees in Geneva is held in the Archives de l'État de Genève. See also Bernus p. 59. ff.

⁷⁹ See Jeannine E. Olson, *Calvin and Social Welfare: Deacons and the Bourse française* (London & Toronto, 1989), especially pp. 25, 109-110.

⁸⁰ RCP Vol III pp. 88-9. The *Compagnie* offered the French refugees the use of their chamber on Thursdays at midday for the conduct of their affairs, which suggests an attempt to maintain the distinction between French and Genevan churches.

⁸¹ Bernus, p. 397. Olson, p. 136.

⁸² Chandieu's speech of thanks included the remark 'notamment de qu'on leur avoit donné lieu pour s'assembler et prier Dieu ensemble'. RCP Vol IV, p. 55.

the exiles and act on their behalf.⁸³ An important component of this was the efforts made to regain lands and property sequestered in France, of which Chandieu had personal experience.

The aftermath of St Bartholomew: Chandieu as professor, polemicist and statesman

After the massacres, Chandieu divided his time between Geneva and Lausanne.⁸⁴ Four of Chandieu's children were baptised in Lausanne by Jean Petit-Benoict, including Daniel in 1574 and Esaïe in 1576. The family also took in the orphaned daughter of Georges Neschel. In Lausanne, Chandieu had time to devote to theological issues and debates. In 1577, he began a polemic debate with Francisco Torres (Turrianus) on the subject of the ordination and legitimacy of the ministry of pastors, which attracted Europe-wide interest. Other Catholics who engaged Chandieu included Arthur Faunt, the Scottish Jesuit, Étienne Isaac, son of the Jewish convert Jean Issac, the Jesuit Brillmacher and Guillaume Lindancus, bishop of Ruremonde.⁸⁵

Chandieu began to use the pseudonym Sadeel at this time. Taken from the Hebrew meaning Field of God, this alias recalled the variant spelling of the family name 'Champ-Dieu'. His other alias, Zamariel, or Song of God was a similar *jeu-de-mots* on 'Chant-de-Dieu'. As such it cannot have been difficult for contemporaries to identify Chandieu. Kingdon commented on the common practice of Genevan-trained ministers adopting pseudonyms when journeying into France in the earlier missionary period. He found that many ministers' assumed names were so obscure as to render it impossible to trace them from Geneva to France and vice versa. Thus they fulfilled their aim of keeping identities secret.⁸⁶ Chandieu's pseudonym could not have had this purpose, since the pun was fairly self-evident. In this case, a pseudonym was intended more as a godly motto than as a disguise.

⁸³ Chandieu was a signatory of a letter to the Zurich ministers asking for aid. Zürich Staatsarchiv Ms F 58, fol. 588 (Latin). Bernus, p. 400-401.

⁸⁴ Bernus, p. 403.

⁸⁵ Bernus, p. 450-52.

⁸⁶ Kingdon, *Wars*, p. 38-39.

In June 1577, Chandieu was asked to join the faculty in Lausanne as professor of theology. His colleagues there included Nicolas Colladon (Theology), Michel Hortin (Hebrew), Blaise Marquard (Philosophy) and Pierre Nunnez (Greek). One of the more fruitful relationships he built up was with fellow Aristotelian Claude Aubéry, who had joined the faculty in 1576.⁸⁷ Aubéry was not only godfather to Chandieu's son Paul along with the historian Jean de Serres, he also looked after the family when Chandieu fell ill.⁸⁸ Amongst their friends was the publisher Jean Boeuf, who brought out Chandieu's *Meditationes* in 1578. Aubéry and Chandieu took opposing sides in a debate when Chandieu refuted Aubéry's *De fide catholica apostolica romana* (1587). Sinnema sees Chandieu's friendship with Aubéry as a formative period in his theological development.⁸⁹ In 1578 Chandieu was chosen along with Jean de Lestre and Pierre Merlin to represent the French churches at a conference which aimed to reunite the diverging strands of Protestantism, a meeting which never took place.⁹⁰

In 1579, an outbreak of plague forced the Chandieu family to move to Aubonne, a small town between Geneva and Lausanne, where they stayed until 1583. Again, there was a significant refugee community in Aubonne, including George de Loriol, godfather to Paul de Chandieu (July 1582) and Suzanne de Chandieu's future father-in-law. Chandieu's free time in Lausanne and Aubonne was occupied by writing. He completed the work *De Verbo Dei Scripto*, a call for a more scholastic treatment of theological issues, translated his own *Meditationes* into French, and developed the *Octonaires* over several years. During this time, Chandieu also engaged in a profitable correspondence with others interested in these theological issues, such as de Bèze, Grynaeus and Guillaume IV, landgrave of Hesse. Chandieu certainly appears to have been growing in stature as a theological thinker: in 1583, when Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, broke with the Catholic church, John Casimir of the

⁸⁷ On Claude Aubéry's career at Lausanne, see William Heubli, *L'Académie de Lausanne à la fin du XVI^e siècle: Etude sur quelques professeurs d'après les documents inédits* (Lausanne, 1916).

⁸⁸ Heubli, p. 18.

⁸⁹ Donald Sinnema, 'Antoine de Chandieu's call for a scholastic reformed theology (1580)' in W Fred Graham (ed.) *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 159-190.

⁹⁰ Bernus, p. 563.

Palatinate suggested to de Bèze that Chandieu be appointed his new chaplain and sent to Cologne to organise the reformation of that city.⁹¹

The education of the Chandieu children was also a concern at this time.⁹² Gaspard Laurent, a refugee, was taken on to tutor the children, and lived as part of the family. The boys went first to the *collège littéraire publique* in Lausanne, and in 1580, to Geneva. On 2 June 1582, Jean, Jacques and Daniel left for studies in Basle, where they were supervised in part by their father's correspondent, Grynaeus. Plague forced them on to Zurich, where they had letters of introduction from Hotman, and they eventually matriculated at Heidelberg University on 23 November 1584, although they appear to have returned at least briefly to Geneva in February 1585. Hotman wrote of their good conduct, and one of them, Daniel, went on to spend three more years in Heidelberg as the companion of Frederick, the son of the Elector John Casimir. Other aspects of family life also impacted on Chandieu's work, such as the loss felt by the death of his first child, Marie, in October 1571, which produced the *Cantique à la Mémoire de sa fille*.

The ongoing battle for France: Chandieu as chaplain and statesman

In July 1583, Chandieu returned to France to visit his estates, and spent August to September at Pole and Chabottes. There are many gaps in the journal at this point, which makes it hard to gauge the extent of Chandieu's interaction with the churches. He was probably busy in both Burgundy and Lyonnais, where many ministers had been lost. Geneva also received a letter from the congregation at Villarnoul asking for Chandieu to be sent to them. He clearly had not been forgotten by the French churches during his exile. He was chosen to represent them at another conference with the German Princes which never materialised, this time by the synod of Vitré in May 1583.⁹³ In 1584, he took part in a conference in Montauban from 15 August to 8 September, as the delegate for Lyon and Beaujolais, where he became embroiled in the dispute between the church

⁹¹ Bernus, p. 452.

⁹² There are only details on the journal about the education of the Chandieu boys, although there are details of the births, baptisms and deaths as applicable for all of Chandieu's children. Bernus, pp. 454 ff.

⁹³ Bernus, p. 564.

of Montauban and Madame Duplessis-Mornay over her over-ornate hairstyle.⁹⁴ Chandieu will have been embarrassed by this confrontation, as were many in the hierarchy of the French church. Chandieu had a close relationship with Duplessis-Mornay, with whom he stayed in 1586, and who wanted Chandieu to be his daughter's godfather.⁹⁵ Chandieu's work at this period was not made any easier by the fact that Champagne and Burgundy were League heartlands, and that whilst Chandieu was traveling throughout France, his family was back in Geneva. There are reports that his wife and daughters were ill during 1587, with him unable to return.⁹⁶ In 1585, he was appointed field chaplain as part of a team of four, to accompany Henri de Navarre, which left little time for journal-writing.⁹⁷ In 1587, he was with Navarre's army at La Rochelle, and later that year at Coutras, where he preached a sermon on the eve of battle, and composed a poem, the *Cantique* afterwards.⁹⁸ He was however not able to cope with the rigours of army life, and he fell ill in Nérac in November 1587.

In the spring of 1588, after serving Navarre in Montauban, and seeing Duplessis-Mornay again, he returned to Geneva for a few weeks, before a mission to Heidelberg, Cassel and Frankfurt on behalf of Navarre. This took him through the Swiss Cantons, and enabled him to visit people such as Toussain, Séguier, Aubéry and Boeuf, before returning to Geneva for good on 15 May 1588.⁹⁹ Even here, he was still active for Henri de Navarre, and was overjoyed to receive his first letter from the new King: 'C'est ici la première lettre que j'ai reçu de *Henri IV, roy de France et de Navarre*. – Protège-le, Père tout puissant, à l'ombre de tes ailes, et affermis son âme dans la vraie religion.'¹⁰⁰ According to de Bèze, Chandieu continued to fulfil his role of advisor to the new King by letter.

⁹⁴ Bernus, p. 565. Philip Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 85-6.

⁹⁵ Bernus, p. 570.

⁹⁶ Bernus, p. 570.

⁹⁷ Bernus, p. 569.

⁹⁸ Bernus, p. 574.

⁹⁹ Bernus, pp. 617 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Bernus, p. 624.

Despite the providential rejoicing at Henri's accession, these were difficult years for the French church. In France, Chandieu's sons saw service in Henri's armies, with the eldest Jean fighting at the battle of Ivry in 1590. Meanwhile, Geneva itself was under threat from the army of Charles-Emmanuel, duc de Savoie. Chandieu again took to the field as an army chaplain, alongside Simon Goulart and Adam Dorival, at the battle of Plan-les-Ouates to the south of Geneva in June 1589.¹⁰¹ He was put back on regular duties as soon as possible by the *Compagnie*, and on 17 October 1589, the journal records him being asked to take the Sunday evening sermon in Geneva.¹⁰² This is the only sermon for which we have any account of Chandieu's preaching, on this occasion from Jacques Lect's account of his life. It is not clear if he still had teaching responsibilities in Geneva: it is possible he gave some theology classes to help de Bèze and de la Faye. Since his possessions in France were still under sequestration, he was not financially secure, and a note in the Council records for 8 December 1589 states his good work for the city was recognised and rewarded with a gift of fine wine. He was still producing theological works, and together with de Bèze was considered the fulcrum of theological knowledge in Geneva.

Chandieu fell ill suddenly at the start of 1591, and despite the constant presence and prayers of de Bèze and others, he passed away on 23 February. His death prompted an outpouring of grief from the *Compagnie*, the Council, and the general citizens of Geneva. His body was carried at his funeral by eight theology students. Bernus stated that de Bèze was especially distraught at losing the friend and colleague he had hoped would be his successor. His journal entries ended on 14 January, but his son Daniel made a final entry noting his demise. Jean de Chandieu collected his father's theological works into one volume, which went through various editions into the next century. His poetry enjoyed less of a continued success: the polemical works against Ronsard had a short lifespan, and of his other works, only the *Octonaires* continued to be published into the next century.

¹⁰¹ Letter to Grynaeus, 12, June 1589, cited Bernus, pp. 628-9.

¹⁰² Bernus, p. 629-30.

Chandieu's life and career provide insights into several aspects of French Protestantism. His career spans almost the entire length of the Wars of Religion. His writings encompassed this period of profound upheaval, and they bring valuable insight into the thought processes and emotions evoked by these tumultuous events. That Chandieu was for many years a leader of the French Reformed movement only increases the significance of his writings as a means of understanding the culture of French Protestantism.

In fact, as we have seen in this extended survey of his life, Chandieu's career path mirrored the development of the Reformed movement very closely. His emergence as a Protestant pastor came as the movement took off in terms of numbers and consciousness amongst the French public, and his development as a polemicist and theologian coincided with the consolidation of this church into a recognisable Calvinist structure to the exclusion of divergent ideologies. As the church began to decline in numbers after the initial years of the conflict, so his focus shifted to consolidating what remained, working with both church communities and noble households. As in so much, the St Bartholomew's Day Massacres in 1572 proved a crucial watershed for Chandieu. This episode saw him forced into exile and made into a spokesman for the vast number of fellow refugees, a role he would continue to exercise for the rest of his life. Far more acute is the effect it had on his writing: the tragedy of the Massacres encouraged deeper contemplation of profound spiritual matters that culminated in his magisterial poetical composition, the *Octonaires*. This intellectual development is a crucial aspect that will be at the heart of this thesis, encompassing as it does the progression both of Chandieu and the church to which he dedicated himself.

Chandieu's career also offers an interesting mirror of French society. Chandieu came from a social level, the lesser nobility, often alluded to but less often studied. The ranks of the middle and lesser nobility have not often left us much more than a skeletal knowledge of their actions, their thoughts and convictions. So it must be understood what it meant for a man like Chandieu to be noble. It gave him his education, his culture and his income, to be sure, but there are strong probabilities it gave him more than this,

only in a less tangible form. A noble would have had a clear idea about how society was ordered. This was after all the society as ordained by God, and He had set down differences between people which made some the leaders of others

The noble world was also based on ideas of honour and the concept of the patron-client relationship. Individual decisions were actually always part of a wider experience, on which a family's fortunes might rest. Therefore, Chandieu's career must be understood in terms of him being part of a network, indeed multiple networks. He was part of an intellectual network, people with whom he shared ideas and writings, such as de Bèze and Gryneaus. He was also part of a religious and later an exile network, fellow believers who had experienced the same persecutions. And there was the more "traditional" clientage network: the longstanding years of service and advice given to the Bourbon family, namely Antoine de Bourbon, Henri de Navarre and Condé. These relationships formed the context in which Chandieu produced his writings, and as such contributed to how he himself interpreted Protestant identity. As events forced him to reconsider his faith and his fellow man, Chandieu came to encapsulate in his writing the disillusionment many Protestants felt about the material world, with their hopes resting on the glory that awaited them at God's side after a lifetime of loyal service. In this respect, Chandieu represents the French Protestant experience at its most basic level. Where he differs from the vast majority of his co-religionists is in the vast corpus of works he left, which describe each step of this journey from hope through despair to acceptance. These works bring us closer to the experiences of the French Protestant community during the Wars of Religion.

Chapter Two: Establishing a Church (1555-1560)

In 1555, Chandieu returned from Geneva to Paris, to help his uncle in a legal dispute. It is from this point that his career became incontrovertibly tied to Protestantism. The Paris church was immensely influential for the French Reformed communities, and Chandieu became one of its most celebrated leaders. Much of his work should be considered as laying the foundations for the kind of church he and his colleagues wanted to build. His activities also took on a political dimension, with the Conspiracy of Amboise, and his links to the emerging Protestant leaders: Condé, Coligny and Antoine de Bourbon.

Chandieu reached adulthood as the evangelical tradition in France was overtaken by a more organised form of Reformed worship originating in Geneva. Chandieu was instrumental in merging these two distinct forms. His work helped establish the basic documents on which practical religion was founded, the *Confession* and the *Discipline*, which attempted to establish the French churches independently of Geneva. This process of church forming has been the subject of much debate and some recent controversy. This debate has taken place in a context that has traditionally stressed the dominant role of Geneva in guiding and shaping the nascent French church.¹ More recently, attention has been given to the nature and constitution of the churches established in France after 1555. Peter Wilcox has questioned the traditional distinction between *églises plantées* and *églises dressées*: that is congregations that grew up spontaneously and those with a formal church structure.² This debate certainly catches one essential characteristic of the process of church forming in France. It should be stressed, however, that Chandieu and his colleagues would have used neither term to describe the congregations gathered together spontaneously before the major work of organisation and restructuring in the 1550s. The status of these groups is best captured by the term *assemblée des fideles*. These groups worshipped by reading the Bible together, praying together and even

¹ See particularly Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France* (Geneva, 1956).

² Peter Wilcox, “‘Églises plantées’ and ‘églises dressées’ in the Historiography of Early French Protestantism”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993), pp. 689-695.

singing together in secret meetings. This is a different model than that of Germany and the Reformed Swiss Cantons, where often a charismatic preacher carried his congregation towards acceptance of the ideas emanating from Wittenberg and Zurich.³

This is not to say that the early *assemblées* did not aspire to the status of the more formal church. Some of the early *assemblées* had asked Strasbourg to send them ministers, for example Toulon and Meaux, and these appeals became more frequent in the 1550s as the French Reformed movement turned increasingly to Geneva.⁴

Why did Geneva replace Strasbourg as the “mother church”? Firstly, this is not such a decisive break as one might assume. Strasbourg and Geneva did not operate in exclusive spheres. Greengrass highlights the reliance Calvin had on Strasbourg and Bucer in many areas, including liturgy, ecclesiology and the use of music in worship.⁵ But Strasbourg maintained a strong magisterial powerbase that exercised some control over church affairs, as was common in the cities of the Magisterial Reformation. Geneva’s smaller size meant that once Calvin gained control of the Reformation in the city in 1555, he was better placed to direct an overseas mission with a single concrete purpose than the ethnically divided Rhineland city. The majority of the pastorate in Geneva were Frenchmen who had escaped Henri II’s programmes of repression, and the divisions between them and local magistrates caused problems for Calvin. All in all, once Geneva had fully embraced her Reformation, she was very well placed to exert a strong influence over potential co-religionists in France.

Geneva as Mother Church

In 1956, Robert M. Kingdon published his work *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France 1555-1563*. A detailed breakdown of the events leading up to the outbreak of war in France in 1562, and Geneva’s role in this both before and after hostilities commenced, Kingdon made an in-depth survey of the men who established the

³ For the importance of the role of preaching in the adoption of the Reformation, see Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, chapter 2.

⁴ Arlette Jouanna, *La France du XVI^e siècle 1483-1598* (Paris, 1996), p. 325.

⁵ Greengrass, *The French Reformation*, p. 29-30.

link between Calvin's Geneva and the French provinces. What he found was striking: 10 of the 88 men officially dispatched as ministers by Geneva from 1555 were of noble origin, with another four possibly falling into this category. Thus as many as 16% of the French mission movement came from noble backgrounds, when nobles constituted less than 1% of the total population in France.⁶ Hence, many of the men involved in the initial stages of the Reformed movement in France came from the same social class as Chandieu. Why this should be so is a difficult question to answer. Many hypothesis have been put forward, including the discontent of nobles and their declining fortunes when no longer needed to fight in the Crown's wars. Also of note was the role played by noble women in the conversion of their families.⁷ Whilst these are no doubt important considerations, what is more certain is that men of the lower nobility would have had a certain level of education and a knowledge of the world, possibly having spent time living away from the family home, often at one of the universities where reforming ideas were being discussed. They were exposed to these ideas and taught to think about them in a way few other social classes would have been. Although peasants made up the vast majority of the French population, there were no missionaries drawn from the peasant class.

These social divisions are not haphazard, but rather they reflect what we know of the social breakdown of Protestantism in France: strong representation amongst the urban middle classes, significant inroads into the nobility, but a general failure to capture the peasant mind. What is interesting is seeing how it was the nobles who took the leading roles in the expansion and consolidation of Protestantism: Kingdon looked at men like Nicolas des Gallars (Sire de Saules), and François de Morel (Sire de Collonges), and of course, Théodore de Bèze. Men like this were valuable because they had an education, they had money and they could exploit patronage networks to claim high-placed converts.

⁶ Figures taken from Kingdon, *Wars*, p. 6 and R. J. Knecht, *The French Civil Wars* (Harlow, 2000), p. 30.

⁷ See especially Nancy Roelker, 'The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1972), pp. 391-418.

Kingdon's study of the influence of Geneva and her missionary ministers identifies many traits which went onto be recognisable in the French churches. The *Compagnie des Pasteurs* promoted a strict regime of self discipline, in belief and behaviour, and created a notable degree of doctrinal coherence through the theological instruction available in Geneva. A letter of accreditation from Geneva to say that a pastor had been examined by the *Compagnie des Pasteurs* and found theologically sound became almost essential in the eyes of French congregations for the preservation of basic doctrinal unity. Kingdon indicates a vetting process which considered all aspects of the pastoral paradigm, using the case of Chandieu's old tutor, Mathias Granjean.⁸ In 1557, he was elected 'maistre de l'eschole à l'Hospital', a teaching position which demanded doctrinal orthodoxy, as the *Régistres* also stated that the holder 'aussi pourroit servir de faire quelzques sermons en deffault et necessité, par maladie ou aultrement des ministres'. But in June of the same year, when there was a vacancy in the parish of Saint Germain, Granjean was expected to go through the same process of examination as other candidates. On Monday 7 June, Granjean faced the Company:

le dict maistre Matthias traicta, en la presence des freres, un passage du quinziesme des Actes, et apperceut on qu'il estoit par trop timide, et qu'il n'estoit point encore fort stylé. Nonobstant fut conclu qu'on procederoit à l'examen. Comme de faict il a esté examiné par diverses fois, là où combien qu'il fut jugé homme de bon savoir, toutesfois a esté trouvé tardif en ses responses.⁹

Granjean was encouraged to work on these shortcomings, which he must have done successfully, becoming pastor of Ressin and Dardagny in July 1557.¹⁰ The examination

⁸ Kingdon, *Wars*, pp. 26-7.

⁹ RCP Vol II, p. 75.

¹⁰ RCP Vol II, pp. 75-7. On the lifestyle of the Genevan pastors at this time, see also Jean-François Bergier, 'Les Salaires des Pasteurs de Genève aux XVIe siècle' in *Mélanges d'histoire du XVIe siècle Offerts à Henri Meylan* (Geneva, 1970), pp. 159-178; Jacques Pannier, *Calvin et l'Episcopat: L'Épiscopat élément organique de l'église des la Calvinisme intégral*, Cahiers de la Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse de Strasbourg 24 (Paris & Strasbourg, 1927); Francis Higman, 'Les Origines de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève' in *Bulletin de la Compagnie de 1602* no. 283 (Geneva, 1991), pp. 277-287; Henri Heyer, *Liste des Pasteurs et Professeurs de l'Église de Genève* (Geneva, 1911) and *L'Église de Genève: Equisse historique de son organisation* (Geneva, 1909); Arthur D. Ainsworth, *The Relations between the Church and the State in the City and Canton of Geneva* (Atlanta, 1965); Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin, Geneva and the Reformation: A Study of Calvin as Social Reformer, Churchman, Pastor and Theologian* (Edinburgh, 1988); Robert Kingdon, 'A New View of Calvin in the Light of the Registers of the Genevan Consistory' in Wilhelm H. Neuser & Brian G. Armstrong (eds.) *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex*:

process gave a pastor a certain cachet: indeed it was quite possibly an encounter with a Genevan-trained pastor which prompted some congregations to write in request of a missionary in the first place.¹¹

Kingdon's study offers evidence of the importance of Genevan influence, especially in terms of the leading personnel of the new French church. Chandieu himself is a good example of the influence of both Calvin's own theology and the Genevan church in the intellectual formation of those who would lead the French congregations. But Chandieu and his colleagues were always conscious that they could not create in France a simple echo of the church in the city state of Geneva. An examination of the process which led to the emergence of the *Confession* and *Discipline* demonstrates the subtlety with which the Genevan model was adapted to the new circumstances of a national church. Even within this context, the dominant role of Geneva would not go unchallenged. In these debates Chandieu would emerge as a leading defender of the church structures that had been so carefully crafted.

Steps to Consolidation: The National Synod

En ce temps fut faite vn assemblée des Ministres de France en la ville de Paris: & fut dressée la confession de foy, à laquelle toutes les Eglises se tiendorient: & les articles de la discipline arrestez, par laquelle elles seroient conduites.¹²

There is no shortage of documentation on the meeting that became the first national synod of the French Reformed churches. There are the printed synod records, in English by Quick and French by Aymon, well-known to be flawed and incomplete. The full complexity of this issue is well elucidated by Bernard Roussel and Solange Deyon's examination of the validity of printed and manuscript accounts of the synods.¹³ The

Calvin as Protector of the Purer Religion (Kirkville, 1997), pp. 21-34 and Richard C. Gamble, *Articles on Calvin & Calvinism: Calvinism in France, Netherlands, Scotland, and England Vol. 14* (New York & London, 1992).

¹¹ Kingdon, *Wars*, p. 31.

¹² Chandieu, *Histoire*, p. 327.

¹³ Bernard Roussel and Solange Deyon 'Pour un nouvel «Aymon»: Les premiers Synodes nationaux des Églises réformées en France (1559-1567)', BSHPF 139 (1993), pp. 545-595. The BSHPF is unsurprisingly the best source of information about these early years. Also of interest are Roussel's 'La Discipline des

Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français in Paris holds the most complete collection of manuscript records. The May 1559 meeting can be seen as the baptism, if not the actual birth, of the French Reformed church. Increasingly, these records and the documentation produced from similar meetings have provided the basis for several studies into how far the French church was independent of Geneva, and where her true direction came from.¹⁴

Pettegree has described the difficulties that many groups experienced in the early years of the Reformation as they tried to make their ideas become a workable reality.¹⁵ This was especially true in France as the two stages identified in this process, those of a protest movement and active church construction, happened so far apart in time. Protestantism only found a tenable foothold in French society three decades after the flaws of traditional Catholicism had been targeted by Briçonnet and two decades after the Placard controversy. In the meantime, ideas had matured in clandestine meetings. Clearly, French Calvinism owed much to Geneva, its men and books providing the raw materials needed to inspire the churches to coalesce as a movement. But individual congregations in France also provided crucial impetus to this process. In this respect the account offered by the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* is both valuable and insightful, though the full implications on the process of church forming have only recently been recognised. The *Histoire* and Chandieu both give pride of place to the Paris church in the early years of the French Reformed movement. But the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* makes equally clear that it was the threat of alternative models of church governments being adopted by other

Eglise réformées de France en 1559: un royaume sans clergé?' in *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières: Bayle et le protestantisme. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Elisabeth Labrousse* (Paris & Oxford, 1994), pp. 169-191; H. Dieterlen, *Le Synode général de Paris, 1559. Etude historique sur la naissance et le développement intérieur des Eglises Réformées de France* (Paris, 1873); Alexandre Crottet, *Notice Historique sur la Confession de Foi des Églises Réformées de France* (Strasbourg Thesis, 1834); E. Arnaud, *Documents protestants inédits du XVI^e siècle: synode générale de Poitiers, 1557, synodes provinciaux de Lyon, Die, Peyraud, Montélimar et Nîmes en 1561 et 1562* (Paris, 1872); Léonce Anquez, *Histoire des Assemblées Politiques des Réformées de France (1573-1622)* (Geneva, 1970); Ch.-L. Frossard, *Étude Historique et Bibliographique sur la Discipline Ecclesiastique des Églises Reformées de France* (Paris, 1887) and Michel Reulos, 'L'organisation des Églises réformées françaises et le Synode de 1559', BSHPF 105 (1959), pp. 9-24.

¹⁴ Philip Conner, 'Huguenot Identities During the Wars of Religion: The Churches of Le Mans and Montauban Compared', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 54 (2003), pp. 23-39; Glenn S. Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557-1572* (Kirkville, Missouri, 2003), p. 1-5.

¹⁵ Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, p. 32.

leading churches which provided crucial impetus towards the establishment of a national church order:

Or quelques difficultés qui se presenrassent de toutes parts contre les pauvres fideles, tant s'en salut pour tout cela, qu'il a perdissent courage, qu'au contraire ce fut en ce temps, que Dieu par la singuliere grace inspira toutes les Eglises Chrestienne dessees en France, de s'assembler pour s'accorder en vnit  de doctrine, & discipline, conformement   la parole de Dieu. Lors doncques,   scaoir le vingtsixiesme de May audict an M. D. LIX s'assemblerent   Paris les deput s de toutes les Eglises establies iusques alors en France: & l  d'vn common accord fut escrite la confession de foy, ensemble fut dresse  la discipline Ecclesiastique au plus pres l'institution des Apostres, & selon que la circonstance des temps portoit alors: chose vraiment conduite par l'esprit de Dieu pour maintenir l'vnion, qui a tousiours perseuer  depuis. L'occasion de ceste assemblee fut, que sur la fin de l'annee precedente M. D. LVIII. estant Antoine de Chandieu enuoy  par l'Eglise de Paris   l'Eglise de Poitiers pour quelque affaire, & mesme pour rendre tesmoignage de certain personnage dont ceux de Poitiers estoient en peine, le temps portoit lors que la sainte Cene fust celebree en ceste  glise l : que se fit en tregrande assemblee, non seulement, de peuple, mais aussi de ministres circonuosins, qui s'y trouuerent: & apres la celebration de la Cene, les ministres estans assembl s communiqu rent par ensemble tant de la doctrine, que de l'ordre & discipline entre eux obseruee, & par les choses qu'ils traittoient commencerent   apprehender quel bien ce seroit s'il plasoit   Dieu que toutes les Eglises de France dressassent d'vn commun accord vne confession de foy, & vne discipline Ecclesiastique: comme au contraire, cela ne se faisant, les grands mauz au pourroyent suruenir, & diuisions tant en la doctrine, qu'en la discipline, les Eglises n'estans liees ensemble, & renees sous vn mesme iug d'ordre & de police Ecclesiastique. Partent ceste petite assemblee qui estoit l  donna lors charge audict de Chandieu d'en communiquer   l'Eglise de Paris, pour voir s'il y auroit moien de pouuoir procurer aux Eglises vn tel bien pour l'aduenir, sans lequel elles sembloient estre menacees beaucoup de confusions. Ce rapport estat fait   l'Eglise de Paris, apres infinies incommodit s surmontees, estans les Eglises aduertiees par le tres de ce qui estoit mis en auant touchant le Synode national, pour auoir leur aduis, fut conclu que ledit Synode seroit tenu   Paris pour ce commencement, non pour attribuer quelque preeminence ou dignit    ceste  glise l , mais pour estre lors la ville plus commode pour receuoir secrettement beaucoup de ministres & Anciens. Ainsi le Synode se tint   Paris, & y furent dressees tant la confession de foy que la discipline Ecclesiastique, comme nous auons dit.¹⁶

This account of the prehistory of the synod is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, the churches were inspired to work in conjunction with each other in a divinely ordained

¹⁶ *HE*, pp. 172-3.

process: God was bringing about unity. Chandieu is presented as being central to the whole process. He was originally in Poitiers on official church business. In fact, he had gone there to restore unity to the congregation after one member, Le Vau, introduced the ideas of Servetus and Castellio. The dissemination of divergent doctrines was a great threat to the growing Reformed community. Not only did it entrench divisions between the congregations caused by geography, it also had the more fundamental effect of condemning dissidents to hell in the eyes of their opponents: this really was a battle for people's souls.¹⁷ This important mission suggests Chandieu was already seen to have the authority to advise congregations with difficulties. Clearly he had not only the knowledge to be trusted to deal with such debates, but also the reputation, despite his youth, that would ensure his judgements would be heeded. This mission happened to coincide with the celebration of the Eucharist in Poitiers, which brought about a larger gathering of ministers in the town. Feeling that God wanted his churches in France to have a common confession and discipline, the assembled ministers charged Chandieu with gaining the participation of the Paris congregation. Clearly the ministers leading the emerging congregations felt that only clarity in doctrine would protect the churches from the attacks of their many enemies and allow the church to grow. In this respect the following phrase in this account is particularly telling: 'comme au contraire, cela ne se faisant, les grands mauz qui pourroyent suruenir, & diuisions tant en la doctrine, qu'en la discipline'. The various martyologies give multiple examples of increased persecutions at this time, and by eliminating the element of competition implied by divergent doctrines, the Reformed church might hope to avoid drawing unnecessary attention to themselves. This fits in with the purpose of Chandieu's original mission to Poitiers.

¹⁷ The beliefs of Servetus had prompted a crisis in Geneva for Calvin. Servetus believed that the true nature of God had been continuously corrupted, from the early church fathers to the Reformation, and that Christ was the human manifestation of God on earth, not a separate part of the Godhead from the Father. Servetus also rejected the idea of original sin, believing that Christ's divinity was transferable in part to humans, who then themselves became progressively divine. After an initial correspondence with Servetus, Calvin had been instrumental in bringing about his trial in Geneva in 1553. Because his errors concerned such a central theological issue, and because he had challenged Calvin so openly, Servetus' ideas could not be allowed to gain any ground in Reformed society. Castellio, the humanist and bible scholar, had been engaged since the time of Servetus' arrest in a debate concerning the just treatment of heretics with the Genevan reformers, and would continue to be found harbouring heretical beliefs until his death in 1563.

Even with this strong imperative, the gathering together of such a synod was by no means straightforward. The logistics of the meeting were extremely complicated, and had to be completed in secrecy. Approximately seventy churches are thought to have sent representatives.¹⁸ If most churches sent two representatives – a minister and an elder – then there would have been upwards of one hundred and forty people, which seems ambitious. The meeting itself was held in the suburbs of Paris: a potentially extremely hazardous choice given the recent history of the Paris congregation. It was, after all, only two years previously that the discovery of the congregation in the Rue Saint Jacques had had such dire consequences. Secrecy was so paramount that even Calvin was not aware of the plan until the synod had been called, and was therefore unable to give as much advice as he might have wanted.¹⁹ Once informed, he sent Nicolas des Gallars to Paris, possibly with a model confession, but events were definitely in the hands of the ministers. Was this lack of consultation with Calvin deliberate? De Félice states Calvin was unwilling for a confession to be published, which explains the reluctance of the organisers to include him in their plans. But does this explain why he was barely consulted at all? Rather, was this snub an indication that the French congregations wished to exercise as much autonomy as possible? Calvin in Geneva was in a very different position to the pastors of the emerging churches. In this respect they were far better placed to determine how the Genevan form of worship could best be adapted to local circumstances.

The Confession de Foi

The *Confession de Foi* developed at the 1559 synod was the first Calvinist confession developed outside the Swiss Cantons. It was also the first designed to speak on behalf of a national Protestant movement, as opposed to an individual (e.g. de Bèze's *Confession*) or a city-based reform like that of Geneva. It would be consulted by other minority Reformed communities composing the Belgic Confession (1561) and the Heidelberg Catechism (1562-3). However, it was not until 1571 and the synod of La

¹⁸ Philippe de Félice, 'Le Synod National de 1559', BSHPF 105 (1959), pp. 1-8.

¹⁹ For the exchanges between Calvin and Morel on the meeting of 1559, see Poujol, 'De la Confession de Foi de 1559 à la Conjuration d'Amboise', BSHPF 119 (1973), pp. 158-177, and 'L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre et la Confession de Foi du Synode de 1559', BSHPF 105 (1959), pp. 49-53.

Rochelle that a final text was decided upon.²⁰ Until this point, several variant editions circulated. It was probably for such reasons that Calvin had expressed reservations. A printed version implied a degree of permanence: these were the spiritual foundations of the Reformed religion in France, they were the tenets at the centre of the whole belief system. The *Confession* dealt with the spiritual realities of Reformed life, which is why it takes pride of place in accounts of the synod, although the *Discipline* was actually written first. The findings of the St Andrews French Vernacular Book Project show that between 1560 and 1566 sixteen editions of the *Confession* were published, suggesting there was a buoyant market among both leaders of the new churches and individual church members.²¹ The *Confession de Foi* was a battle cry for French Protestants under threat of persecution, and a warning siren for their persecutors.

Beginning with fairly standard statements on the nature of God and his relationship to mankind, the *Confession* moves on to a series of articles considering the place of the Word in Christian life. The composition of the Word as established by the legitimate books of the Bible has an article to itself, unlike other confessions where the description of Canonical literature was included with the initial affirmation of the supremacy of the Word. This list of the books of the Old and New Testaments is followed by an article stating the necessity of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in understanding the Word. These two articles highlight the fundamental importance of the Word to French Protestants. This was clearly not just the act of reading the Bible, but taking on the lessons of the Bible with the help of the Holy Spirit, something only possible for those blessed by God. Whilst this reliance on the written Word as the vestiges of God's spoken commands was certainly a key aspect in all forms of Reformed Protestantism, the French *Confession* revealed the importance of clarity to the 1559 synod. The Genevan *Confession* of 1536 had fewer articles (21 in total) and was less

²⁰ For the text of the *Confession* and its subsequent revisions over the centuries, see Olivier Fatio (Ed.), *Confessions et Catéchismes de la foi réformée* (Paris, 1989). There are also several versions available online.

²¹ These are SNs 2966 (Geneva, Durand, 1561), 271 (s.l., 1561), 76733 (Rouen, Clémence, 1562), 104 (s.l., 1562), 19580 (Geneva, Davodeau & Mortiere, 1562), 64036 (s.l., 1562), 14739 (Geneva, Fourdin, 1563), 16397 (Geneva, Forest, 1563), 4904 (Geneva, Crespín, 1563), 16910 (s.l. 1564), 16911 (Geneva, Pinereul, 1564), 2302 (Caen, Auber, Desloges & Le Cordier, 1564), 516 (St Lô, Bouchard & Le Bas, 1565), 393, (s.l. 1565), 60827 (Orléans, Rabier, 1566) and 65832 (Geneva, Durand, 1566).

carefully structured.²² This clarity became a feature of Chandieu's writing: especially in his theological works, he made great efforts to ensure as little confusion as possible could arise from his words. The *Confession* achieves this by subdividing articles that other confessions group together, so each receives the stature it merits. In Chandieu's later works, this developed into a full system of breaking theological issues down point by point, and progressing in small steps from one element to the next.

The *Confession* moves onto discuss its parameters; the Word cannot be changed by man, nor can it be laid aside and man-made tenets upheld in its place. All statements, religious or political, must be judged in their relationship to the Word of God. The most religiously fundamental of these statements is article 6, which describes the essence of the Trinity and its indivisible nature. This reflects the background of the synod, and the controversy in Poitiers. The *Confession* then tackles the important statements of doctrine: articles 9 to 12 deal with the Fall, the nature of Sin, its transmission throughout the generations and God's gift of the possibility of Salvation. The question of Salvation was central to belief, and this section, describing man's corruption and God's gift of forgiveness, goes straight to the heart of the Reformed faith. Articles 13 to 16 address the role of Christ in salvation. Christ is the only thing necessary for redemption, not good works or status, as all virtue proceeds from God. Article 14 shows why the *Confession* carefully maintained the doctrine of the Trinity:

14. Nous croyons que Jesus-Christ, estant la Sagesse de Dieu & son Fils éternel, a vestu nostre chair, afin d'estre Dieu, & Homme en une Personne, voire homme semblable à nous, passible en corps & en ame, sinon estant qu'il a esté pur de toute macule. Et quant à son humanité, qu'il ait esté vraye sémence d'*Abraham* & de *David*: combien qu'il ait esté conçu par la vertu du S. Esprit. En quoy nous détestons toutes les Hérésies qui ont anciennement trouble les Eglises, & notamment aussi les imaginations diaboliques de *Servet*, lequel attribue au Seigneur Jesus une Divinité fantastique, d'autant qu'il le dit estre idée & Patron de toutes choses, & le nomme Fils personnel ou figuratif de Dieu: & finalement luy forge un corps de trois éléments créés, & par ainsi mesle & détruit toutes les deux natures.²³

²² Arthur C. Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century* (London, 1966), pp. 117-126.

²³ All citations taken from reproduction in Fatio, *Confession*.

The reason for this emphasis on upholding the doctrine of the Trinity is clear; the Reformed churches were attempting to distance themselves from the heresies of Servetus, singling him out for condemnation within the text of the *Confession*. It is tempting to see the influence of Chandieu in this emphatic reaffirmation of teaching which, after all, was hardly questioned among mainstream churches in either the Protestant or Catholic tradition. But Chandieu had seen at first hand in Poitiers the damage that could be done by speculations on core matters of faith such as this: such heresies must therefore be explicitly and emphatically rejected.

The bulk of the *Confession*'s articles present the doctrinal basics of Reformed Protestantism: Justification (Articles 17-22) and the rejection of Catholic practices like the intercession of saints and purgatory (Article 24) and as such are self-explanatory. Thereafter, however, the *Confession* turns to issues which highlight the degree to which Chandieu and his colleagues were beginning to consider their experiences as separate from Geneva. For example, articles 25 to 28 address issues made pertinent by being a minority church in a climate of repression. The first of these is the role of the pastor:

25. ... nous croyons que l'ordre de l'Eglise qui a esté établi sur son [Christ's] autorité, droit este sacré & inviolable. Et pourtant que l'Eglise ne peut consister, sinon qu'il y ait des Pasteurs, qui ayant la charge d'enseigner, lesquels on doit honorer & escouter en révérence...²⁴

The church must not only be properly led, it must have a public face. This is demonstrated in promotion of communal worship as opposed to private devotion, even under threat of persecution:

26. Nous croyons donc que nul ne se doit retirer à part, & se contenter de sa personne, mais tous ensemble doyvent garder & entretenir l'unité de l'Eglise, se soumettant à l'instruction commune, & au joug de Jesus-Christ: & ce en quelque lieu que Dieu aura établi un vray ordre d'Eglise, encores que les Magistrats & leurs Edicts y soyent contraires, & que tous ceux qui ne s'y rengent ou s'en séparent, contrarient à l'Ordonnance de Dieu.²⁵

²⁴ *Confession*, Article 25.

²⁵ *Confession*, Article 26.

This acknowledges the antipathy felt by the Genevan church for 'Nicodemites', so long the focus of Calvin's writing.²⁶ The idea here is that either one's community joins the 'official' body, or one is not a true believer. In this context, deviation would not be tolerated. Again, this is typical of Chandieu's concerns: repeatedly he wrote persuasively against the tyranny of the Catholic papacy, but when confronted by alternative interpretations of theology by those from within his own movement, be it friends like Claude Aubéry or foes like Jean Morély, he came down unshakeably on the side of Calvinist orthodoxy.

More surprising is the discussion of the moral imperatives that lie behind aspects of the *Discipline*. Church structure, the equality of pastors and the election of ministers are examined in the context of their Biblical justification. Article 32 states that it is for the *surveillans* (or elders as they would be known) to devise the government of the church body, with provision for regional variation:

32. Nous croyons aussi qu'il est bon & utile, que ceux qui sont esleuz pour estre Superintendans, avisent entre-eux, quel moyen ils devront tenir, pour le régime de tout le Corps. Et toutesfois, qu'ils ne déclinent nullement de ce qui nous en a esté ordonné par Nostre-Seigneur Jesus Christ. Ce qui n'empesche point qu'il n'y ait quelques Ordonnances particulieres en chacun lieu, selon que la commodité le réquera.²⁷

There was nothing acknowledging such regional independence in the Genevan *Confession*, just recognition of the inevitable 'bad apples' that creep into every social group, but who do not pollute it merely by existing.²⁸ Geneva was too small and compact a territory for considerations of this sort to loom large. The inclusion of this article in the *Confession* is key to understanding how men like Chandieu expected their church to work, by putting the interests of the local congregation before an artificial superstructure devised entirely by man.

²⁶ 'Excuse aux Nicodemites' in John Calvin, *Three French Treatises* edited by Francis Higman (London, 1970), pp. 131-153 and Jean-François Gilmont, *John Calvin and the Printed Book* (Kirkville, 2005), pp. 69-73.

²⁷ *Confession*, Article 32.

²⁸ Genevan *Confession*, Articles 18-19, *Confession* Article 27.

The penultimate group of articles, 34 to 38, deals with the sacraments. The *Confession* upholds the two sacraments acknowledged in Calvin's writing, Baptism and the Eucharist, while explaining at some length why these two offices have attained such centrality. The *Confession* then ends with two articles dealing with civil government. Article 39 affirms the divine nature of all government, whilst article 40 states that mounting resistance to authority by not paying taxes or the like is wrong, and threatens the stability of God's empire. Anyone who engages in such actions is not part of the Reformed community.

The *Confession* is not only a theological document stating the Reformed community's shared beliefs, it is also a careful refutation of accusations of social anarchy. The doctrinal aspects are broken down and explained in a pedagogical fashion, moving from fundamental concepts like the nature of God, through the intricacies of justification and salvation, to the theological foundations of a structure discussed in practical terms in a separate document. Most importantly, this work justifies the Reformed churches' existence within a hostile kingdom. The repeated emphasis on the community's obedience to magistrates manifests their loyalty. This is continued in the letter that accompanied the *Confession* addressed to the king, and included in all printed versions of the *Confession*. Chandieu is widely accepted to be the author of this epistle and if so it would count as one of his finest and most influential works. The letter mounts an eloquent but at the same time uncompromising defence of the Reformed communities. Whilst stressing the loyalty of the new congregations to the crown, it gives no hint of any willingness to compromise their beliefs for the sake of political harmony. In this respect, Chandieu's letter gives valuable insight into the outlook of the Calvinist leadership at precisely the time when the churches were beginning to emerge in public.

Although the *Confession* was originally composed during the reign of Henri II, under whom the Reformed community had suffered increasing levels of persecution, by the time it came to be published, his son François was on the throne. The dedicatory letter goes to great lengths to spell out the loyalty of the Reformed communities, something called into question in the wake of the Conspiracy of Amboise. Styling themselves 'Les

François qui désirent vivre selon la pureté de l'Evangile', showing their dedication both to their King and the Word, the letter begins by stating that this is their first chance to address the King '...de ce que n'ayans eu jusques icy aucun accez à Vostre Majesté'. Inspired by the promulgation of the Edict of Amboise (March 1559), the Reformed churches believe the King wishes to understand their cause. Carefully, they avoid criticising any behaviour on the King's part:

Qui est la cause qu'à présent nous osons ouvrir la bouche, laquelle nous a esté par ci-devant fermée par l'injustice & violence de plusieurs vos Officiers, estans plustost incitez de haine contre nous, que de bonne affection à vostre service.²⁹

This is to make the King aware that many interpret his political situation as that of a pawn in the hands of evil councillors, namely the Guise family. They misrepresent the Protestants and their aims to the King, so presenting him with the *Confession* allows Protestants to exonerate themselves:

espérans qu'elle nous sera defense suffisante contre tous les blasmes & opprobres, dont jusques icy avons esté chargez à grand tort par ceux qui ont tousjours fait mestier de nous condamner, premier que nostre Cause leur fust cogneue.³⁰

This is their aim, to give the King proof of their doctrinal beliefs. Elements of this belief are reiterated at points in the letter: the respect due the Word of God, the importance of the role of Christ. Interestingly, a powerful reference is made to the martyrs for the faith:

Et ceste est la seule cause, Sire, pour laquelle les bourreaux ont eu tant de fois les mains souillées du sang de vos povres sujets, lesquels n'espargnans point leurs vies pour maintenir ceste mesme Confession de Foy, ont bien peu faire entendre à tous qu'il a estoyent poussez d'autre esprit que celui des hommes, qui naturellement ont plus de souci de leur repos & commoditez, que de l'honneur & gloire de Dieu.³¹

Why make such a contentious statement? It is not clear how this could be intended in any way to placate the King, in whose name such executions had been carried out. Rather, this seems more to be addressed to other readers of the *Confession*, who might be

²⁹ 'Aux Lecteurs', *Mémoires de Condé* T1, pp. 421-2.

³⁰ 'Aux Lecteurs'.

³¹ 'Aux Lecteurs'.

daunted by the implications of bearing witness in a hostile climate. By emphasising the divinely inspired status of the martyrs, the *Confession*'s framers hope to inspire steadfastness in the believers left behind.

Addressing the King once more, the issue of avoiding sedition is raised:

Et partant, Sire, suyvant la bonté & douceur de laquelle promettez user envers vos povres sujets, nous supplions très humblement vostre Majesté nous faire ceste miséricorde, que de prendre en main la cognoissance de la Cause, pour laquelle estans poursuyvis à toute heure, ou de mort ou de banissement, nous perdons ce moyen la puissance de vous faire le très-humble service que nous vous devons. Qu'il plaise donc à Vostre Majesté, Sire, au lieu des feus & glaives dont on a usé par ci-devant, faire décider nostre Confession de Foy par la Parole de Dieu, donnant permission & seureté pour ce fait. Et nous espérons que vous-mesmes serez Juge de nostre innocence, cognoissant qu'il n'y a en nous ni Hérésie, ni rébellion aucune: mais que nous tendons seulement à ce but, de pouvoir vivre en saine conscience, servans à Dieu selon ses Commandemens, & honorans Vostre Majesté en toute obéissance & servitude.³²

Only at the end do the Protestants actually make any requests for themselves, but when they do, Chandieu is not afraid to pitch their expectations high:

...nous vous supplions très-humblement, Sire, qu'ils nous soit permis d'estre quelquefois assemblez tant pour estre exhortez par la Parole de Dieu à sa crainte, que pour estre confermez par l'administration des Sacremens que Nostre-Seigneur Jesus-Christ a instituez en son Église. Et s'il plaist à Vostre Majesté nous donner Lieu, auquel un chacun puisse voir ce qui se fait en nos Assemblées, la seule veuë nous absoudra de l'accusation de tant de crimes énormes, dont nosdites Assemblées ont esté diffamées par ci-devant. Car on n'y pourra voir que toute modestie & chasteté, & on n'y pourra ouir que louanges de Dieu, exhortations à son Service, & Prières pour la conservation de Vostre Majesté & de vostre Royaume. Que s'il ne vous plaist nous faire tant de graces, au moins qu'il nous soit permis de poursuivre particulièrement entre nous avec repos, l'ordre qui y est établi.³³

Because, of course, this is no more than the King is obliged to do: 'Et ainsi qu'il nous soit loisible, servans à Vostre Majesté, de servir à celui qui vous a eslevé en vostre Dignité & Grandeur.' The letter to François II turned the *Confession* from a self-contained statement of belief to a public spiritual manifesto.

³² 'Aux Lecteurs'.

³³ 'Aux Lecteurs'.

The Discipline

If the *Confession* was the spiritual declaration of the French Reformed churches, the *Discipline* was their constitution. Chandieu would defend it several times over his career, most notably in his debate with Jean Morély. The *Discipline* was one of the national church orders that became influential in the development of Protestant organisation. The importance of this step in building a godly community has been aptly described as ‘the slow, painstaking creation of active Christian citizens’.³⁴ The aims were deceptively simple. The *Discipline* was a practical statement. It was a declaration of how the church’s structure would work, and for this reason had to be relatively flexible. Because the *Discipline* was always intended to be protean and changing, it was never intended to be printed. Instead, what survives are the manuscript copies taken by synod delegates back to their congregations, the synod acts themselves, detailing each modification made to the *Discipline* over time, and reproductions of the *Discipline* in other works. Unsurprisingly, this resulted in several variant *Disciplines*, with articles in different orders and with different amounts of detail, but all referring to the same structure and not contradicting each other.

Even the 1559 version, to which Chandieu contributed, exists in varying forms. Manuscript copies in Le Mans and Grenoble dating from 1562 document the *Discipline* as it stood after the second national synod in Poitiers (1561). But the main sources are the reproductions in La Place’s *Commentaires de l’Estat de la Religion et Republique sous les Rois Henry & François seconds & Charles neufviesme* (1565), the *Histoire ecclésiastique* (1580), and the texts supplied in the synod records compiled by Quick and Aymon. With some variation between the various copies, Roussel and Sunshine have worked towards establishing a basic text, which is very close to that found in La Place.³⁵

³⁴Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, p. 5.

³⁵Roussel, ‘La Discipline des Eglises réformées de France en 1559’: Glenn S. Sunshine, *From French Protestantism to the French Reformed Churches: the Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1559-1598* (PhD Thesis Uni Wisconsin-Madison, 1992), pp. 242-250. Citations here are taken from Sunshine.

The *Discipline* has three distinct sections. The first deals with the overall system, how the churches relate to one another. The first article is outstandingly clear: ‘1. Nulle Église ne pourra prétendre primauté ne domination sur l’autre.’ From the outset, French Protestantism recognised that central control was not going to be practical. Rather, each church community needed to take responsibility for its own affairs. Common doctrinal beliefs did not mean that any one church needed to corral the others. Certain churches might be particularly influential amongst their neighbours, as indeed at this stage Paris could claim to be. But the fate of the Paris church demonstrates why this provision for local autonomy would prove to be crucial in determining the survival of the French churches. And whilst stories of the Genevan church might inspire the persecuted in war-torn France, even the ‘Protestant Rome’ recognised the necessity for French congregations to act independently. Calvin and the *Compagnie de Pasteurs* received many requests for clarification of practical points of doctrine. As in the petitions presented to the national and provincial synods, these were continually referred back to the congregation for resolution. Rather than relying on a central authority, issues were to be resolved by the authority as close to their point of origin as possible.

This attempt to avoid dominance by any one group is continued into the second article on the position of moderator. This post is to be held by an individual elected by his fellow delegates at the start of each national synod, for the duration of that meeting only. Clearly there was to be no “official” leader of the French Reformed movement. This avoided the Genevan situation, where theoretically the position of moderator was held for one year, but in practice one man was continually re-elected by his colleagues, first Calvin and upon his death de Bèze.

The rest of this section deals with the actual synods themselves. It admits Elders and Deacons to membership alongside ministers (article 3), it establishes the criteria for calling and holding a national synod (article 4) and for provincial synods (article 5). Much more emphasis is put on the regularity of provincial synods, to be held twice a year, than national synods, which are only to be called as and when necessary. Again, the French Reformed community was trying to keep its focus local rather than national.

Chandieu would attend more provincial synods than national ones, and these could deal with very serious issues: the decisions made regarding Jean Morély's work came from both provincial and national assemblies. Instigating a national structure would have been problematical at this point, when the Reformed religion was not officially sanctioned. It could well have been interpreted as a challenge to the King's authority. Keeping the focus local made it much easier for the church to function in a discreet manner without calling attention to itself. It was for this reason national synods were only to be called when necessary, because the stakes were too high for such high-ranking members as attended national synods to be put in danger unnecessarily. The *Histoire ecclésiastique* recounts the difficulty Paris faced in keeping the first national synod secret. Promoting local autonomy within the churches was good for the national movement as a whole.

The second section is made up of articles setting out the roles of the various church officers. The minister, the lynchpin of the Reformed congregation, is described first. Article 6 deals with the practicalities of their election: the Consistory not only elects the minister, it was responsible for dealing with any opposition, with the provincial synod being the ultimate arbitrator. The next issue concerned ministers moving from one church to another. It was stipulated that ministers should always carry with them documentation so the minister could prove both that he was doctrinally sound and had a valid reason for leaving his old church. This was modelled on the practice of Geneva, where all transfers were dealt with by the *Compagnie des Pasteurs*. With no such body in France, doctrinal conformity still needed to be assured. This is further demonstrated in article 8, requiring ministers to sign the *Confession*. Those who taught anything contrary to this were to be avoided, and ultimately declared schismatic. If the minister was elected to a new congregation, the nearby churches were to ensure he was doctrinally competent. A minister refusing the *Discipline* was not declared schismatic: one who refused the *Confession* was. Thus flexibility in practice but not in doctrine is underlined once more.

The next sub-group of articles (9-13) concerns ministers' attitude to their calling. These appear to promote stability within the Pastorate. Calvin had problems establishing a suitable level of ministry in Geneva, and the realities of mid-sixteenth century France

meant the same recruitment and vetting process could not be applied. These articles are as close as the synod delegates could come to Calvin's vetting process: emphasising the gravity of the ministerial life, setting standards to live by and making provision for those standards to be enforced. The synod delegates were not unsympathetic to the dangers faced by pastors in the field: like Chandieu, many of them would have been pastors themselves. So article 14 gives them the option of serving a different church in times of danger. Article 15, however, states this must not be undertaken without the proper procedure being followed: no congregation was to be left without a pastor. Stringent tests are set for converted priests and monks who wish to join the Pastorate. The suitability and reputation of the minister is always to be beyond reproach. This is explained in articles 16 to 20: the event of "scandal" attaching itself to a minister. Doctrinal crimes such as heresy incur deposition. Serious crimes – murder, treason – go to the magistrates, whether or not they were committed before the calling to the ministry. Clearly, there is no intention of contesting the right of the state to administer justice. Smaller crimes, however, go to the provincial synod. In cases where a minister might be deposed, it is left in the hands of the Consistory to decide whether to give the reasons to the congregation. All these articles promote the foundation that Chandieu defended vigorously when it came under fire.

Articles 21 to 26 describe the duties of the elders and deacons. Together with the pastors as president, they make up the Senate of the church. Elders assemble the congregation and report scandals, whilst deacons administer poor and sick relief and catechise in houses. Although deacons are not meant to preach, they are allowed to read the Bible in the absence of the minister: although not office holders for life, they are not allowed to leave their churches whilst they have responsibilities there. They are to be subject to the same moral standards as the ministers and if condemned by the Consistory they can only be restored by a provincial synod. The moral standing of the church leadership is to be completely beyond reproach. Article 27 extends this to books: no work by ministers or elders is to be published without first having being found doctrinally sound by two or three other ministers. Serious offenders, such as heretics, rebels and traitors are to be excommunicated, excluded not just from the sacraments but from the

entire assembly (article 28). Lesser crimes are punished at the discretion of individual churches by withholding the sacraments (article 29). Article 30 states that the reasons for an individual's excommunication for the serious crimes outlined in article 28 must be declared publicly to the congregation, but if excommunicated for lesser causes, it is at the discretion of the church to decide whether or not to inform its members (Article 31). This keeps excommunication as a potential punishment for all manner of crimes, not merely the serious ones stated in Article 28. Excommunicated members wishing to reconcile to the church must approach the Consistory for their penitence to be judged. If found to be truly penitent, they can make reparation to the church publicly or privately, depending on the original form of their excommunication. Abjuration of the faith during times of persecution is not excused: those who do so are only to be readmitted to the congregation after act of public penitence.

The final section deals exclusively with one area of communal life where clear guidelines were obviously essential: marriage. The records for both national and provincial synods show congregations asked more questions about wedding regulations than any other subject. Providing some stability in marital conduct was not just theologically desirable: as Chandieu's career demonstrates, the early modern marriage needed to be flexible yet grounded, so that periods of separation, frequent travel and enforced relocation did not break the bond between man and wife.

The overwhelming impression of these regulations is that this was a community religion, based upon principles of group consultation and deliberation. There was no imposition of rules from above, as had been practised in the Catholic church, but rather there was a framework in which the church community interacted and consulted as a whole.³⁶ This was clearest in the final two articles of the *Discipline*: article 41 states no church can make a decision of great consequence for the rest of the Reformed community without the consultation of preferably the provincial synod but at the very least the neighbouring churches. And the final article notes these regulations were decided

³⁶ The work of Philip Conner is especially illuminating on how adaptable church communities could be. See 'Huguenot Identities During the Wars of Religion'.

between the delegates and stand unless the church requires that they be changed, to be done only in the context of a national synod. Thus, the system envisaged multiple levels of consultation, starting at the congregation, right up to the national synod. Beyond this, there was the spectre of international consultation, through correspondence with foreign communities but most importantly with Geneva.

This documented system of local, regional and national forums which encouraged interaction and group participation gave what many thought was an unambiguous structure to the French Reformed churches. However, events were to prove this was not so, not merely because of the religious wars. People took the underlying principle of congregational and group interaction and interpreted it in a very different way from that envisaged here.³⁷ When it did need careful reiteration, in the face of criticism by Jean Morély, it was Chandieu who was called upon to defend the structure of the French church.

A Continuing Link with Geneva?

How far under the influence of Geneva were the French churches at this stage? The traditional view is that the churches were almost entirely dependant on Geneva for direction and indeed survival. Kingdon emphasised the important work done by Genevan-trained missionaries in establishing Calvinism as the dominant form of Protestantism in France. And certainly Calvin's letters to individuals and groups show he was always concerned by the progress of events in his homeland. But increasingly, scholars have recognised the independence of the French tradition, in establishing congregations and in these groups' subsequent direction. Indeed, even a document designed to clarify the position of the French Reformed churches, the *Confession*, has been interpreted variously as Calvin's imposition of Genevan practice on the French Communities, an attempt to find a middle way between the Genevan system and the

³⁷ For an example of such interpretations, see Conner, 'Huguenot Identities During the Wars of Religion'.

practicalities of Reformed life in France, and as a well planned subtle French rebellion against Genevan authorities.³⁸

This last view was taken by Jacques Poujol in his 1973 article examining the period of the synod and its aftermath.³⁹ He found a growing divergence between the life Calvin expected a Reformed Christian to live, founded on his experiences in Geneva, and the realities of persecution faced by the French congregations. The *Confession* was ‘...une manifestation d’indépendance. L’Église de France se proclamait majeure et capable de présider elle-même à ses propres destinées...’⁴⁰. In such circumstances, the French Protestant community looked around for the best means by which to promote her continued development. At points, this meant turning to help from fellow Protestants abroad, including the German Protestant Princes. But it also included home-grown initiatives that would bring the Protestants closer to the political centre of the nation and secure more concrete concessions. The major attempt to ensure this long-term recognition would nonetheless end in failure, and would blacken Chandieu’s reputation amongst the French political elite. The Conspiracy of Amboise hoped to build on the work of the *Confession* and *Discipline*, but instead highlighted the weaknesses still present in the youthful Protestant movement.

³⁸ These interpretations are drawn by Félice ‘Le Synod National de 1559’, Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism*, p. 26-7, and Poujol, ‘De la Confession de Foi’.

³⁹ Poujol, ‘De la Confession de Foi’, pp. 158-177.

⁴⁰ Poujol, ‘De la Confession de Foi’, p. 162.

Chapter Three: The Conspiracy of Amboise and the French Reformed Church

The unexpected death of Henri II in September 1559 created a vacuum at the centre of French political life. As the uncles of Mary Stuart, wife of the new King François II, the Guise dominated court politics and policy making. Additionally, Antoine de Bourbon, *premier prince du sang*, was in Guyenne when Henri died, and took six weeks to return to court.¹ The Guise used this delay to exclude Bourbon from the inner regency council. Guise policy over the next few months continued persecution of Protestants. The death penalty was extended to include hosts of clandestine meetings and Anne du Bourg was executed in December 1559.² At the same time, noble livelihoods were affected by reductions in pensions and in the size of the royal army. Increasingly frustrated by the situation, a group of Protestant nobles, led by Jehan de Barry, sieur de la Renaudie, decided to act against the Guise. Aware of the delicacy of their situation, they consulted lawyers to ensure their actions had legal validity. These meetings led to the Bourbon family's involvement: this reflected the legal concern that any action potentially threatening the royal government needed the support of a *prince du sang*.

La Renaudie hired mercenaries and recruited lesser nobles through the later months of 1559, visiting Geneva, Lyon, Périgord, Brittany, Provence and Languedoc. La Renaudie was to use these men to separate François II from the Guise, by force if necessary. They would then present their petition of grievances to the King, demanding the arrest of the Guise. This plan was finalised at a meeting purporting to be an "Estates General" in Nantes at the start of February 1560. It was betrayed to the Guise by one of their clients, the Parisian lawyer Des Avenelles, in mid February 1560. On 22 February, the court moved from Blois to Amboise in an attempt to foil the plotters, but Protestant nobles continued to gather. On 8 March 1560, a conciliatory edict offered amnesty and liberation to loyal Protestants on the condition they returned to the Catholic fold. Examples would be made of the conspirators. On 11 March, the first groups of men linked to the plot were caught in the woods near Amboise. Fighting broke out near Tours

¹ Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Sixteenth Century France* (New York, 1995), p. 129.

² This had originally been ordered by Henri II. See Mathieu Lelièvre, *Anne Du Bourg, conseiller au parlement de Paris et martyr (1520-1550)* (Toulouse, 1903).

on 14 March and arrests were made over the next few days by nobles acting for the King. On 16 March, a pardon was offered to the armed men near Amboise, on condition they left the area within forty-eight hours. But the following day, a large attack was made on the gate of Amboise, with two hundred men led by Bertrand de Chandieu, Antoine's older brother. The unrest dragged on until 19 March, when La Renaudie was killed in an ambush at Château-Renard, and his dismembered body was displayed alongside those of his fellow conspirators on the walls of the château at Amboise.

Was this an uprising motivated by religious or political concerns? Lucien Romier's 1923 work *La Conjuration d'Amboise* is the usual starting point for historians considering Amboise.³ This is essentially a narrative account of the political events following Henri II's death, and it sees the key factor in the Conspiracy as the dissatisfaction of Condé with court affairs over the months of François II's reign. This made him susceptible to Protestant plans to force a shift in crown policy, and the conspirators equally had need of Condé. His brother Antoine de Bourbon was discounted as a leader early on: never fully committed to Protestantism, he was more concerned with his court standing than with protecting the new religion. Romier's account also attributes an influential role to Antoine de Chandieu. According to Romier, the Reformed communities trusted Chandieu to convince Bourbon of his obligations to them. Chandieu met him at Vendôme on Bourbon's journey to Paris in August 1559, and later with the English Ambassador Throckmorton in Saint-Denis on 23 August 1559. At this meeting, Bourbon had reaffirmed his dedication to the Protestant church.⁴ Once back at court, however, his dedication faltered.

Condé on the other hand felt none of the same trepidation. He had been sent to Ghent on a mission to Philip II in August 1559, interpreted by himself and others as a Guise machination to separate him from the centre of power. When he returned, Condé was often to be found in the company of the man whom Romier believed had converted

³ L. Romier, *La Conjuration d'Amboise: L'aurore sanglante de la liberté de conscience. Le règne et la mort de François II* (Paris, 1923).

⁴ In fact, Chandieu's relationship with Bourbon went back further than Romier notes. He had been linked with Bourbon's household since August 1558, and had only been released from prison in June 1558 through Bourbon's intervention.

him: Chandieu.⁵ When Bourbon failed to promote Reformed interests, the Protestant leadership pinned their hopes on Condé. In Romier's interpretation, the plot was hatched by Condé and Chandieu during the period at the end of August 1559, in Paris and La Ferté-sous-Jouarre.⁶ Chandieu was seen as a man of the utmost influence:

Ce jeune pasteur Chandieu... est une forte figure. Gentilhomme, érudit, dialecticien, Bourguignon moins fin mais peut-être plus vigoureux que Bèze, et surtout paré d'une audace juvénile, il semble avoir été pendant quelques années le héros chéri de l'église parisienne. Les pasteurs Macar et Morel, simples apôtres, lui laissèrent prendre une influence qui s'explique par son talent de prêcheur et par l'amitié que lui portaient les grands seigneurs. Depuis un an ou moins, il fréquentait la maison de Condé; la dame de Roye, belle-mère du prince, le tenait en singulière estime.⁷

Romier holds that Chandieu's militant Protestantism was increased by his hatred of the Guise, especially the Cardinal de Lorraine whom he blamed for the incidents at Rue Saint-Jacques and Pré-aux-Clercs.⁸ In September 1559, Chandieu was due to have met Catherine de Médici at Villers-Cotterêts but left before seeing her. Romier maintains this was an attempt to convert Catherine, although, as we have seen, it was probably more connected with Catherine's attempts to achieve a workable solution to the escalating tensions. Romier also cites further evidence linking Condé and Chandieu:

Throckmorton sent details of Chandieu's mission to England, details Romier maintains could only be known from Condé's household. Condé also gave Chandieu protection on his journey back to Paris.⁹

Romier attributes Condé's early involvement in the plot to his selfish political ambitions. Frustrated at his lack of influence but too isolated to organise his own coup, he tricked the Protestants, 'ses éternelles dupes' into acting for him.¹⁰ Romier also takes a highly censorious view of Chandieu's conduct. According to Romier, Chandieu played

⁵ Romier, *Conjuration*, pp. 18-9.

⁶ Romier, *Conjuration*, p. 24.

⁷ Romier, *Conjuration*, p. 32-3.

⁸ The Pré-aux-Clercs was an open area near the Paris city walls. In May 1558, Protestants met here over several days to sing Psalms, and members of the Bourbon family were seen to have attended, including Antoine. But access to the area was cut off by the authorities, and d'Andelot, Coligny's brother, arrested. Arlette Jouanna, *La France du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1996), p. 338. Romier provides no evidence for this supposed grievance on the part of Chandieu.

⁹ Romier, *Conjuration*, p. 33-5.

¹⁰ Romier, *Conjuration*, p. 30.

an instrumental role in developing the legal justification for action; in this respect Condé put Chandieu's background and connections in the Paris legal world to good use. But Romier reserves his greatest strictures for what he sees as Chandieu's role as a middleman between groups of discontented Protestants, mainly young men like himself, Condé and La Rivière. Romier maintains that it was Chandieu who first introduced La Renaudie to Condé. Eventually, La Renaudie would lead the enterprise, it being too risky for Condé to take a more active role. In the meantime, La Renaudie's role was to use his connections to move throughout the country and disseminate propaganda.¹¹

Careful planning went into developing the legal and constitutional arguments to support the action taken by the conspirators. Their critical contention was that the Guise had no legal right to exercise government and that they were undermining the authority of the underage King. This was made all the more worrying because of the Guise's status as foreign princes, who possibly aimed to take the crown for their own. Although it was up to the *princes du sang* to protect the King's interests, if they failed to do so, the responsibility fell to lesser nobles. Anti-Guise tracts were published in pamphlet form and circulated by La Renaudie as he recruited participants. These publications were intended to smooth the way for any action taken, and they presented the removal of the Guise as essential to the maintenance of good government. It was hoped this would be sufficient to dispel any accusations that the Protestants were traitors, maintaining rather that they were the ultimate patriots. Having blamed the Guise for the problems in government, it was a short step for them to be held responsible for the greater problems facing France, and easy to insinuate their eventual goal was the Crown. The first piece in this propaganda war was produced in October 1559, and has been attributed to Chandieu by his early biographer Jacques Lect. Unfortunately no copy of this "Mémoire d'octobre 1559" appears to have survived, so it is impossible to test the claim of Chandieu's authorship.¹²

¹¹ La Renaudie came from a family of Guise clients, and had been helped by them on several occasions, notably in 1546 in attaining an administrative post and in 1558 when he wished to return to France after a stay in Geneva. Romier, *Conjuration*, pp. 36-7.

¹² Romier, *Conjuration*, p. 42-3. The French Vernacular Book project has not found any items attributable to Chandieu published before 1561. The Guise response was written by Jean du Tillet and was entitled *Pour la majorité du Roy François II* (20 September 1560).

Who made up the conspirators? Apart from La Renaudie, Chandieu and Condé, Romier divided the participants into three main groups. First there were the petty nobles who involved themselves on account of specific overt grievances and for political reasons. These included the Maligny brothers from Burgundy, Mazères from Foix, Ansèleme de Soubcelles, members of the Stuart family, the baron de Raunay, François de Cocqueville, Charles de Castelnau-Tursan and Bertrand de Chandieu. Interestingly, although Romier examined their involvement individually, he also showed how they were linked to the major clientage networks: de Soubcelles was in service to Navarre, Mazères to the Albret, the younger Maligny to Condé himself. Romier separated these ‘conspirators with grievances’ from those whose involvement arose from traditional patronage obligations, such as the baron de Mirambeau, and the sieur de Chiré, clients of La Rochefoucauld, Condé’s brother-in-law. Clearly, Romier made a distinction between those who fought because they wanted to and those who felt they had to. The final group was those La Renaudie rounded up on his travels, mainly mercenaries. Two of these groups, mercenaries and clients, were not necessarily ideologically sympathetic to the cause. On these grounds Romier then concluded that the conspiracy was primarily motivated by political rather than religious grievances. Indeed Romier remarked ‘La conjuration d’Amboise ne fut pas une entreprise des Protestants: les faits le prouvent, le Roi et les Guises eux-mêmes le reconnaîtront. Mais si la Réforme française réussit à se dégager moralement d’une telle aventure, ce fut bien contre le gré des conjurés qui attendaient d’elle une aide décisive.’¹³ Romier is paradoxically assisted in his interpretation by Chandieu’s own reflections on the conspiracy in his *Histoire*.¹⁴ Here, admittedly writing with the benefit of hindsight and after the failure of the conspiracy, Chandieu asserts that none of those involved took up arms on the pretext of religion. But the circumstances in which Chandieu wrote this, several years later and fully aware of the disastrous impact of the conspiracy’s failure, suggest that these remarks can scarcely be taken as evidence of Chandieu’s actual role during the conspiracy itself.

¹³ Romier, *Conjuration*, p. 56.

¹⁴ Chandieu, *Histoire*, D6v.

During the months leading up to the Conspiracy and in its immediate aftermath, Chandieu leaves no direct documentary evidence of his activities. What remains is circumstantial, and any conclusions drawn must be regarded in this light. What is known is that Chandieu was dedicated to Calvinist reform in France. All his early actions prove this, and more, that he saw unity amongst the French churches as the best chance for survival. Jacques Poujol believed the Conspiracy was an attempt by Protestants to gain access to the King in order to present him with the *Confession*.¹⁵ Having put so much effort into the design and construction of the *Confession* and *Discipline*, it is likely Chandieu would have supported this plan. His links to the Bourbon family would have made him integral to its success. But once Calvin expressed reticence, would Chandieu have been in a position to ignore his reservations?

Romier's interpretation has been challenged by a number of recent authors. Firstly, N. M. Sutherland questioned his logic in her study of *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*.¹⁶ She identified flaws in his evidence, specifically concerning alleged meetings between Condé and Chandieu in autumn 1559. Additionally, she made use of La Planche's account of events. This had been ignored by Romier, as it made no mention of Chandieu or his Parisian colleague Morel, and put the responsibility for the plot on general noble dissatisfaction coordinated by La Renaudie. Secondly, and most pertinently for this study, the work of Rott and Denis on a set of trial records involving Jean Morély, Chandieu, and the Genevan Pastors has deepened our understanding of the relationship between France and Geneva in this affair.¹⁷

La Renaudie met with Calvin and Bèze in Geneva to put the case for presenting the French *Confession* to the King. Calvin had already spoken out against armed resistance and reiterated this to La Renaudie, who by all accounts had not impressed the

¹⁵ Jacques Poujol, 'De la Confession de Foi de 1559 à la Conjuración d'Amboise', BSHPF 119 (1973), pp. 158-177 and 'L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre et la Confession de Foi du Synode de 1559', BSHPF 105 (1559), pp. 49-53.

¹⁶ N. M. Sutherland, Chapter 3, 'Calvinism and the Conspiracy of Amboise' in *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven & London, 1980).

¹⁷ Philippe Denis and Jean Rott, *Jean Morély (ca 1524 – ca 1594) et l'Utopie d'une Démocratie dans l'Église* (Geneva, 1993), mainly 1ère Partie II.7.

Genevan pastor.¹⁸ De Bèze on the other hand appears to have given him at least tacit support: he gave La Renaudie a translation he had made of Psalm 94 (O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself...) and a pamphlet, the *Epistre au Tigre de France*, by François Hotman, which circulated contemporaneously with the plot. This short work was directed at the Cardinal of Lorraine. It is highly inflammatory, opening with the declaration:

Tigre enragé, Vipere venimeuse, Sepulcre d'abomination, spectacle de malheur: iusques à quand sera ce que tu abuseras de la ieunesse de nostre Roy: ne métras tu iamais fin à ton ambition demesuree, à tes impostures, à tes larcins?¹⁹

The Guise are portrayed as maniacally ambitious, desiring the crown for themselves, promoting their family above their station and causing the deaths of many good men by their advice to Henri II, even delaying the advent of peace with Spain. They are accused of having cost the French the town of St Quentin,²⁰ exploiting the royal finances, and of disrupting the running of government:

Se ie te dy encores que tu tes emparé du gouuernement de la France, & as desrobé cest honneur aux Princes du sang, pour mettre la couronne de France en ta maison: que pourras tu respondre?²¹

They have made life unbearable for all manner of people, widows and orphans being mentioned specifically, and the Cardinal's faith is seriously called into question. Hotman despairs that any remorse might be felt by this 'Monstre', and makes a chilling threat, that there are 'cent mille espees qui t'attendent tous les jours'.²² The piece ends with the declaration that the Cardinal will one day get all that he deserves.

All in all, this little book was incredibly provocative and it would not be difficult to guess it came from a Protestant pen. With such literature apparently being circulated by de Bèze, it is little wonder that questions were asked about the extent of official Genevan involvement in the undertaking. Hotman went on to write one of the accounts

¹⁸ For Calvin's opinion on resistance, see *Institutes*, Book 4, Chapter 20, Sections 23-32.

¹⁹ François Hotman, *Epistre au Tigre de France* [s.l., 1560] A2r.

²⁰ Saint Quentin was lost during the wars of the 1550s.

²¹ *Ibid.*, A5r.

²² *Ibid.*, A6v.

of the Conspiracy, which portrayed it as an endeavour to restore the ancient balance of power between King and Princes and Nobles in a regency situation and to repudiate Guise tyranny. The *Histoire du Tvmvlte d'Amboyse adveny av moys de Mars, M. D. LX.* even included extracts from Commynes' account of the reign of Louis XII in 1483 to provide legal precedent. It also included the text of two tracts said to have circulated at the time of the plot. One of these, the *Advertissement av peuple de France*, criticised the Guise's claim to descend from Charlemagne as a threat to the descendents of Hughes Capet, who the Guise have called Huguenots in order to mock their weaker claim. This cunning technique linked the popular name for those of the Reformed religion with the interests of the Royal Family, all whilst lambasting the Guise for their ambition. The second, the *Complainte av Peuple François* was a call to arms for the French people against the Guise, blaming them for the deaths of French men in Italy, and relying on the innate loyalty all good citizens feel for their King.²³

About sixty French exiles in Geneva returned with La Renaudie to take part in the coup. Geneva, therefore, was bound to be seen as a co-conspirator. What makes the incident so ambiguous are the actions of Chandieu and Calvin in September 1559, and a legal case raised in Geneva in April 1560. This case was brought against Jean Morély and François Bourdon by the city, on charge of slandering the ministers of the city (namely de Bèze and Calvin) by declaring their complicity in the recent plot. Morély was questioned by the Genevan authorities in the aftermath of the Conspiracy because he was returning from abroad. In the course of his testimony, he made four points:

1) That Chandieu had travelled from France to Geneva in September 1559 to talk with the ministers about the ongoing persecution in France and to ask what might be done. When Chandieu returned to France, the message was that armed resistance was legal if it was sanctioned by a *prince du sang*, but Morély did not say explicitly that the ministers had approved an armed uprising.

²³ Also published separately as *Advertissement et complainte au peuple François* (s.l., 1560).

2) De Bèze had sent the inflammatory 'livret de Strasbourg', that is Hotman's *Tigre*, into France via Jean de Cenesme with an accompanying letter.

3) That de Bèze had also sent his translation of Psalm 94 to La Renaudie and that this was understood to have significance for the upcoming plot.

4) That Morély and a companion, Jean d'Arpus, had gone to de Bèze to ask what actions should be taken in this matter, and that de Bèze's reply led Morély to believe that the coup had his backing.

The accusation of slander arose when Morély told François Bourdon what he had testified, and the latter told a brother of one of the former conspirators. When later examined by the Petit Conseil, Morély said that the charge concerning de Bèze's letter and the pamphlet had been misinterpreted.

The case against Morély began on 12 April 1560. Morély maintained that what he had said was in essence true, but admitted that actual events might have been misconstrued by his reporting of them. There was still ambiguity concerning Chandieu's meeting with Calvin in September 1559, not helped by Calvin's reticence to explain events. When eventually Calvin did testify about this meeting, it was to say he had not sanctioned such an enterprise as took place, but had maintained action was legal if non-violent and conducted by the *prince du sang*.²⁴ Morély implied from this that the Genevan ministers had therefore sanctioned the enterprise, as Chandieu had presented the plot to the French Protestants in these terms. De Bèze in his turn justified his actions: he had given La Renaudie the psalm translation, but there was no hidden significance to it; he had forwarded a letter to France, but it called for justice, not violence. His own meeting with Morély had been 'non pas pour sçavoir si l'entreprise se doit vent ainsi faire ou non selon Dieu, ou s'ilz y devoit aller, mais seulement sur les moiens qu'on pourroit tenir s'il advenoit que Dieu voulut adresser les choses à quelque tranquillité et meilleur

²⁴ Romier points out that Calvin's reticence to condemn the plot out of hand may well have arisen from a fear that doing so could have spilt the French churches into splinter groups.

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estat.’²⁵ In Morély’s interpretation, this was enough for de Bèze to give the impression he supported the enterprise. Morély went on to say he had been wrong to draw so many conclusions, not least that the ministers as a whole were supportive of the coup. Finally, Chandieu testified in support of the ministers, saying there was no connection between the hypothetical incident he had discussed with Calvin in autumn 1559 and the events of March 1560. The eventual judgement, passed on 15 April 1560, found Bourdon guilty of spreading misinformation, for which he was to ask for God’s forgiveness, be expelled from the *Conseil de Deux Cents* for a year, and to be subject to the ministers in matters of conduct. Morély was sentenced to a 500 écu fine for having circulated misinformation that had impugned the name of the Genevan ministers.

Denis and Rott present this episode as an attempt by the Genevan ministers to assert their authority over Morély, and maintain the case had little to do with the Conspiracy itself. But the explanation nevertheless does portray the coup in religious as opposed to political terms. Chandieu, de Bèze and Calvin all testified in the April court case because they were aware of the delicacy of their situation. There had clearly been some kind of discussion in Geneva the previous autumn that had left the ministers feeling vulnerable regarding the potential interpretation of their deliberations. What can Chandieu’s actions indicate about the religious motivations of the conspiracy? It is highly unlikely the French national synod would have been unaware of a plan to present the *Confession* to the King. Chandieu, as a leading figure in this network, must have had knowledge of the possible plot at least, as evidenced by his Genevan visit. What is less clear is what he thought the plot was for: to present the *Confession*, or to present other grievances? He was connected to some of the plotters, not least through his brother Bertrand. Chandieu’s culpability must be judged in terms of his relationships with these players, and from his writings and actions. Chandieu was one of the most recognisable and most respected ministers within the French Protestant community. He was also known to be close to de Bèze and Calvin in Geneva and had links to influential nobles in France. To stand a chance of success, the Conspiracy needed the support of these people. Chandieu was ideally placed to introduce the various actors to each other. It seems

²⁵ Denis & Rott, *Jean Morély*, p. 47.

unlikely that his discussion with Calvin was solely about a hypothetical enterprise; if so then it was very unfortunately timed. And he reportedly engaged in the theoretical justification of the action. While the Conspiracy remained an undertaking to secure greater toleration for Protestants, then Chandieu's involvement is assured.

However, the events of March 1560 had little in common with the plans discussed by Calvin and Chandieu in Geneva the previous year. Somewhere the religious aims of the ministers were supplanted by the political concerns of the active noble participants. The logical assumption is that this shift happened after Calvin expressed his misgivings, but the documentation to confirm this is lacking. The main indicator that this might well have been the case is in fact Chandieu's actions. Having written to justify the enterprise and travelled to ask Calvin's advice, he suddenly distanced himself from the conspirators altogether. From his trip to Geneva until his appearance in the court case, Chandieu did not discuss the idea of armed resistance. This suggests that the original idea discussed amongst prominent religious leaders was overtaken by the lesser nobles with fewer scruples as to the practicalities, with the end result of March 1560.

The Conspiracy of Amboise seems destined to become one of History's unsolved mysteries. What the plot was intended to achieve, who had a hand in its conception and formulation, why its adherents were persuaded to participate, these are questions for which no satisfactory answer has yet been found. What is clear from the actions and testimony of Chandieu is that there was originally a movement within the French Protestant church that hoped to achieve greater official recognition by somehow approaching the King. This fits with Chandieu's meetings with Bourbon and later Condé, as well as with his crucial discussions with Calvin in autumn 1559. This later meeting seems to have been the turning point, when the religious and political aims bound up in the Conspiracy could no longer be held to be compatible. Instead, the momentum passed into the hands of those recruited by La Renaudie, and out of the hands of men like Chandieu.

That the Conspiracy went ahead without the backing of Geneva demonstrates how French Protestantism had become a fully independent force in its own right. It had its own concerns and its own ways of solving problems. It did not rely on Genevan aid, but rather on the talents of its own adherents. This seems not to be fully appreciated by later commentators, who have considered French Protestantism almost solely as an extension of Calvin's work in Geneva. Where confusion has arisen, it is from the emotional role Geneva played in the formation of a Protestant identity. Although men, money and arms might be raised in France, Geneva exercised an undeniably powerful psychological hold over French Protestants. After all, Genevan residents enjoyed the religious freedoms their French co-religionists were repeatedly denied. Their common religious ideology ensured they could never function entirely separately. Thus Chandieu found himself in Geneva discussing hypothetical undertakings with Calvin, when in reality Genevan approval was not required for the Conspiracy to go ahead, and the *Compagnie des Pasteurs* found itself embroiled in a legal dispute concerning a foreign coup that it had never officially supported. As much as both French and Genevan Protestants might value their independence, in the public perception their common doctrinal beliefs linked them inextricably. This tension would be exploited by those who wished to see French Protestantism progress in a different direction to that of Geneva, and those who would encourage independent minded French Protestants like Chandieu to retreat back to the safety of Genevan orthodoxy.

Chapter Four: Defending the Church (1560-1566) – Internal Divisions

Chandieu was in Orléans at the end of 1560, where he remained with Condé until the early months of 1563. French Calvinism faced two threats at the start of the 1560s. The most obvious was the external menace represented by Catholic opponents. However, Chandieu and his colleagues were equally concerned by the danger that loomed in the form of dissident Protestants who challenged the *Discipline* established by the first national synod. For Chandieu, this hazard was embodied in his adversary from Geneva and Amboise, Jean Morély. His three prose publications of this period all tackle the problem of how to sustain the united front achieved by the *Confession* and *Discipline*. The *Advertissement Aux fideles espars parmi le royaume de France* investigates one aspect of the *Discipline* in order to demonstrate its stability, whilst the *Confirmation de la Discipline* is a systematic defence of the synod structure as a whole. In addition to these ecclesiological tracts, Chandieu also produced the *Histoire des persecutions de l'Eglise de Paris*. His most famous prose work, this tapped into a growing genre of martyrological writing and is invaluable for its insights into the mental attitude Protestants needed to face the early war years.

Vocalisation of the Internal Threat: the *Advertissement Aux fideles espars parmi le royaume de France*

The *Advertissement* summarises the problems Chandieu felt threatened the nascent French Protestant churches. Ostensibly it examines the calling of ministers, although it alludes to Chandieu's beliefs on other issues facing the church. Chandieu uses the work to encourage unity amongst the congregations of France, carrying on the ideas of the *Confession* and *Discipline*. In the face of increasing tension, all efforts were concentrated on promoting a united Protestant front. Chandieu gives himself the opportunity to endorse order and stability as essential components of Christian worship. How far this was appreciated by his contemporaries is not clear. As an individual

pamphlet, the *Advertissement*'s rarity suggests that it did not enjoy a repeated print run, although it was reproduced in later collections such as the *Mémoires de Condé*.¹

The *Advertissement* opens with the statement that Satan has always tried to bring division to the church of God. This is now the case in France, where 'depuis qu'li [sic] a pleu à Dieu recueillir en ce Royaume des Eglises qui aspirent à vne uraye & sainte reformation selon l'Evangile.' As soon as French Protestants recover from one assault, another is launched. And there are other weaknesses. Many who recognise the Word and the errors of Catholicism fail to embrace the correct order established by God. Worried not just for those people, but those too simple to understand they are being seduced by lies, Chandieu undertakes to educate people through this pamphlet. He also states a second aim:

Et parce que nous n'ignorans pas que plusieurs de noz adversaires sont tousiours au guet pour espier quelque occasion de mesdire de nous, & nous obiecter que nous sommes diuisez les vns conte les autres: cest Advertissement tesmoignera au contraire, combien nous estimons l'vnion, & desirons qu'elle soit entretenue & nourrie entre nous.²

Chandieu may wish to refute these accusations of division, but at this stage he can only express a desire for future Protestant unity. The variety of opinion in the French Protestant churches was something which concerned Chandieu and his colleagues on two levels: the risk posed by schismatic doctrine creeping in and undermining the work already done, and the weakened front this displayed to external critics.

The overall topic is the legitimacy of ministers' calling to the church. A minister with a false calling disobeys God's orders, and brings division to the church. This includes Catholic clergy: they are doubly condemned because they obtained their offices by illegitimate means, and then teach doctrine incompatible to the word of God. Chandieu is naturally more concerned with ministers within the Reformed church. There are men who serve the church as pastors who do not understand why they need to follow

¹ The *Advertissement* was only published once, in 1561, from an anonymous press. There are four surviving copies, in Geneva, Lyon, Stanford & Tübingen. The *Mémoires de Condé* were compiled in the eighteenth century, published first in London in 1740 and then in an extended edition in La Haye in 1743. They reproduce many items since lost although these do not always appear under the titles one might expect.

² *Advertissement*, A2v.

the strictures of the *Discipline*. Chandieu impresses upon them that God wants his Kingdom to continue along the path he set down for it: those called to serve must conform to His will. Chandieu frequently cites Biblical evidence, from both Old and New Testaments, building up to a highly declamatory passage:

Et certes ce n'est pas sans cause que Dieu a voulu imprimer és cueurs de ses seruiteurs vne plaine certitude de leur vocation: mais à fin que par cela ils fussent munis & fortifiez contre tant de difficultez, par lesquelles il faut qu'ils passent. Car qui sera celuy qui ne tremble, s'il appréhende à bon escient le pésant faix d'une telle charge? Est-ce vne chose legere d'estre ambassadeur pour Christ, messenger de Dieu, & dispensateur de ses secrets?³

Ministers must be sure theirs is a legitimate calling from God, as His strength will sustain them. Another list of biblical examples recalls those who tried to ignore or flee their calling, until God made them strong enough to continue.

Chandieu examines the difference between the extraordinary calling of the Prophets and Apostles with the calling of regular pastors who care for a single flock. Particularly important are Paul's instructions to Timothy concerning the precautions to be taken whilst setting up a church (B2r-v). This raises an interesting conflict for Chandieu later in his career: although the *Advertissement* strongly reinforces the *Discipline's* strictures regarding ministers' commitment to a single congregation, throughout the 1560s Chandieu enjoyed an ambiguous status as a pastor without a church yet occupied by multiple congregations in eastern France.

Chandieu asks those who threaten church order why they reject conditions accepted by the Prophets, the Apostles and even Christ himself. If they have been sent, they must follow the rules set down by God:

... car nous estimons bien que ne voulez qu'on vous tienne pour Apostres, d'autant que Dieu ne suscite point d'Apostres au temps que son Eglise est dressée & recueillie en bon ordre, comme vous ne pouvez ignorer ou nier que la nostre ne soit aujourd'huy. Et puis on ne veoid pas en vous aucune marque d'une dignité tant excellente.⁴

³ *Advertissement*, A4v.

⁴ *Advertissement*, B3v-B4r.

This passage encapsulates the ensuing conflict between Chandieu and Morély: having worked with the synod on the *Confession* and *Discipline*, Chandieu believed he and his colleagues had secured the essential order of the church. Those who challenged this order were to be mistrusted, especially those who presented themselves as pseudo-Apostles. A series of rhetorical questions damn those who challenge this stability:

Aimez-vous le regne de Dieu, puis que vous vous essayez de rompre, abbatre & dissiper sa Maison? Estes-vous serviteurs de Jesus-Christ, puis que vous estes ennemis de son Espouse, que vous luy faites la guerre, & la voulez desmembrer, l'ayant despouillée de sa discipline, & de son ordre, qui est l'un des ornemens qu'elle ait les plus nécessaires?⁵

Chandieu describes the ministry in terms of men accepting their calling from God alongside acceptance of His church order. The biblical model is Paul: hands were laid on him before he left for Antioch, in accordance with contemporary ordination rituals. This was even though he had been called by God as an Apostle, not elected as a minister by other Christians.

Errant preachers are warned that their errors will cause much suffering. Chandieu asks these men to respect the situation in France, where the synod structure has brought stability:

nous vous exhortans au Nom de Dieu, si sa gloire vous est précieuse, & si vous désirez le bien & accroissement de son Eglise, de ne mettre point de division & trouble en ces troupeau, qu'il a pleu à Dieu recueillir en ce Royaume. Portez quelque révérence à l'union de Doctrine, à l'ordre, à l'affection & zèle qui y reluisent. Ne taschez pas d'arracher ce qui commence à croître, ayant esté planté de Dieu par la Prédication de sa Parole, & arrosé par le sang de fidèles Martyrs. Que si toutes ces choses ne vous esmeuvent, redoutez le Jugement de ce grand Dieu, qui vous sera sentir à la fin, si vous continuez, quel est la salaire de ceux qui veulent diviser son Eglise.⁶

Through persecution, true Christians could experience the gift of patience God gave those facing adversity. Chandieu is well aware adversity does not derive exclusively from external persecution:

⁵ *Advertissement*, B4r.

⁶ *Advertissement*, C2r.

De sorte que si les ennemis ouverts de nostre Doctrine, n'ont rien gagné sur nous; aussi peu profiteront les ennemis de l'ordre & de la Discipline qui est entre nous. Car celui-mesme qui nous a soustenus contre la cruauté des uns, nous délivrera des cautelles & machinations des autres.⁷

Chandieu is confident that order in the church, exemplified by the *Discipline*, will ensure the French churches' final victory. With this in mind, any potential deviations must be curtailed and their instigators brought back into line with the main body of the churches.

The final section addresses congregations at risk from false preachers outside the church order. Chandieu hopes the majority of the faithful will not be taken in by such liars, but he is concerned for those who thirst for too much novelty. As Christians must listen to those God sent to teach them, equally they must not listen to those He did not send. By establishing His church order, God necessarily condemned all those practices that fell outside that which He prescribed. Chandieu again uses Paul as an example. God sends inspiration to true pastors. Only ministers with a true vocation should preach, and congregations should only open their ears to those properly called. This recalls Christ's analogy of the sheep who only listened to their shepherd's voice. Congregations must reject men without a true calling, as an illegitimate ministry will be punished by God. The gospel shows how silence was imposed on evil spirits when they came into the presence of Christ.

How can these men say they are part of the church if they do not accept its doctrine? Chandieu knows this alone should indicate to true believers these men are not true ministers. Their deviance from the order and doctrine of the church sets them apart. Chandieu's *Advertisment* makes people aware of the devil's tricks to bring disunity to the church. God showed infinite mercy in all He granted man, including the order He established in his church. What confidence can be had in someone not legitimately called to the ministry? What possible benefit can be drawn from their words, which are not inspired by God, other than opening the door to heresy? God's church order is a wall encircling the church, and this wall must be guarded against the enemy. In conclusion,

⁷ *Advertisment*, C2v.

Chandieu warns against curiosity, and instead encourages fellow Protestants to submit to fear of God's judgement, and reconcile to His church.

Chandieu's *Advertissement* directly addressed one of the French churches' most pressing concerns in the aftermath of the first national synod. The unprecedented growth of French Calvinism in the early 1560s was so rapid that it was virtually impossible to meet the demand for ministers. The Swiss churches were in no position to provide the remainder. The most optimistic estimate concludes that around 200 Genevan-trained ministers crossed into France in the period 1555-1562.⁸ Yet the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561 heard de Bèze claim France was home to two thousand congregations, and many of the large congregations required the services of more than one minister.

In this situation, it was inevitable that congregations looking for a minister would avail themselves of men willing to serve, even if their credentials were somewhat dubious. Amongst these were former priests who had renounced the Roman church; others were former monks, treated with even more suspicion. Of course many were sincere in their conversion, and served their congregations well, but some were simply charlatans. It was one of the top priorities of the French churches to sort out the wheat from the chaff, and to ensure overall adherence to church doctrine. The records of the national synods record the most colourful of these rogue ministers, where their names and pseudonyms were recorded so vulnerable congregations might avoid them. Chandieu's *Advertissement* reflects the more general anxiety that false prophets might mislead the credulous at a time when Protestantism in France needed to be beyond reproach. These were testing times for the French church, as Chandieu addressed directly in his next major work, the *Histoire des persecutions*.

Combating division: the martyr as exemplar believer and the *Histoire des persecutions de l'Eglise de Paris*

The *Advertissement* hinted at divergent strains within French Calvinism. As a persecuted minority, it was not unheard of for members to become overwhelmed by the

⁸ Kingon, *Wars*, p. 2.

difficulty of the situation. The risk was of lapsing back to either full Catholicism or Nicodemitism.⁹ This last especially was a major concern of Calvin.¹⁰ One way of bolstering faltering confidence was by giving Protestants an ideal to live up to, a description of Christian life and practice which could be admired, but also emulated. By giving believers wholesome examples to follow, and underlining the spiritual rewards that followed, people were encouraged to lead comparable lives. Chandieu's contribution to this paradigm became one of the early touchstones of a defining genre of Protestant literature. His *Histoire des persecutions de l'Eglise de Paris* was to be incorporated into Jean Crespin's *Livre des martyrs*.

In *Salvation at Stake*, Brad S. Gregory systematically investigated the role of the martyr and the recording of their acts. Martyrs were celebrated in all branches of European Christianity in this era, and had a profound effect on their surroundings:

Public executions became a powerful arena for evangelization. From the perspective of civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the condemned ought to have begged forgiveness and reconciliation. To onlookers, the sight of men and women going to their deaths willingly, and bearing extreme pain with extraordinary patience, could spark interest and even conversion.¹¹

It was this power over the inner sensibilities of those around them that the martyrologists sought to engage. Discussing his sources, Gregory raised the issue of their reliability: they recall mediaeval hagiographies and also run into the realm of propaganda.¹² This was not Chandieu's primary motivation in writing. Witnessing a martyr's death might have inspired conversions, but Chandieu wrote the bulk of his memorial directly for the people in his own church. He wished to provide them with an exemplary format of how to live their lives. Accordingly he included question and answer sections that recalled the catechisms in their direct and simple espousal of Reformed theology as it applied to

⁹ Nicodemitism is the outward conformity to one religious practice whilst internally embracing a different theology.

¹⁰ Calvin's antipathy to Nicodemitism was expressed in his *Excuse à Messieurs les Nicodémistes* (1544) and throughout his other writings.

¹¹ Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), p. 7.

¹² Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, p. 16.

everyday life.¹³ The martyrological tradition and its celebration stretched back many hundreds of years, and was employed on each side of the confessional divide. For Chandieu, the imperative for his setting pen to paper was ultimately to bring about a practical end, that of shoring up the French church. Thus his own martyrological effort is fully integrated with his continuing mission to bring about a secure Reformation in France.¹⁴

The *Histoire* was published just after the end of the first war in Lyon by the Senneton brothers and Sebastien Honorati. Chandieu opens the work with a long dedicatory letter to the Paris church over seventy-seven pages (aa2r-ee7r). This letter explains why Chandieu wrote the book, and summarises the situation of the French church following the conclusion of the Peace of Amboise. Chandieu believes that his brothers in Christ might profit from images of courage and faith in the face of persecution. He also wishes to instruct their enemies in the justness of the Christian cause. The letter takes these two points in turn. The first thirty four pages address Chandieu's Parisian co-religionists directly and explain what Chandieu expects them to take from the book. He presents persecution as proof of their status as God's children, and martyrdom as the ultimate expression of faith. Throughout, the memory of the first war of religion is never far away. Chandieu opens comparing the faithful to sailors: the feeling of relief at having survived the war is like that of a sailor coming through a storm or a soldier surviving a siege. God brought them through their difficulties and now they can appreciate their deliverance:

Or Dieu, par sa grace, après ces tempestes tant horribles des persecutions, desquelles nous auons esté agistez, commence à donner à son Eglise vn temps vn peu plus doux, & paisble, & petit,[sic] à petit, nous mene à vn port plus assuré.¹⁵

¹³ The pedagogical aspect of the Protestant martyrological tradition in the Netherlands is also addressed in Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, p. 206.

¹⁴ On Protestant Martyrology and the work of Jean Crespin, see also J. F. Gilmont, *Jean Crespin: Un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle* (Geneva, 1981) and David Watson, *The Martyrology of Jean Crespin and the Early French Evangelical Movement, 1523-1555* (PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 1997).

¹⁵ *Histoire*, aa2v. This image of the ship in a tempest was also used by Chandieu in his debate with Ronsard.

Now they must show God their gratitude, as the Israelites did (aa3r). Although Chandieu expects his co-religionists to thank God for their deliverance, he will not let them think this ends their troubles. In the first of several statements that identify this work as being a product of a period of unsettled peace, he writes:

Il est vray que ceste paix qu'il nous a donnée est encore pleine de beaucoup de menaces: & sont tellement vaincus noz ennemis, qu'ilz taschent encores de se redresser, & faire nouuelles entreprises: voire & pouons bien encores chanter ce verset [Psalm 126], Poursuis Seigneur ton oeuvre, & nous change entierement ceste estrange prison.¹⁶

Chandieu clearly does not see the peace as a lasting conclusion to France's situation. This is not surprising, given that he was amongst the party who felt Condé's negotiations at Amboise had rather betrayed the main body of the church to make circumstances easier for nobles to practice Calvinism.

Chandieu gives his first reason for compiling this collection:

Portant ie vous faiz present de ce recueil, comme d'une aide à vostre memoire, que puissiez auoir quelque fois entre voz mains, pour vous faire souuenir de la misericorde que Dieu vous a faite, & que soyez incitez de l'en glorifier sans cesse, & sentiez à iamais combien vous este redeuables à sa maiesté, de vous auoir tant de fois garnetis comme son peuple, & sacre heritage.¹⁷

Chandieu believed God saw his people as a community and he recognises the ways in which his Paris congregation is touched by persecution. Some have lost their family members, others property and possessions, others have been imprisoned. He believes that members of the church will not desert her in the face of persecution: if only they are steadfast:

Car ie ne doute point qu'il ne se soit trouué beaucoup de timidité en la plus part: & mesmes que plusieurs n'aient tourné le dos, & quitté la victoire aux ennemis, quand il a esté question de combattre.¹⁸

This does not totally conform to Calvin's rejection of active resistance. Although Chandieu tells his brethren to rejoice in their persecution, because it proves they are the

¹⁶ *Histoire*, aa3v.

¹⁷ *Histoire*, aa4r.

¹⁸ *Histoire*, aa6r.

children of God, there is an awareness in his writing of the unstable position of the churches. Even in this celebration of martyrdom, that act which most distinguishes the devoted Christian from his more ordinary counterparts, Chandieu's insecurities about the fate of the church surface, as in the description of the church as a town under siege:

Si en vn siege il s'est trouué des defauts & foiblesses en la ville, & que les ennemis aient faits là leurs efforts, & qu'il y ait'[sic] eu dangier de l'eschelle, ou autrement, ilz rempareront ce costé là, & seront si bien que la ville sera en bon estat de defense vne autrefois... Si d'un part le Diable a fait bresche en vous pour saisir vostre cœur, & le tenir asserui à crainte: fortifiez ce lieu là. Si de l'autre costé vostre chair a esté rebelle à Dieu, & vous a esté vn traistre domestique pour vous liurer, & vous faire accorder à la volonté des ennemis: deffiez vous en vne autrefois & la tenez suspecte. Si encores d'une autre part les biens, les richesses, les dignitez, vos amis vous ont fait perdre courage, & tomber les armes de vos mains: apprenez à vous en donner garde.¹⁹

Clearly, Chandieu worried about the effect of persecution on the church and this work was openly designed to combat this:

Au demeurant ce recueil aussi vous enseignera vostre condition, la façon de laquelle Dieu veut conduire son Eglise, quelle est sa puissance & sa protection: & y verrez, à l'œil, la fidelité de ses promesses, qui nous sont faites en sa parole.²⁰

Chandieu prefers to reiterate how persecution in fact proved the church's election in the sight of God. This passage is remarkably self assured for such a young man, and Chandieu's gifts as a preacher and orator are seen in his declamations, reminding the congregation with whom he had worked for six years that God was with them, that persecution could not turn them from their faith. At one point, he takes the experiences of the Paris church itself, and casts them in a light designed to promote optimism:

Voicy vne poure Eglise en son enfance si foible, que rien plus: il n'y a, pour en faire le commencement, qu'une dizaine de personnes contemptibles: au milieu des menaces, des glaiues, & des feux elle croist, petit à petit, iusques à estre en fraieur à l'Antichrist, & aux siens. Ell'est en toutes façons combatue par toutes les puissances du monde: les Princes s'arment contre elle, le peuple se mutine: elle est mesmes dedans le fort le plus redouté de Sathan, enuironnée de ses principales forces. Par plusieurs fois les ennemis donnent dedans, pillent, saccagent, brulent, emprisonnent, & mettent les pources ouailles en fuite: elle est reduite comme à n'eant[sic] toutesfois en vn instant elles est releuée, & florit plus que iamais. Si on tasche de l'intimider, elle se

¹⁹ *Histoire*, aa6v.

²⁰ *Histoire*, aa7r.

fortifier: si on en veut appetisser le nombre par meutres, le nombre redouble: si on la veut disfigurer, & la rendre sanglante, elle en est plus belle, plus glorieuse, & plus aimable. Ses ennemis la redoutent: & la plus part cognoissons la faute qu'il ont faite, viennent luy demander pardon... Les autres sont naurez de pointes renaissantes en leurs consciences, pour luy auoir fait la guerre: les iniures, qui luy sont faites, sont vengées... S'il faut que la guerre recommence, elle est tellement secourue, que la victoire finalement luy demeure. Elle n'vse d'aucune force humaine, ce sont les ennemis: ils frappent, elle endure: ils donnent les coups, elle les porte: ils ont les glaiues, elle n'a que les plaies, & les blessures. Tant y a qu'elle surmonte, & retourne du combat victorieuse, & triomphante. D'ont vient cela? De la faueur de Dieu, & de sa protection.²¹

Chandieu mentions the difficulties of building a church, before stating why the Paris church should remember their martyrs:

Car les exemples des saints Martyrs ont tousiours serui aux autres, pour leur donner courage de marcher hardiment en leur vocation, sans aucune crainte des tourmens, & de la mort: pource qu'on voit là le soing que Dieu a de ses enfans, le secours qu'il leur donne, & les consolations qu'il met en leurs cœurs, pour leur faire surmonter les horreurs du supplice... Voilà (mes treschers freres) les fruits que ie vous presente en la lecture de ceste histoire, quand ie vous renouuelle les tribulations passées, la conduite de ceste Eglise, dés sa naissance, les deliuerances que Dieu a faites de nous tous, & les combats heureux de noz freres. Voilà di-ie la façon, de laquelle ie desire que vous celebriez, & solonniez (s'il faut ainsi parler) la memoire de voz Martyrs, & de voz persecutions.²²

This is not a hagiographic process: the people and incidents that Chandieu describes are examples to be held close to the heart and to inspire, but there is no similarity to the Catholic cult of saints:

Car si on a eu souuenance des Martyrs, ce n'a point esté à ceste fin là que le peuple, par leur exemple, fut enseigné de tenir ferme la profession de l'Euangile, & l'adoration d'un vray Dieu: mais qu'espris d'une sottise & peruerse admiration de leur sainteté, il les eut pour Dieux, & leurs fit hommage. On a fait thresor, non point de la confession de leur foy, de leurs parolles sacrées, de leur constance: mais de quelques meschans haillons, de quelques vieux drapeaux, de quelques os de chevaux ou d'asnes, qu'on a fait baiser à ce pource peuple aueugle, pour les reliques. Si d'auantage il s'est trouué quelques escritures touchant les Martyrs, elles ont esté ou falsifiées, ou

²¹ *Histoire*, bb1r-bb2r.

²² *Histoire*, bb6v & bb8v.

du tout supposées par les Moines, pour les faire seruir à leurs seductions & impostures.²³

Interestingly, Chandieu does not believe that his is the definitive account, nor that his work should be the only one to address the persecutions of those who follow Christ. Rather, his is a preliminary work which will be followed by other accounts as the ranks of witnesses swell.

Central to this is the quest for accuracy. Aware that his presentation of events could be challenged by the prosecuting authorities and religious opponents, Chandieu attempts to counteract any criticism. It is important to him that the events he reports are the absolute truth. Chandieu builds his case on the behaviour of the witnesses, as befits his legal training. Were any doubt to be cast on his sources, then his conclusion, that these persecutions proved the church's protection by God, would necessarily come under suspicion also:

... ie veux bien protester que ie n'y ay rien mis, que ie n'aye au de la main mesme de ceux qui sont morts, ou apprins de leur bouche, quand ie les ay visitez en la prison, ou extrait des registres des greffes, ou veu de mes yeux, ou receu des fideles tesmoins. I'ay trouué quelques fois en leurs confessions des choses assez obscures, les autres en assez mauuais langage, selon qu'ilz estoient de diuerses nations, ou gens mechaniques: & possible eut-on requis de moy, que le tout eut esté escrit d'un mesme stile, & plus aisé: mais i'ay tousiours fait scrupule d'y rien changer, diminuër, ou adiouster.²⁴

Because of this quest for truth, Chandieu the historian finds himself with a variety of sources. Most valuably, he has the verbatim accounts of interrogations and trials, as with the cases of Anne du Bourg and Jean Morel. He also has access to other first hand accounts, in the letters sent by the persecuted to their loved ones and pamphlets circulated amongst the faithful. In the absence of similar written accounts, there is finally the testimony of those who witnessed the events described, Chandieu's own Parisian congregation.

²³ *Histoire*, cc1r.

²⁴ *Histoire*, cc2r.

Strangely, when addressing Catholics, Chandieu refers to them indirectly, as ‘povres ignorans’ he feels sorry for. It seems slightly odd that this section, apparently so geared towards convincing Catholics of their errors, does not in fact address them directly. Chandieu was well aware of this work’s market. Anyone reading the full title would realise it was a Protestant work and judge its suitability for purchase accordingly: *Histoire des persecutions et martyrs de l’église de Paris, depuis l’an 1557 iusques au temps du Roy Charles neufiesme. Avec une Epistre contenant la remonstrance des proffits qui reuinedront aux fideles de la lecture de ceste histoire: & une exhortation à ceux qui nous ont persecutez, de reuoir nostre cause, & iuger derechef si ç’a esté à bon droit, qu’ilz ont fait mourir tant de seruiteurs de Dieu.* In this, there is an invitation for non-Protestants to review the cause Chandieu and his co-religionists represented. Once past the title page, however, the work’s confessional bias becomes all the more apparent. The sections haranguing Catholics for their misdemeanours are not addressed to them, because no one really believed they would ever read this work except to refute it. As Chandieu knew few Catholics would read his words, let alone be persuaded to righteousness by them, he employed this section as an additional warning against apostasy to wavering Protestants.

How does Chandieu convince Catholics of their errors? Portraying himself as a concerned helper for Catholics, he hopes his compilation will show the truth and negate the need for God to exact vengeance upon them (cc3r). He contrasts the Catholic image of Protestants as baby-eating, incestuous rabble-rousers with a description of French Protestantism that mirrors his later words to Ronsard, a group loyal to their king and state, who only want to serve God (cc3v). The point that they are loyal subjects appears to be particularly important:

Vray est que nous voulons tousiours garder la souueraineté à Dieu, & la maistrise de noz consciences, pour luy obeir plustost, qu’aux hommes: mais nous n’en pouons estre chargez, puis que la parolle de Dieu nous le commande: & n’estimons aussi les Roys si dereglez, de vouloir que leur domination ruïne l’autorité qui appartient à Dieu: duquel eux-mesmes sont vassaux, avec toutes creatures.²⁵

²⁵ *Histoire*, cc4v.

Chandieu knows the public perception of Protestants is unflattering, and hopes to counteract this.²⁶ He admits the secrecy surrounding Protestant meetings causes people to suspect them. Those who believe the rumours spread about Protestants are clearly taken in by the Devil and his minions the monks, whom Chandieu blames for inciting the Rue St Jacques incident (cc7).

Chandieu both summarises Protestant doctrine for non-adherents and recaps the qualities of the ideal martyr for practising Protestants:

Ils confessent vn Dieu en trois personnes: vn mediateur Dieu & homme Iesus Christ: & les Symboles leur sont autant de parolles sacrées, sur lesquelles ilz appuient leur foy. Ils recognoissent la misere & poureté de la nature humaine: & gemissent dessous le fait de la condamnation à laquelle tous sont assuiettis par le peché: & estans confus en eux mesmes, cherchent leur entiere deliuerance en nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ. Son sacrifice leur est vne oblation sainte & suffisante pour le reconcilier pleinement à Dieu: l'effusion de son sang, vne entiere purgation de leurs offenses: sa iustice, son obeïssance, sa protection vn manteau precieux, pour les rendre tousiours deuant Dieu saintes & irreprehensibles... La loy de Dieu leur est vne doctrine si accomplie, qu'ilz iugent non seulement temerité, mais sacrilege estre en ceux là qui comandent autres œuvres, & y lient les consciences, ou au contraire les deschargent de ce qui leur est commandé en icelle loy, pour lascher la bride à leurs folles intentions, remplir la terre d'images, & oeuvres de main d'homme. Finalement la predication de la parolle de Dieu leur est vn thresor si riche, qu'ilz ne le peuuent abandonner pour chose aucune: non plus que l'vsage des Sacremens: lesquelz ilz ont en honneur, & en font autant que Dieu a ordonné.²⁷

The ideal martyr is identified as the lawyer Anne du Bourg, not specifically the “best” martyr, but certainly the most well known. To those who accuse Protestants of being troublemakers, Chandieu observes this is what people said about Christ. The identification of Protestant martyrs with the early Christians continues by looking at their persecutors: at least the Early Christians were persecuted by pagans, who did not know any better. Chandieu's poor compatriots are attacked by those calling themselves Christians. Two things will prove these Protestants to be true martyrs: firstly, their blood

²⁶ See Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, 2002).

²⁷ *Histoire*, dd1v-dd2r.

will be the seed of the church, inspiring continued growth; secondly, the vengeance of God will be felt by those who oppress His true church.

Controversially, Chandieu sees the death of two kings as evidence that God supports the Protestant side. Chandieu believes that Catholics have been spared thus far so they can repent. Although basically repeating things Chandieu says more eloquently elsewhere, this passage shows more vigour than his other arguments, because it directly addresses his opponents, and the indignation and incomprehension Protestants feel towards their tormentors is finally expressed:

Or Dieu vueille... que ce recueil vous profite, pour vous donner, avec cognoissance de vostre faute, vn vrai desplaisir de l'auoir commise: à fin que vous conuertissans à luy, l'ire de Dieu soit destournée: & qu'en repos tous ensemble seruons à sa Maïeste.²⁸

Chandieu's introductory letter is revelatory of his situation and that of the church after the first war. Although the national synod had set down a basis for church structure which Chandieu and his colleagues hoped would prove sufficient for continued growth, the climate of persecution meant that nothing could be taken for granted. Aware that some might be scared away from embracing the new faith once they saw the potential risks, Chandieu needed to find a way of turning this situation to his and his church's advantage. Despite his mock-overtures to Catholics, this was always intended primarily as a work of spiritual reference for French Protestants and his own Parisian congregation in particular. For those who need guidance to engage Catholics in debate, there is the reiteration of points, biblical references and summaries of Protestant doctrine. For those who might be wavering in their own faith and need reassurance, there is the constant reiteration of the justification of those in God's church. The *Histoire* idealises the Protestant martyr to both friend and foe, and the groundwork is laid for this in the introduction by Chandieu's association of the Paris church with those persecuted in the Bible, and his identification of Anne du Bourg as a paradigm.

²⁸ *Histoire*, ee7r.

Chandieu includes two sonnets before the main text. These are not amongst his greatest works, but they are designed to stimulate a certain emotional disposition in the reader, preparing their minds for the work they are about to read, and as such their literary quality becomes secondary to their practical application. Certainly, Chandieu is not above employing his poetic gifts to tug at the heart strings, and this is an obvious place to do this.

The *Histoire* has 442 pages of main text. It is printed with no chapter divisions and the text is largely continuous. The printer has not made any real attempt to differentiate the different martyrs' accounts with paragraph divisions or internal heading. Nor is there anything similar to the typographical artistry we see in the martyrologies of John Foxe or Jean Crespin, where the use of different typefaces breaks the text and provides ingenious differentiation between stretches of narrative and citations from contemporary legal documents or the prisoners' interrogations and confessions of faith.²⁹ The *Histoire* in contrast to these more famous works makes little concession to the reader and is therefore somewhat daunting to read. It does however have frequent marginal annotations by which the reader is guided through the events. The opening section deals generally with the development of the Paris church. Chandieu does not see it as having come together through necessity, as suggested by the interpretation of the *Histoire ecclésiastique*, but as a gathering of blessed individuals who survive for two years before they face real persecution. The fact that these foundational events are discussed so very briefly indicates the nature of the book. It is not a general history of the Paris church, but rather of its sufferings, and thus events which do not pertain to the extraordinary persecution of church members are kept to a minimum: the founding of the church, its day to day functioning and wider logistical events like the national synod are barely referred to.

²⁹ On Crespin, Gilmont, *Jean Crespin: Un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle* (Geneva, 1981), Chapter VIII, especially pp. 179-187. For Foxe, see Susan Felch, 'Shaping the Reader in the *Acts and Monuments*' in David Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997). Both editors are also discussed in Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*.

By the second page, the first major incident occurs, the attack in the Rue St Jacques. Chandieu describes the Protestants praying for the good of the country when they are set upon by the priests at the neighbouring Collège du Plessis. The atmosphere is carefully evoked: the noises, the shouts of “Lutherans”, the stones thrown through the windows create an aura of anticipated terror. This is reinforced by descriptions of the deliberations amongst the Protestants. It is broken only by the death of one of those escaping, hit by a rock and then repeatedly struck by the besieging Catholics.³⁰ The magistrate restores order, but at the expense of Protestant freedoms. Chandieu evokes especially the plight of the women, as active participants, pleading with their persecutors for mercy and protecting their children. He includes the testimony of a witness named Martine which reiterates the previous description. Even here, God looks after his children: when sent to prison, the jailors put them in cells together, so they sing psalms and pray together.

Looking at the wider context, Chandieu describes the falsehoods told about the Protestants, including that they met together for banquets and debauchery. These ideas have been fanned by monks, nuns and priests, and Chandieu believes they eventually reached the court through the machinations of the Cardinal de Lorraine. In the face of such evil, the church is strong and determined to protect its people. The leaders inspire the people to keep their courage high, and the persecution is seen as a trial sent by God to strengthen the church. Each member of the church is to perform the same three tasks: each family is to say special prayers and each individual prostrates themselves before God, the false rumours are to be crushed, and, thirdly, consolation should be brought to those still in prison. With this in mind, a remonstrance is composed for the king, to combat the bad opinion he has of the Protestants and to dispel the lies spread about them. Chandieu includes a synopsis of this remonstrance in the form of rhetorical questions and bold statements of Protestant innocence and intent, continually coming back to the position of the church as that blessed by God and Christ.

³⁰ *Histoire*, a3r.

Chandieu then includes another remonstrance in its entirety, one he himself had written. This is the *Apologie ou deffense des bons Chrestiens contre les ennemis de l'Eglise Catholique*. Although we have records that the *Apologie* was printed in Lyon in 1563, this is the only surviving version of the text.³¹ Chandieu's introduction of his own pamphlet into the *Histoire* describes its use of the church Fathers as proof of the truth of the Protestant cause. The text of the *Apologie* stretches over forty pages. It proclaims the need for transparency in the hearts of those who stand before God, so Catholic charges of blasphemy can be properly judged and refuted. Two types of people persecute them: ignorant ones, and those who were knowledgeable. Ignorant people just want to see Protestants die: Chandieu is particularly critical of their attitude to women, and he underlines that people from all social classes were slandered and attacked. He concludes this introduction telling them: 'Lisez donc ces choses attentivement, au Nom de Dieu, & prenez garde à tels exemples, à fin de n'estre transportez par faux bruits, ne deceuz par les iugemens des hommes'.³² Again, even though Chandieu says he writes for those outside Protestantism, his words mainly focus on explaining who these opponents are.

The *Apologie* uses early Christian writers to prove the Protestant community is the direct successor of the ancient church and thus the true church of God. Chandieu relies heavily on Tertulian, the sole father referred to over the first nine pages of the pamphlet, before turning to Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Arnobius, Octavius Christian, and Nicefore, describing the circumstances of persecution in which they found themselves, the decrees promulgated by the emperors and so forth. He concludes that these writers provide ample proof that the ancient church was greatly persecuted by tyrants yet its members remained steadfast. This should convince contemporary naysayers that their campaign would be ineffectual, and that the Protestant church will flourish and expand just as the Early Church did.

³¹ FVB Sn 60062, and Baudrier Vol. II. p. 101. It is included in Baudrier amongst the publications of Michel Jove, but this seems unlikely, as Jove was a well-known Catholic printer. The lack of extant copies indicates there was a scarcity of copies from the outset, and that the author's inclusion of his own work might have been a conscious attempt to preserve its contents.

³² *Histoire*, b3v.

The remainder of the *Histoire* concentrates more on the individual martyrs. The specific details of individual cases are given whilst keeping the reader informed of various national developments. These keep the cases in context, for example, describing the establishment by the King in September 1558 of a commission to examine those accused of heresy.³³ It becomes clear that although nominally a work addressing the tribulations faced by the church in Paris, Chandieu's martyrs actually come from all over France, as seen in table 4.1. Using the cases of George Tardif from Sens, an unnamed artisan from Tours, and Nicolas from 'Ienuille' (probably Joinville) as a model, we can see Chandieu's typical approach:

En ces entrefaires la Court intimidée de la prise de tant de fideles, & des menaces du Roy, après auoir dilaié longuement le iugement de trois pources Chrestiens, les enuoya à la mort aux lieux, dont ils estoyent appellans, George Tardif à Sens: vn autre à Tours, brodeur de son estat: le troisieme, nommé Nicolas, compaignon cordonnier à Ienuille, dont aussi il estoit natif. Il y auoit telle constance en tous trois, & y voyoit on vne telle assurance, que des Iuges les plus aduersaires en estoyent tous estonnez. Celuy de Tours auoit esté pris avec cinq ou six autres, comme ils reuenoient de prier Dieu ensemble d'un bois prochain de la ville de Tours. Vne fois entre les autres, estant venu deuant Messieurs, il requist qu'il luy fut permis de prier Dieu, deuant que respondre de sa foy, à fin qu'il luy donnast force & sagesse pour ce faire. On ne luy osa refuser telle requeste. Ainsi ayant commencé de faire confession de ses pechez, & inuoké la grace du saint Esprit, il porsuiuit les prieres que se font ordinairement és Eglises Françoises, pour tous estas, pour le Roy, pour la conseruation de son Royaume, pour les Magistratz, pour toutes les necessites des pources affligez, & ce d'une ardeur singuliere. Et puis ayant recité, pour confession de foy, le symbole des Apostres, se leua: & respondit aux demandes qui luy furent faites, avec vne telle grace, & modestie, que les cœurs de plusieurs furent rompus, iusques à ietter larmes, & monstrier signes, qu'ils ne demandoient que sa deliurance.³⁴

Chandieu repeats this basic narrative throughout the work: the victim's adherence to the faith is established, here as part of a group who gathered to meet in a specific location. Once under arrest, the victim demonstrates his steadfastness by refusing to capitulate and through the espousal of standard texts, whilst never engaging in acts that might bring the faith into disrepute. In this particular extract, the victim not only recites the prayers used by the French churches, he does it to pray for the King and the establishment, thus

³³ *Histoire*, e3r.

³⁴ *Histoire*, pp. e3v-e4r.

Table 4.1 Chandieu's Martyrs

Name	Date	Where	Profession	Q&A	Pp.	Other Information	Speech
George Tardif		Sens			1		
anon		Tours	embroiderer		2	taken with 5 or 6 others, prays out loud	reported
Nicolas		Ienuille	cobbler's assistant	reported	2	had been in Geneva, condemned to be burnt, gave up chance of pre-strangulation, father mistreated	reported
Nicolas Clinet		Paris	old man, church elder	partial	4	had been persecuted in native Xaintonge	reported
Taurin Grauelle		Paris	lawyer	yes	4	native of Dreux, diocese of Chartres, law studies in Toulouse. Tested by Sorbonne theologian	reported
Philippe de Luns			widow	yes	9	native of Gase, in Périgord, aged about 23, came to Paris from Gascony with husband, Seigneur de Graueron, who died. House used for assemblies. Asks for Bible or New Testament to study. Detailed description of death	yes
Nicolas de Rousseau	6 Sept 1558 (Letter)	Dijon	church elder	yes	8	had been to Geneva, stopped on way back at Auxonne, with books and letters. Taken to Dijon. Sent letter from prison.	letter
Jacques		Dijon			2	mentioned by de Rousseau, from Normandy, married in Geneva, case taken before Parlement and King	
Philippes		Dijon	apothecary		2	as above	
Nicolas la Sene		Paris	doctor	yes	5	from Saint-Pierre-sur-Dires in Normandy, near Lisieux. Brother of one of the Dijon martyrs, taken at Rue St Jacques	
Pierre Gabert		Paris	lawyer	yes	9	from Saint-George-les-Montaigu in Poitou, under 30 years old, dissuades scholars from discussing worldly philosophy,	yes
Gabert's Nephew		Paris	child		1	in prison with Gabert	
Francois Rebezues		Paris		yes	31	about 19-20 years old, from Astafort in Condonnais	letter
Frederic Danville		Paris		yes	17	19-20 years old, from Oléron in Béarn	letter
René de Seau		Paris	student		1	martyred at same time as Rebezues and Danville, from Saintonge	

Jean Amalric		Paris	student	yes	2	martyred at same time as Rebezues and Danville, from Luc in Provence	
Geoffroy Guerin		Paris			46	Native of Pontardemer in Normandy	letter
Jean Morel		Paris	young man	yes	76	From Pays de Caux in Normandy, taken prisoner due to book ownership, known to Chandieu (anonymous reference to self)	letter
Jean Barbeville		Paris	mason / builder	yes	10	native of Normandy, gave instruction to neighbours when returned from Geneva	reported
Pierre Chevet	1558	Paris	winegrower, aged over 60	yes	7	from 'Ville-Parisi', 5 leagues from Paris in direction of Meaux, knows whole New Testament	yes
Nicolas Ballon		Poitiers	older man		3	caught trying to smuggle books in from Geneva, first in Poitiers and taken to Paris, but not sentenced to death, then again in Châlons-en-Champagne, and taken to Reims	
Servant of Ballon	1559	Paris	servant		1		
Marguerite le Riche		Paris	wife of Antoine Ricaut, bookseller	yes	5	Parisian native, better Protestant than husband, although he introduced her to the faith	reported
Un Charpentier'		Paris	carpenter		1	sentenced in Sens to be strangled before burnt, but people won't allow it	reported prayer
Adrien Danssi (Doulaucourt)	23 Oct 1559	Paris	trader's assistant		3	caught bringing books and letters back from Geneva in Clermont-en-Beauvoisin, rejects help from priest	
Gilles le Court	24 Oct 1559	Paris Maubert	student at College de la Mercy		1	from Lyon	
Philippes Parmentier	24 Oct 1559	Paris Maubert	goldsmith's assistant		3	strangled because was less firm than others	
Martin Rousseau	24 Oct 1559	Paris Maubert	goldsmith's assistant		3	from Boutigny in Gâtinais	
Pierre Milet	26 Oct 1559	Paris Maubert	married merchant		4	from Doux in Champagne	
Jean Bessoy		Paris			3		reported
Anne de Bourg		Paris	royal counsellor	yes	71	reproduced council minutes	
André Coiffier		place nearest Dammartin			2	stopped in Dammartin during time of persecutions	

Jean Ysabeau		Paris	artisan (profession given as 'Menuisier' - traditionally someone who worked in wood)		1	from Bar-sur-Aube, near Troyes in Champagne, prosecuted in Tours, sentenced to amende honorable, strangulation and burning of corpse, but appeal gets him to Paris, so is killed there and in effigy in Tours	
Jean Iudet		Paris Maubert	book seller		1	sympathetic book trader caught, imprisoned in Conciergerie, burnt	

demonstrating how Protestants are loyal subjects. Finally, the performance is so effective that people around are moved to ask for remittance of the sentence. Yet this can not be allowed, as this would prevent the accused from achieving the coveted status of martyr. Thus there is a sense that in having roused pity and compassion in their final moments, and yet dying nonetheless, the martyr has planted seeds in the people watching that might lead them to the true path.

Although the narrative accounts all follow this basic pattern, at some points Chandieu was able to include extra information to reinforce his case. This included letters from the accused to family members, as in the cases of Francoys Rebezies and Frederic Danville. Danville's letter to his brother opens with a statement that can either be taken as the words of a man speaking with perfect clarity of his situation (obviously Chandieu's interpretation of events) or the desperation of a man incarcerated:

Frere & amy, voyant la fin de mes iours approcher, & que la commodité de vous escrire m'est offerte, ie n'ay voulu faillir vous escrire, pour vous faire participant des interrogations qui m'ont esté faites tant au petit Chastelet, qu'au Palais, par les ennemis de Dieu, & singulierement de celles qui m'ont esté faites par noz Maistres les Sorbonnistes, comme Benedictinus Iacopin, & vn Sorboniste son compaignon, & ce la premiere fois: puis pour la seconde fois par le compaignon de Benedictinus, & deux autres Sorbonistes.³⁵

Danville then describes each of these meetings in detail: how he was tested on various aspects of theology, with the interrogators using the Bible to try to trap him into denying his faith. Full accounts of his replies are included. Although the questioning is typical of a criminal investigation, the style of the replies brings to mind the catechism:

Je lui respondi (ainsi que le saint Esprit me pousoit) Que si ie croioye que les' Christ fut entre les mains du prestre, après auoir dit les parolles sacramentales (i'vse de leurs termes) que ie croiroie au contraire de ce qui est contenu au Symbole des Apostres, Qu'il est assis à la dextre de Dieu son Pere. Et au contraire de ce qui est escrit au premier des Actes, quand Iesus Christ monta au ciel: lequel estant separé du regard des Apostres, apparurent à iceux deux Anges vestus de blanc, lesquels dirent ainsi aux Apostres: O hommes Galileens, qu'est-ce que vous regardez, &c. Puis m'interroqua de l'inuocation des Saints. Je dy ne recognoistre autre inuocation, que celle qui se fait à Dieu par Iesus Christ, ainsi qu'il est escrit au deusieme de la I. saint Iean, Si nous auons peché, nous auons vn aduocat, &c. Finalement fus

³⁵ *Histoire*, g6r-v.

interrogué du Purgatoire. le respondy que ne croioie autre purgatoire que le sang de Iesus Christ: suiuant ce qui est dit en la premiere S. Iean chap.I. que Iesus Christ nous nettoye de tous pechez.³⁶

This format of question and answer sessions is repeated for the cases of François Rebezies (h2v-i5v) and for Geoffroy Guerin (l1v ff.). When there is a great deal of surviving documentation to be included, Chandieu dwells on one person's actions over many pages. The section devoted to Guerin is around fifty pages long. Another man who receives great attention is Jean Morel, a student known to Chandieu, and whose life covers seventy pages.

One might pause briefly to consider why these relatively obscure individuals command so much space in Chandieu's narrative. Guerin and Morel are by far not the best known of Chandieu's martyrs, but their cases may well have been familiar to Chandieu's congregation. Chandieu's own personal knowledge of their lives also allowed him to describe their witness with particular vividness. Their very ordinariness also had pedagogic power and the message to his readers would be that one did not have to be in position of social eminence, or a highly trained theologian, to do one's Christian duty. Morel's section is in fact a few pages longer than that of the more celebrated Anne du Bourg, whose documentation includes separate accounts of three interrogations, his confession of faith and finally his martyrdom (z1r-D5r). It is also the case, and a sobering thought, that many of Chandieu's readers might have known and been friends of the individuals whose suffering he recorded. This was a work which had a particular poignancy for the members of his own congregation as well as a wider exemplary function for the Reformed community as a whole.

Chandieu never loses sight of the fact that the church in Paris had played a critical role in both the establishment of the Reformed community in France and in the turbulent political events of the last three years. The events of the day punctuate the accounts of the individual martyrs. Thus he includes the establishment of an Inquisition (k2r), the meetings at Pré-aux-Clercs (k4v-k6r), the introduction of the infamous 'Mercuriale'

³⁶ *Histoire*.g6v-g7r.

(v1r), the first national synod (v5r), the death of Henri II (x6r) and the Conspiracy of Amboise (D6v). And as he includes his own writings, Chandieu also includes other texts which illuminate the situation: *Lettres des princes Protestans au Roy* from the German Protestants to Henri II,³⁷ a letter of support from the Genevan church,³⁸ and as mentioned the text of Anne du Bourg's confession.³⁹ The work ends on something of a positive note, with Condé, although under threat of death, escaping danger, and François II bringing about peace in his days of ill health.

The *Histoire* has a curious publishing history. Published twice in 1563, on two different presses within France, it seems to have found an instant resonance with the public. But it was never again published as a single work. The text was swiftly integrated in Jean Crespin's *Livre des martyrs*, a larger work which rapidly attained canonical status as the authentic martyrology of the French Reformed church. As part of this, Chandieu's *Histoire* has become one of his best known writings and certainly one of those most frequently cited by modern writers.

Chandieu's contribution to the growing genre of martyrology is interesting in several respects. He was one of a small number of martyrologists who could bring their own personal experience as ministers of the persecuted church to bear on their writing. In this respect Chandieu's nearest equivalent is not Foxe or Crespin but the Dutch martyrologist Adriaen van Haemstede. Like Chandieu, van Haemstede infused his narrative with the passion and excitement of his days as minister to the church in Antwerp and it is as a contemporary account of these tumultuous events that his book is usually consulted. But in other respects the two men were quite different. Van Haemstede, a far less disciplined thinker, would later run into difficulties with the leaders of his own church and suffer excommunication.⁴⁰ Chandieu in contrast was one of the

³⁷ *Histoire*, k6r-11r, dated Francfort 19 mars 1558 and signed Le Conte Palatin, Le Duc de Saxe, le Marquis de Brandebourg, Electeurs: Le Conte Wolfgang Conte de Veldour, le Duc de Wirtemberg

³⁸ *Histoire*, v8r-x4r.

³⁹ *Histoire*, B5v-D3r.

⁴⁰ Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, p. 167; Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*, (Oxford, 1992), pp. 77-8 and 236-7; Andrew Pettegree, 'European Calvinism: History, Providence and Martyrdom' in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church*

most respected theologians of the emerging French church. This gave his martyrology a very distinctive character, integrating both his first hand experience and his wider purpose of establishing and maintaining theological conformity and a disciplined church community. It was this imperative that would lie behind his third decisive contribution to the literature of church formation, the *Confirmation de la discipline*.

Facing down the Internal Threat: Jean Morély, Chandieu and Church Discipline

The initial phase of church building might have been completed, but there were still internal challenges for the French Protestant church to overcome. Chandieu faced the continuation of the Morély feud, this time in a serious ecclesiological vein. This was played out in books and also in the meetings of the national synods, where threats to church stability were dealt with, and the competing views of Morély and Chandieu were discussed.

Morély was accused of slandering the Pastors of Geneva in the aftermath of the Conspiracy of Amboise.⁴¹ This incident alone indicated Chandieu and Morély would not see eye to eye, and the publication of Morély's *Traicté de la police et discipline chrestienne* in 1562 ensured this would be so. Yet through the 1550s, Morély seemed to promise the more glittering career, as the carefully researched biography by Rott and Denis shows.

Morély was born in Paris in around 1524. He was educated in France before leaving for Switzerland around 1545. This suggests he already had Protestant sympathies, and he seems to have known Bullinger in Zurich where both worked on establishing a French mission.⁴² He then became a tutor, travelling to Neuchâtel, Lausanne and Geneva. By summer 1550, he had settled in Lausanne, where he became embroiled in a debate centred on Pierre Viret which saw the churches of Vaud forced to

Retrospective (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 227-252; Andrew Pettegree, 'Haemstede and Foxe' in David Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997).

⁴¹ See chapter three.

⁴² Philippe Denis & Jean Rott, *Jean Morély (ca 1524-1594) et l'Utopie d'une démocratie dans l'église* (Geneva, 1993) p. 21 ff.

decide between following the prevailing religious winds from either Geneva or Berne.⁴³ Morély seems to have encouraged Bullinger's intervention. He was considered a loyal Reformed Christian, ready to use his contacts to achieve peaceful positive resolutions. In 1553, he was in London, involved with the stranger churches under John à Lasco, before returning to the continent. He was taken captive and his ransom paid by French merchants resident in London. He returned to Geneva, where he was made a *habitant* in February 1554, and set up home with his new wife. Calvin himself stood as godfather to his eldest son. Rott and Denis give examples of his reconciling errant members of his family to Calvin and the pastors, but conclude that even though Morély could not be called a dissident at this stage, he did have an active, curious mind, and gravitated towards ideas shunned by more mainstream Protestants.⁴⁴ He was involved with a plan to get backing from Protestant princes over Europe for French Protestants, before returning to Geneva after the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. It was then that his relations with the Genevan church soured, with the court case of April 1560. But this incident was only the precursor to his more definitive rupture with mainstream Calvinism.

In 1562 Morély published the *Traicté de la police et discipline chrestienne* in Lyon. Dedicated to Pierre Viret, this examination of church disciplines was set into four books.⁴⁵ The dedication outlines Morély's vision for the work. He identifies the need for regulation in society but even more so in the church. As a minister, Christ gathered a church to him and gave it an external discipline 'comme pour un signe & tesmoignage de son action interieure'.⁴⁶ Over time, this discipline has become distorted. Each time the order set out by Christ is changed by human intervention, Morély sees the believer moving further from God. Immediately it becomes apparent where Morély is going to clash with Chandieu:

Dauantage qui fera discours en soymesme de la police presente de ces Eglises, il aura graces à Dieu dequoy se contenter pour maintenant, dequoy

⁴³ Denis and Rott, *Jean Morély*, pp. 29-33.

⁴⁴ This conclusion is drawn from his relationship with his brother-in-law, François de Saint-Paul, a pastor who disagreed with de Bèze and Viret over double Predestination and whom Morély brought back into the Genevan fold. Denis & Rott, *Jean Morély* p. 35-7.

⁴⁵ On Viret, see Stuart Foster, *Pierre Viret and France, 1559-1565* (Phd Thesis, University of St Andrews, May 2000).

⁴⁶ Jean Morély, *Traicté De la discipline & police Chrestienne* (reprint Geneva, 1968), A2r.

louër Dieu, & luy en rendre graces. Mais qu'il iette les yeux de son Esprit sur les siecles à venier, esquels la predication de l'Euangile estant autorisee par le Prince, & finalement commandee, les Magistrats inferieurs soyent contraints bon gré mal gré faire profession de la vraye religion, qui n'apperoit qu'alors il faudroit changer ceste discipline presente? Car exclure icuex du gouuernement de l'Eglise, & le maintenir en souueraineté aux Pasteurs & consistoires contre leur volonté, qui ne void vn mespris & horrible dissipation de toute la discipline?⁴⁷

This contradicts Chandieu on several levels. Considering practicalities, Chandieu was not indebted to Calvin for his every notion, but rather he was acutely aware of the delicacy of the French church's situation, and this shaped his thought. For him, getting the churches up and running in the difficult climate of the 1560s was the most important thing. Morély by his own admission was thinking in the longest foreseeable terms, forward to a time when the Reformed religion was not just legal but official. His ideas were not designed to bring about an immediate change (so he said) but to plan for the future.⁴⁸ This could only conflict with Chandieu's careful attention to present-day duty. Even if Morély was earnest that this was a vision for the future, publishing it made its contents public, and threatened the stability Chandieu had worked for. And what was this future utopia? One where ministers' duties were severely curtailed, and the role of the lesser magistrate increased. Chandieu's work consistently celebrates the ministerial office, and the radical nature of incorporating rule by magistrates into the French situation would not be lost on him. Morély further compounds this by saying outright that the French *Discipline* was adapted to circumstance, weakening it. Another statement can only have served to infuriate Chandieu in its criticism of the current discipline: 'Car s'il y a chose en la constitution des Eglises qui soit moins parfaite, & d'ou la consequence soit perilleuse pour l'aduenir, il n'est expedient à icelles, qu'elle presse racine, & se confirme par le temps.'⁴⁹ This he hopes will become a talking point between pastors and representatives of the churches at the upcoming third national synod to be held in Orléans in April 1562. He sees this being comparable to God using Peter,

⁴⁷ Morély, *Traicté*, A3r.

⁴⁸ See also Henry Mobbs, *Une Controverse sur la discipline ecclesiastique aux XVI^e siècle. Jean Morély et Antoine de Chandieu: l'Actualité d'une Ancien debat* (Thèse. Theol. Genève, 1937), p. 6.

⁴⁹ Morély, *Traicté*, A3v.

James, Barnabus and Paul to reunite the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Cilice and Pisidia.

The first book looks at the office of the Prince and his responsibilities, the second doctrine and morals, the third the different officers of the church, whilst the fourth deals with questions of practical applications and theory of church structure. It is these final books which provoke the longest replies from Chandieu.

Morély's work reflects an ongoing concern of several of the Reformed churches, including those of Geneva and Strasbourg, that of the exercise of spiritual power in the church.⁵⁰ Who gets to make the decisions about questions of doctrine and discipline? Is it the Consistory, as set out in the French *Discipline*, or should it be the whole congregation that makes up the church, as Morély argues? Although he might not have been the first to challenge these ideas, Morély's book caused great concern in France, where its reception by the still evolving churches threatened the system Chandieu had recently put in place. This is seen in the surviving debates of the national and provincial synods, where the drive towards regulation is paramount: of doctrine, of preachers, of new congregations. Denis and Rott believe that this was a magnification of Calvin's personal fear of social disorder. It is true that Calvin was not in favour of the broad democracy that Morély advocated, and would have been concerned for its effects on the growth of the churches in France. But Morély's ideas offended those who had embraced and advocated the synod/consistory structure and fought for its implementation in France. These were, in fact, the very people meeting at the synod Morély had targeted his publication towards. Denis and Rott point out this was made all the more acute by the onset of the first religious war as the book appeared. Morély's choice to write in French rather than Latin helped him reach a wide audience, specifically amongst independent-minded nobles and bourgeois who did not see the necessity of bowing to ecclesiastical dictates.

⁵⁰ Denis & Rott, *Jean Morély*, p. 54.

The first response to Morély's work came at the national synod he had hoped to sway to his doctrine, held in April 1562. With Chandieu acting as moderator and many important figures in French Reformed Protestantism in attendance – de Bèze, Condé and Coligny – this debate was to prove significant. Chandieu's reputed oratorical skills no doubt served him well, and the final outcome was an outright condemnation of the work:

VII. Quant au Livre intitulé, *Traité de la Discipline & Police Chrétienne*, composé & publié par *Jean Moreli*; le Concile est d'avis, quant aux points concernant la Discipline de l'Eglise (par lesquels il pretend condanner & renverser l'ordre accoutumé des Eglises, & fondé sur la parole de Dieu) que ledit Livre contient une mauvaise Doctrine & tendante à la dissipation & confusion de l'Eglise: C'est pourquoi ledit Concile exhorte tous les fidèles de se donner garde de la susdite Doctrine.⁵¹

In Geneva, when he refused to retract his statements in, Morély was excommunicated as a schismatic by the Genevan Consistory, and his book was publicly burned. Morély fled to France and once there took steps to rehabilitate himself. He eventually subscribed to the *Discipline* and agree to reconcile with Geneva at a provincial synod over which Chandieu presided, that of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre in April 1564. This gesture was not held immediately to be in good faith. A second condemnation of Morély's tract arose from the fifth national synod, at Paris in December 1565, with an option for him to reconcile:

Parce que l'Eglise de Dieu doit être conduite par une bonne & simple Discipline, ... après avoir vu diligemment les Livres et autres Ecrits de Monsieur *Jean de Moreli* touchant la Police & Discipline de l'Eglise... ont condanné ses Livres & Ecrits, comme contenant de mauvaises & dangereuses opinions, par lesquelles il renverse la Discipline ... car en attribuant le Gouvernement de l'Eglise au Peuple, il veut introduire une nouvelle conduite tumultueuse & pleine de confusion populaire, dont il s'ensuivroit beaucoup de grands & scandaleux inconveniens, qui lui ont été remontrés, & il a été averti de se departir de telles choses: ce que ne voulant par faire; & persistant à dire qu'il croit lesdites opinions fondées sur la Parole de Dieu, après l'avoir exhorté plusieurs fois de se soumettre & de consentir à l'ordre, qui est reçu & gardé dans nos Eglises, comme étant institué par nôtre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, & ses Apostres ... la Compagnie des freres le supporte en charité, & est d'avis qu'il soit reçu en la paix & communion de l'Eglise, moienant que comme il l'a autrefois promis par écrit, il proteste encore maintenant de ratifier & signer de sa main lesdits Articles, & de vivre à l'avenir en paix, & s'assujettir à l'ordre de la Discipline établie dans les Eglises Reformées de ce Roiaume,

⁵¹ Aymon, Orléans 1562, Faits Particuliers article 7.

sans publier en aucune maniere sesdites opinions, soit de bouche ou par écrit, ni rien qui soit contraire à ladite Discipline, ou au Traité, qui pourroit être faire & mis en lumière dans la suite pour la confirmer. ...C'est pourquoi le Consistoire de l'Eglise, à laquelle il se voudra ranger, prendra connoissance & jugera si ledit Sieur *Moreli* satisfera à tout ce qu'on vient de lui ordonner, & pour le reconnoitre comme Membre de l'Eglise quand il aura bien accompli tout cela, & le recevoir dans la communion des fidèles, & en cas qu'il ne l'execute pas, proceder contre lui par des Censures Ecclesiastiques.⁵²

It was following this second condemnation that Chandieu would compose his refutation of Morély's work.

The *Confirmation* has a tone unlike any of Chandieu's other works. It has absolutely no preliminaries, but launches straight into its mission of identifying and refuting opponents of the *Discipline*. It is structured to mirror the work of Morély, divided into four parts of unequal length. Part one discusses the need for discipline in the church, the need being all the greater in times of trouble:

Et certes, veu que l'Eglise de Dieu est ordinairement agitee de beaucoup de troubles, si elle n'auoit sa discipline pour certaine conduite & adresse, il seroit impossible qu'elle ne fust incontinent abysmee en vne miserable condition. Voila porquoy Satan s'est efforcé de tout temps de corrompre ou du tout abolir ceste discipline, à fin que l'Eglise allant comme à l'abandon, s'esloignast incontinent du service de Dieu & de la pureté de sa doctrine.⁵³

According to Chandieu, there are four groups of people who disagree with this: those who want no discipline at all, those who prefer the Catholic tradition (dismissed as corrupt), those who join the ministry without being a legitimate calling, and finally those who reject the discipline as instituted by Christ and the Apostles. Chandieu uses the proprietorial term 'nostre Discipline', underlining the *Discipline*'s centrality to the French churches. Each 'Partie' is directed towards one of these groups in turn. This Chandieu does by the method he utilised throughout his theological treatises, stating the supposed objections of the opposing party, and then refuting their arguments point by point. The final section is directed to those who reject the *Discipline* as inherited from Christ and the Apostles and set out by the French churches.

⁵² Aymon, Paris 1565, Matieres Generales Art. I.

⁵³ *Confirmation*, A2v.

This is by far the longest section of the book, at over 160 pages, and its length corresponds to the gravity of Chandieu's task. It quickly establishes its primary adversaries, who at first glance appear to have similar ideas to the True church:

Ils louent la discipline de l'Eglise, & la jugent estre necessaire, à fin d'estre comme vne haye pour defendre & conseruer la pureté de la doctrine: mais ils veulent que ceste discipline soit telle comme ils la decriuent: & ne present pas qu'il soit possible d'auoir la discipline de l'Eglise, si nous n'auons celle qu'ils ont imaginee. Or leur opinion est fondee sur vn liure intitulé, De la discipline & police de l'Eglise, qui a esté publié depuis quatre ou cinq ans en ça. Et comme les choses nouuelles plaisent ordinairement, a recontré des gens qui l'aiment & approuuent, estimans qu'il continue la vraye & droicte forme de la discipline ecclesiastique. Cela doncques est bien louable en eux d'aimer la pureté de la discipline: mais nous desirions qu'ils se souuinssent du dire de Tertullian, Que le diable combat souuent la verité en faisant semblant de la defendre.⁵⁴

To oppose such people, Chandieu demonstrates how the *Discipline* was instituted by the churches coming together as opposed to the frenzied imaginings of men acting alone. By insisting on the collective nature of the framing, Chandieu seems to play down his own involvement, but this is in keeping with how he describes the events in the *Histoire*, and with how a Calvinist discipline should be developed. A brief résumé is given of its contents, and its biblical authority attested. Chandieu then addresses why leadership through the Consistory and not the people as a whole is correct, using evidence in order of its infallibility: the Bible, followed by the Acts of the Apostles, then the church fathers.

The next section addresses the necessity of doctrine being confirmed by the Consistory, again using primarily Biblical sources. At points this section becomes something of a minefield of Bible verses, but Chandieu's aim here is not beautiful prose, but something far more important. He warns the masses about the seductive qualities of false prophets, clearly indicating Morély. He rails against the notion that anyone might preach, instead reiterating it as an occupation for those legitimately called. At some periods in time more men are called to the ministry than others, but there are to be no indiscriminate appointments to please demand. This reaffirms the *Advertissement*: as

⁵⁴ *Confirmation*, E3r.

addressed earlier, there was always a demand for pastors, often addressed towards the Academy in Geneva. But clearly shortages could not outweigh suitability, and Chandieu again warns against admitting men who are not doctrinally sound. The claim that David, who was particularly admired by French Protestants, went to the people for advice in decision-making is dismissed as only being used for political questions as opposed to doctrinal issues.⁵⁵

The next question concerns who has the authority to bring judgement on any cases of scandal that touch the church. Chandieu believes this logically lies in the hands of those who lead the church:

Car puisque les Pasteurs ecclesiastiques sont administrateurs de la parole de Dieu, laquelle leur est commise (comme nous auons prouué par le precedent discours) il sensuit que selon ceste mesme parole ils doiuent reprendre les vices, & chasser les scandales, par lesquels icelle pourroit estre mesprisee entre les hommes. Et s'ils doiuent faire teste aux heretiques qui la falsifient par meschantes opinions, aussi doiuent-ils auoir l'œil sur ceux qui la souillent entant qu'en eux est, par leur vie desbordee.⁵⁶

He is especially clear on the necessity of excommunication being in the hands of the pastors and elders: not only is this given its own set of proofs, but the actual typeface is enlarged, drawing the reader's eye (K6r). Having proved his theses independently, he uses the second chapter to return to the arguments set forth in Morély's work and disprove them. This technique is used in later tracts too: the argument for Chandieu's case is demonstrated to be independently strong, in order that his refutation of contrary opinions is all the stronger.

In the final section, Chandieu tackles the question of the election and deposition of ministers. He launches straight into amassing evidence, with no separate introductory section. It is as if he is so infuriated with this layman criticising his hard work that the necessities of scene setting have been put aside, so that the job of disproving Morély can be undertaken straight away. Having dealt with this by his usual application of sources, Chandieu then uses a 'V. Partie' as a conclusion for the work. He restates that it is for

⁵⁵ *Confirmation*, H7v ff.

⁵⁶ *Confirmation*, K4r.

the consistory and the leaders of the church to decide these questions, not the multitude. He also includes a final synopsis of Morély's errors: he has not distinguished between the principles of the *Discipline* and that which might be adapted to circumstance (P5v), and he introduces a second council with no basis either in the word of God or in the practices of the Ancient church (P7r). Even more disparaging, he rejects Morély's ideas as not merely false and dangerous, but in fact impossible:

Car apres auoir renuoyé ce qu'ils disent, que le ioug de Iesus Christ est leger avec les autres passages qu'ils ont corrompus, nous disons que si on poise la multitude des affaires qui suruiennent à toutes heures, la grandeur & importance d'iceux, la difficulté de faire la conuocation populaire telle qu'il plaist à nos aduersaires, & le temps pour distribuer le peuple selon leur aduis, pour ouir la proposition du Ministre, l'auis du second conseil & de tout le peuple, la diuersité des opinions, les altercations & debats, & autres choses semblables considerees, il est du tout manifeste que l'Eglise ne pourroit aucunement porter l'incommodité d'une telle discipline.⁵⁷

Chandieu ends with two exhortations. The first is to the adversaries of the church, to listen to the word of God and to the excellent theologians of the time, because they themselves threaten to bring confusion into the church. It is at this point that Chandieu's emotional involvement in the situation shines through:

Que si ces choses ne les esmeuent, & qu'ils poursuyuent à combatre opiniastrement nostre discipline, comme nous ne nous lasserons iamais de maintenir par escrit vne si bonne & iuste cause, aussi n'auons nous pas deliberé ni entrepris d'imposer silence à ceux qui sçauent aussi peu se taire que bien parler.⁵⁸

To the faithful, he addresses a plea to be conscious of the benefits God has given them through the *Discipline*, and not to throw these away.

Chandieu repeatedly calls Morély and his supporters 'nos aduersaires'. In other works, he is ready to admit when he sees people as misguided or foolish, and treats them, somewhat condescendingly, as to be pitied. There is no such sentiment here: Morély brings danger to the church, and he must be dealt with to avoid further upset. This perhaps reflects badly on Chandieu, and certainly Denis and Rott conclude that part of

⁵⁷ *Confirmation*, P8r-v.

⁵⁸ *Confirmation*, Q3v.

the virulence of Chandieu's attack stemmed from his residual rancour over the Amboise affair. But what Morély proposed in his *Traicté* ran contrary to the provisions made in the *Discipline*. If a greater voice had been given to the congregation as a whole in affairs, there would have been a danger of fragmentation that, in the precarious political climate of the 1560s, might have crippled the churches for good. No matter how dangerous the synods were to arrange, or how protracted their debates over concepts such as marriage, they provided a form of unity that Morély's vision would have dissipated. The final pages demonstrate how far-reaching Chandieu feared Morély's system might extend, were it ever to be implemented. He feared for the survival of the church, challenged internally by division and externally by opposing forces who might exploit these divisions. For him, Morély really was an adversary, as his words give ammunition to those who actively worked to destroy the church. The debate continued for several years after the publication of *La Confirmation*, with the national synod of 1571 again forced to address the issue. Indeed, it was only the tragedy of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacres which brought an end to this particular dispute: Morély's main supporter, Ramus, was one of the more prominent victims, and in the years that followed, reconstruction was far a more pressing undertaking than ancient quarrels.

Denis and Rott state that according to Chandieu, the consistory was the driving force in Calvinist life, rather than a repressive aspect of communal living. This certainly is true theologically, but it might be more fair to consider the question in terms of stability. The works of this period are characterised by their dedication to finding some form of permanence, be it political recognition from the crown, resolution in the face of persecution or as here, unity in doctrinal conduct. The fact that the war had only achieved a very uneasy peace was noted by Chandieu in the *Histoire*, and having fought to establish Protestantism, he would take up his pen repeatedly to defend it. Morély represented a threat to stability and therefore needed to be dealt with. But as important as the theological technicalities are, it is equally clear that Chandieu put as much weight into constructing a Protestantism in which people themselves could live. It is here that the question of identity returns. The *Histoire* and the *Confirmation* demonstrate how consciously Chandieu constructed his religious world, so that people might read his

works and apply them to their own lives. The synod system might have been the practical application of the search for identity in the French churches, but it was in the poems and prose of Chandieu that the psychological quest was undertaken. As things stood, by the end of the 1560s Protestantism's early peak had passed and the stagnation of war meant that conscious reconstruction efforts would come to little. In the end, the events of the early 1570s were to prove far more decisive in determining how this identity would develop.

Chandieu's early prose works had one underlying aim, to preserve the church he had spent the 1550s and early 1560s building from the embers of the evangelical movement. The adoption of a synod structure had not marked the end of the Protestant struggle, rather it had presented the leadership with a new battle, that of eliminating dissension within the movement itself. They had by this point successfully steered their co-religionists through a war and the system looked strong enough to survive. But nothing was certain in these days of turmoil, and thus those who challenged this settlement, be they wandering preachers or known adversaries ready to exploit the printing press, could fully expect the weight of the system to be exerted against them. But negative criticism was not enough. To fully ensure the survival of the church, its members needed to be reassured they had followed the right course, and inspired to continue that course despite the obvious dangers. In this endeavour, Chandieu's *Histoire* and the other great martyrologies would come to play a defining part in the Protestant experience. Somewhat paradoxically, the larger effect of this was to push Chandieu and his colleagues back towards Geneva, when such efforts had been made to establish their independence. That the French Protestant leaders managed to avoid fragmentation is all the more admirable, as Chandieu and his colleagues had to devote their not-inconsiderable talents to answering criticism levelled at them by Catholic opponents. In this, no genre would be left unexploited, and Chandieu would prove to be as adept at writing polemical verse as explaining doctrine.

Chapter Five: ‘les armes d’encre et de papier sont faciles à trouver’ – Chandieu, Ronsard and Poetry as Polemic.

In the years between the outbreak of the first war and the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, Chandieu devoted an enormous amount of energy to church building. Much of this involved work of a very practical nature, journeying from place to place, supporting Protestants as they strove to establish congregations and then defend them against attacks. Another important aspect of this work, as seen in the last chapter, was articulating a vision of a united church community. This involved defending the concept of church order against those like Morély who proposed alternative and, to Chandieu, irresponsible models of church organisation. It also involved steeling members of the community to uphold their faith in increasingly difficult times. Here the examples of the Christian martyrs played an exemplary role. But not all of Chandieu’s efforts were directed inwards, intended for fellow church members or dissident Protestants. He also played his part in defending the church against the leaders of the old faith. These writings in defence of the faith were an important part of his oeuvre from the first days of the conflict and the two themes continued to run in parallel throughout the rest of his career.

In this endeavour, Chandieu placed the full array of his talents at the church’s disposal. He wrote with the authority of a theologian, as an experienced statesman of the church and as a gifted writer of both poetry and prose. It is his poetical works that will form the subject of this chapter and the next. In considerations of the polemical conflicts of the Reformation era, works in verse have received little attention. Such comment as there has been has focused primarily on satire, witty, often scatological abuse directed towards opponents of the faith. These works have seldom impressed critics for their merits in terms of poetical style or sophistication. But the first years of the religious war saw a poetical polemical exchange that engaged some of the finest writers then active in French. On the Catholic side, Pierre de Ronsard, the ‘Prince des poètes’, was persuaded to lend his pen to defend both royal policy and the Catholic faith. The importance of Ronsard’s intervention was widely appreciated and inspired a Protestant counter attack of

considerable weight and not inconsiderable poetical skill. Chandieu played a leading role in this poetical exchange and in the process established himself as one of the leading verse writers of French Calvinism.

Poetry had already been used as a tool of debate and public manifesto before the outbreak of war in 1562. Competitive poetry had been an element of French culture from the middle ages: northern French towns including Amiens, Abbeville, Dieppe and Rouen had assimilated the Flemish tradition of holding annual poetry competitions. In these *Puy de Palinodes*, the standard format saw the leader give the contestant a line from which they had to construct a work. They attracted a high level of competitor: poets from the late fifteenth century *Grand Rhétoriciens* who competed included André de La Vigne and Jean Marot, who in 1521 competed in the same *Puy* as his son Clément.¹ Although the tradition died out for poetry, it continued in the musical arena. Using poetry for debating purposes was not unknown either: perhaps the most celebrated poetical debate was that of 1536, when Renée de France presided over the *Concours de Blasons* in Ferrara, attended by such luminaries as Clément Marot, Maurice Scève and Jacques Peletier du Mans.²

Originally, poetry was not used to discuss profound matters. This arose later, as Protestantism found more converts amongst the educated literati: they felt it immoral to use verse to celebrate such worldly concepts as love and beauty. Instead, verse should be used to praise God, as King David had done. It was in this context that the psalm translations of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze became so important: de Bèze especially felt guilty for having indulged in ‘scandalous’ verse as a youth, and used the preface to his 1550 tragedy *Abraham Sacrifiant* to criticize such affectations.³ Poetry

¹ Frank Lestringant, Josiane Rieu, and Alexandre Tarrête, *Littérature française du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 2000), p. 44.

² All the attributes admired turned out to be physical. Lestringant, Rieu, Tarrête, *Littérature française*, p. 70 ff.

³ ‘Car je confesse que de mon naturel j’ay tousjours pris plaisir à la poësie, et ne m’en puis encores repentir: mais bien ay-je regret d’avoir employé ce peu de grace que Dieu m’a donné en cest endroit, en choses desquelles la seule souvenance me fait maintenant rougir. Je me suis doncques addonné à telles matieres plus saintes, esperant de continuer cy apres: mesmement en la translation des Pseaumes, que j’ay maintenant en main.’ Théodore de Bèze, *Abraham Sacrifiant*, Keith Cameron, Kathleen M. Hall & Francis Higman (eds.) (Geneva, 1967), p. 46-7.

was a personally expressive form in an era when the majority of writing concerned itself with the ‘universal truths’ of religion, mathematics, law and sciences. It provided a function similar to that of the modern novel: it allowed the writer to express sentiment, opinion and feeling in a stylized, constructed universe, removed from the immediate reality of the edict or the pamphlet. Poetry allowed a kind of uninhibited emotional honesty not immediately visible in other forms of sixteenth-century writing. Ultimately, the seriousness of the work depended on the profundity of its subject matter and the poet’s attitude. In this particular exchange, the subjects addressed were the most profound: faith and loyalty to one’s God and one’s country. Here we see a fusion of two intellectual advances of the period: an increasing conception of national identity concurrent with a shift in poetic technique that allowed deeper exploration of ideological themes.⁴ Poetry would be put to use by leaders during the wars because it helped them bring their manifestos to a wider audience. Using a well-known name like Ronsard ensured that Catholic intellectuals would be brought into the debate, and preferably swayed by the eloquent renditions of the poet. Protestant replies not only attempted to answer Ronsard’s style, with much success, but also felt no qualms about engaging the more scurrilous types of verse, that which might be heard in the street, repeated and memorised.

The Outbreak of War: Condé at Orléans, and the Gibier tracts

Part of Condé’s offensive launched from Orléans centred on the mass-production of short political tracts, from the presses of Eloi Gibier. Condé was aware of the potential of public relations, and set out his position in successive pamphlets. Gibier produced multiple editions of a series of standard works, with titles such as *Declaration faicte par Monsieur le Prince de Condé*; *Traicté d'Association faicte par Monseigneur le Prince de Condé*; *Lettre de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé enuoyée à la Cour de Parlement de Paris*; *Sommaire Declaration et confession de foy, faicte par Monseigneur le Prince de Condé*, and *Discours sur la Liberte ou Captivite du Roy*. The work of J.-F. Gilmont and the St Andrews French Vernacular Book Project demonstrates the complexity of these

⁴ On being French, see Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Early Modern France* (Berkeley, 1991) and Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology. Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981).

editions.⁵ The surviving copies, which stand at about 260 exemplars of over 50 editions of 20 titles, show how lucrative a market there was for pamphlets of this nature: small differences in title page layout, typographical ornaments and signature markings, even in works that might only have one gathering, suggest a quick turnover of multiple editions of each work. Pettegree has identified this episode as exemplary of a print-age phenomenon he has termed a ‘pamphlet moment’, when the accepted mechanics of book-production and more importantly book purchasing were turned on their heads by widespread public interest that led to purchasers with large incomes buying a range of pamphlets on a particular topic.⁶

In the case of the Condéan tracts, the various pamphlets would be kept in baskets in the printer’s shop, so that a purchaser could compose the compendium he particularly wanted before the works were bound together. The addition of newer print runs to an existing basket of a title explains the variety that is seen in the collections examined today, as well as the inclusion and exclusion of particular works. Gibier produced these pamphlets at a steady rate, supplying demand for information about Condé and his intentions. In the works themselves, Condé and his cause are presented as being totally just and in defence of the King. There is a careful representation of Guise’s haughty behaviour at Vassy and in Paris as being the actions of a potential usurper. The King and the Queen Mother having been forced into quasi-captivity, Condé’s duty is to restore them and the kingdom to liberty.⁷

In amongst these serious political manifestos is sometimes bound a work by Chandieu: the *Response aux Calomnies contenues au Discours et Suyte du discours sur les misères de ce temps*. This is not one of the core texts of this series: indeed, in

⁵ J.-F. Gilmont, ‘La première diffusion des «Mémoires de Condé» par Eloi Gibier en 1562-1563’ in Pierre Aquilon, Henri-Jean Martin and François Dupuigrenet Desrousilles, *Le livre dans l’Europe de la Renaissance : actes du XXVIII^e Colloque international d’études humanistes de Tours* (Paris, 1988), pp. 58-70. See also Louis Desgraves, *Elie Gibier imprimeur à Orléans (1536-1588)* (Geneva, 1966).

⁶ The other ‘pamphlet moments’ Pettegree identifies are the period of *flugshrift* production in Germany in the 1520s and the three-sided confrontation in French Politics between Catholics, Protestants and *Politiques* in France in the late 1580s and 1590s. Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, chapters 6-7, especially. pp. 161 ff.

⁷ David Potter (ed.), *The French Wars of Religion: Selected Documents* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 73-6.

Gilmont's original investigation, it appeared in only 10 of the 25 examined collections, in one of two editions. It is noticeable as a verse work bound amongst political prose, but this is not its only distinguishing feature. This poem was not an isolated composition, in fact it was part of the ongoing debate between Ronsard and his Protestant critics that stretched over the first religious war. It reveals a polemical battle that has so far been examined primarily by literature specialists. The work's inclusion with the Condéan tracts suggests these poems had as much political resonance as the more traditionally accepted prose outputs. They bridge the divide between literature and politics that is sometimes neglected by modern surveys, with their poetic structure deterring closer consideration of the actual ideas they express. Polemical poetry engaged fully with the opinions of both sides in the unfolding civil war. This alternative medium came to be used to express complex ideas in sophisticated forms, and as such reached a different audience than traditional prose pamphlets.

The intended audience was those with the time and inclination to keep up with politics. This was not the same market for long political discourses based on rhetoric and knowledge of classical authors, or incendiary pamphlets designed to spur on those already enraged by the situation. But did these factual treatises, in pamphlet or book form, touch the wider population, those unable to read or far from the communicative centres in towns? The letter of the law, expressed in edicts, filtered through to the majority of town populations from general discussion, and from there out into the countryside, where it was reinforced by news from the pulpit. Our knowledge of how these poetical works were received comes from the poets themselves, as they copy each other's expressions and comment on their opponents' success or lack thereof.

Ronsard: 'Prince des poètes' and royal mouthpiece

The poems of Ronsard and his Protestant critics provided an alternative commentary on events.⁸ Pierre de Ronsard was the dominant figure in vernacular French

⁸ Specific works on this cycle of poems include F. Charbonnier, *Pamphlets Protestants contre Ronsard 1560-1577* (Paris, 1923); Jacques Pineaux, *La poésie protestante de langue française (1559-1598)* (s.l., 1971) and 'Transformations Protestantes d'un thème Ronsardien: La Naissance d'Opinion, Fille de Jupiter et de Présomption', C.A.I.E.F. 10 (1958), pp. 30-43; Jean-Paul Barbier, *Bibliographie des discours*

poetry on the eve of the religious wars. Although poetry had flourished in medieval France, heightened awareness of vocabulary and style galvanised by the diffusion of works through print had stimulated a reconsideration of both the French language and the uses to which it could be put. From the *Grand Rhétoriqueurs* of the late fifteenth century through the evangelical works of Marot, the court poets had been at the forefront of this movement. They had glorified the potential of the French language and its adaptability to different subject matters and styles as had been embraced in Italy. But the succeeding generation, a group of fluctuating membership based on common acquaintances in Paris known as the *Pléiade*, took a contrasting approach. United around the central figures of Joachim du Bellay and Ronsard, they promoted a self-reliant French poetical tradition, with its own native language and style. There was no need to look outside the French world for poetic validation, its value was already beyond question. This manifesto was exemplified in the treatise by du Bellay and in the multiple editions of the various members' works.⁹

None became so celebrated as Ronsard. Born in 1524, the young Pierre had grown up as a page at the court of the duc d'Orléans and travelled on various diplomatic missions. His education had been patchy, with short bursts of study at places like the Collège de Navarre or with tutors. It was not until he became a student of Jean Dorat at the Collège de Coqueret in the late 1540s that his interest in the classics was sparked. He rose through judicious relations with important patrons over the next decade, namely the two cardinals, Odet de Châtillon and Charles de Lorraine. But the Guise family was not

politiques de Ronsard (Geneva, Droz, 1984); Fernand Desonay 'Ronsard poète engagé', *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Langue et Littérature Françaises* XLIV (1966), pp. 29-46; Yvonne Bellenger 'A propos des "Discours" de Ronsard: y a-t-il un genre de discours en vers?' in G. Demerson (ed.), *La notion de genre à la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1984), pp. 195-241; Francis Higman, 'Ronsard's political and polemical poetry' in Terence Cave (ed.), *Ronsard the Poet* (London, 1973), pp. 241-286; A Micha, 'Sur l'Allegorie de la France dans la *Continuation du Discours des Misères de ce Temps*', *BHR* 20 (1958), pp. 578-9; Edwin M. Duval, 'The Place of the Present: Ronsard, Aubigné, and the "Misères de ce Temps"', *Yale French Studies* 80 (1991), pp. 13-29 and the series of articles by Malcolm Smith, 'A "lost" protestant pamphlet against Ronsard', *BHR* 37 (1975), pp. 73-86; 'A Reformer's reply to Ronsard's *Discours à la Royne*', *BHR* 48 (1986), pp. 421-430; 'An early edition of a *Discours* by Ronsard', in M. Smith, *Renaissance Studies Articles 1966 – 1994* (Geneva, 1999), pp. 1-9, and 'Ronsard et ses critiques contemporains', in Smith in *ibid.*, pp. 219-226.

⁹ Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et illustration de la Langue Française* (1549) ed. Henri Chamard (Paris, 1970). Other treatises on the potential of the French language were written by Thomas Sébillet and Ronsard, and have been published with other similar works in a modern edition, François Goyet (ed.), *Traité de poétique et de rhétorique de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1990).

proving so lucrative in the early 1560s, and so Ronsard's pen found its way to a mightier, if more precarious, patron: the crown.

Ronsard's fame was based primarily on his love poetry, the *Odes*, *Chansons* and *Sonnets*, written in the late 1540s and early 1550s. Coming into the service of the King, he found himself no longer merely expected to impress, but to actively promote royal policy: he was to all intents and purposes a hired pen.¹⁰ So in 1560, he was expected to promote the values of the monarchy, which at this time were bound up in Catherine de Médicis' quest for peace. The Valois had long been accustomed to employing the arts in their favour as symbolic tools: music, architecture, art and poetry could all be manipulated to increase the stature of the sixteenth century monarch. Engaging Ronsard at the height of his fame and powers was a logical step.

The *Discours des Misères* and its replies

To read the poems by Ronsard and Chandieu today is to visit a debate that, although very personal in tone and comment, is about concerns much more vast than an individual's personality. They encapsulate tensions within Protestant identity, not their religious faith so much as their national loyalty. As soon as Ronsard mentioned the contemporary religious situation in his work, opponents were bound to focus their replies, direct or indirect, towards him. With over twenty compositions, varying between a few lines and many hundred, the debate went on too long to be discussed in full here. Chandieu only participated in the early sections, which were carefully planned and written expressly to bolster Protestant fortunes. Later Protestant authors' lengthy contributions tended more towards basic name-calling and personal attacks. Ronsard's contributions, as shall be seen, stopped abruptly due to crown intervention, but this was not the final fate for the poems themselves. Instead, his cycle came to be included in his collected works, in a self-contained section known as the *Discours des Misères*, the name by which the collection is still known today.

¹⁰ See Pierre Champion, *Ronsard et son temps* (Paris, 1925) 'Chapter V: Cafards et Prédicants' pp. 137-195 for the classic account of this period in Ronsard's career. Also Henri Chamard, *Histoire de la Pléiade* Tome II (Paris, 1939) and Marcel Raymond, *L'influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française* (Geneva, 1965).

Ronsard: *Discours à Louys des Masures* (December 1560)

Ronsard's first polemical work was addressed to his Protestant friend Louis des Masures in 1560. It was first published in Tome III of Ronsard's *Oeuvres* in 1560, and was included with the *Discours* from 1567.¹¹ Relatively short at 136 lines, the work explores the co-existence of tastes between friends, hinting at the workability of religious co-existence. Ronsard has no power to force people to read his verse, and thus they should not criticise his subject matter. Ronsard explicitly refers to those who have criticised him for his concentration on love poetry:

Je m'estonne de ceulx de la nouvelle foy
 Qui pour me hault louer disent tousjours de moy,
 Sy Ronsard ne cachoit son talent dedans terre,
 Ou parlant de l'amour, ou parlant de la guerre,
 Et qu'il voulust du tout chanter de Jesuchrist,
 Il seroit tout parfaict, car il a bon esprit,
 Mais Sathan l'a seduict, le pere des mensonges,
 Que ne luy faict chanter que fables et que songes.¹² (ll. 35-42)

'Ceulx de la nouvelle foy' have criticised him for not employing his God-given talent for suitable works. This, they say, is evidence of his being seduced by Satan. He states his conscience is clear before God. He rather pities the Protestants: he calls them the 'pauvres abusez' and maintains they have been tricked. They are more misguided than fundamentally evil. Contrastingly, he celebrates the dedication of the House of Lorraine to eradicating heresy. The work ends with a striking image: that of the ghost of the recently deceased du Bellay telling him to obey his prince, stay true to his country and his calling, and to recognise that whilst earthly life is inconstant, God is unchangeable. His hopes for the French are stated:

Crains Dieu sur toute chose, et jour et nuict medite
 En la loy que son filz nous a laissé escripte.
 Ton esperance apres, et de corps et d'esprit,
 Soit fermement fichée au sauveur Jesuchrist.

¹¹ Louis des Masures (1515? – 1574) was originally from Tournai, and like Ronsard had been in the service of the house of Lorraine, until forced into exile by Henri II in 1547. Converting to Protestantism, he returned to France until 1562, when religious persecution forced him into exile once more. He did not participate in the debate with Ronsard, and remained on good terms with him.

¹² 'Elegie à Louis des Masures' and other citations from Ronsard taken from Ronsard, *Discours des misères de ce temps* (ed. Malcolm Smith) (Geneva, 1979).

Obeis à ton Prince, et au bras de Justice.
 Et fais à tes amis et plaisir et service.
 Contente toy du tien, et ne sois desireux
 De biens ny de faveurs, et tu seras heureux. (ll. 93-100)

This is a France ordered along social and religious lines, where Heresy is fought and Order maintained. The poem is not overtly anti-Protestant. It celebrates the recently deceased du Bellay, but more, it is a call for Frenchmen to obey their monarch and remain true to the established order. Mention of Protestantism is almost tangential. The Protestant critics Ronsard mentions are to be pitied, because they have misunderstood the role of the poet in society – to entertain, not to catechise – and because they themselves are in error. The tone is rather condescending, from Ronsard's lofty position as premier wordsmith of the French language, but not vitriolic.

Ronsard: *Elegie à Guillaume des Autels* (December 1560)

This poem addresses similar issues more frankly. Written after the Conspiracy of Amboise,¹³ Ronsard is surprised that the crown has not employed all the methods at its disposal to combat the growing uneasiness in the realm. After all, the King only needs to speak to enforce his will. Words themselves are key to this combat: Ronsard states it is necessary to fight disorder with books, because it is books that are causing the disorder: 'Il faut en disputant par livres le confondre, Par livres l'assaillir, par livres luy respondre' (ll. 21-22). No one is physically defending the kingdom, and only a few men – himself, des Autels and Lancelot de Carle – have used their writing to do so. Ronsard worries that unless things change, the rebels (of Amboise) might succeed. Although he refers to his opponents initially merely as 'l'ennemy' (line 19), this is clearly directed at Protestants: apart from the book reference, there is criticism of 'des sectes etrangeres' encouraging men away from the faith of their fathers (lines 52-4). Emphasis is put on the disorder arising from ignoring tradition in religion, as in following Luther. Ronsard criticises contemporary Catholicism for abuses and excessive riches, but he is disturbed that no one is defending its main principles, whilst Protestantism's heresies are supported by many books. This is presented as being a specifically French problem. It is French society and French families that are being torn apart, and it has reached such a stage that even foreign

¹³ Its alternative title is *Elegie sur les Troubles d'Amboise*.

states feel sorry for the French nation. This is the disorder that has been predicted by Nostradamus (ll. 176 ff), including the death of Henri II (l. 195). The threat cannot be alleviated by all the conscientious piety of the present King's ancestors (ll. 199-210), but there remains some hope, in the form of families committed to preserving Catholic order, namely the Guise. The work ends with a rallying call against mutinous subjects.

This poem illustrates the confusion felt in the months after Amboise. Although the main focus is on civil unrest and the disorder that will be caused in France, it is stated explicitly that this is due to the influence of foreign sects, by which Ronsard refers to followers of the Reformers: he names Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Bucer, Luther and Calvin as those who are damaging the church. Clearly, without religious peace, temporal peace will not be possible. Still, the tone is conciliatory to French Protestants: they have been tricked by foreigners, rather than being responsible themselves. With enough dedication, following the example of families like the Guise, France's future can be saved.¹⁴

Ronsard: *Institution pour l'adolescence du Roy treschrestien Charles IX* (1562)

Ronsard followed these with two pieces written for the crown. The first, the *Institution pour l'adolescence du Roy treschrestien Charles IX* examined the qualities needed to be a good ruler. It appeared individually in 1562, 1563 & 1564, and was included with the *Discours* from 1567. It is often considered alongside the *Discours des Misères de ce Temps a la Royne mere du Roy*, as both focus specifically on the contemporary political situation, whilst maintaining a moderate tone. Ronsard used this work to promote reason, not repression. He starts by stressing the core of a king's virtue, his protection of his people. The warrior Achilles is cited in comparison, a child who was brought up in a manner that would ensure his proper preparation for the life that he was

¹⁴ François, duc de Guise, was the focus for much Catholic hope, and eulogising after his assassination. Ronsard seems to have engaged in joint composition with one of Guise's foremost promoters, Lancelot de Carle, after the Colloquy of Poissy. Carle, bishop of Riez, promoted Ronsard's work at court in the 1550s. The two men, along with de Baïf, collaborated on a now lost work entitled *Chanson contre les Docteurs et Ministres assemblées à Poissy* (1561). Ronsard implied in the *Élégie à Guillaume des Autels* that Carle was writing many works against sedition (sedition being more apt a term at this stage than heresy), but these have proved elusive to later scholars.

to lead. But a king needs more than Achilles' brute strength. He needs to be cultured and just, unlike Achilles proved to be. Charles has things on this side to help him:

Il faut premierement apprendre à craindre Dieu
Dont vous estes l'ymage : et porter au milieu
De vostre cueur son nom, et sa sainte parolle,
Comme le seul secours dont l'homme se consolle. (ll. 59-62)

Here Ronsard is invoking the already traditional image of the French Monarch as the Most Christian King. Colette Beaune has demonstrated how the institutions of the French Crown and consequently French national identity developed around certain themes, one of which was the identification of the monarchy with Christianity.¹⁵ As this was a concept developed in the middle ages, during the period of territorial aggrandisement that brought the kernel of the French state into being, it obviously predated any ideas of alternate forms of Christianity. And however worried Catholics were about increasing awareness of Protestantism as a court 'fashion' in the early 1560s, no one has ever seriously contended that Charles IX might have converted to Protestantism. The French Crown continued to be, as under François I and Henri II, resolutely Catholic. Rather, this is recognition of the role of the King in providing spiritual guidance to his people, part of his role as God's representative on earth.

Government is founded on the idea of religious peace:

Après il fault tenir la loy de vos ayeulx,
Qui furent Roys en terre en sont là hault aux cieulx,
Et garder que le peuple imprime en sa cervelle
Les curieux discours d'une secte nouvelle. (ll.67-70)

Ronsard carefully juxtaposes Protestantism with tradition, the King following in the footsteps of his ancestors. Later he links François I (l. 148) with Charlemagne and Charles Martel (l. 152). Clearly, continuity is being promoted as a positive virtue, and Protestantism is new and radical. Yet Ronsard refers to it as 'curieux', the people being at risk from it as they might be from a disease, that enters the brain like a fever and takes over. This sounds more concerned than disdainful. Protestantism can be avoided through careful government. The poem lists the qualities expected in a good prince: not

¹⁵ Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*

humouring flatterers, being aware of the fickle nature of fortune, avoiding tyranny, and so forth. The king is the captain of the ship that is his kingdom:

Si un pilote faut, tant soit peu, sur la mer,
 Il fera desoubs l'eau la navire abismer:
 Aussi faillant un Roy tant soit peu, la province
 Se perd, car volontiers le peuple suit son Prince. (ll. 107-110)

This is of course a warning that the king's actions now will have the utmost impact on the future of his subjects and his kingdom. The work ends with another call to obey the rule of God, without whom nothing will be possible: 'Car sans l'ayde de Dieu la force est inutile' (l. 186). This last line is a neat way of closing off Charles' divine mission without further discussion: there is no hint that God's plan might be for a different future than that of a Catholic Valois monarch.

Ronsard: *Discours des misères de ce temps* (1562)

Ronsard's next work is usually called the *Discours des misères de ce temps*, from where the overall collection takes its name. Addressed to Catherine de Médicis, after the massacre of Vassy and as the opposing sides geared up for war, it looks at the history of France. Opening with the observation that vice and virtue have always been in competition in the world, Ronsard compliments Catherine's knowledge of French history, and reassures himself that she will instruct her young monarch son well, harking back to his equally insistent confidence in her abilities in the previous work. The most important aspect of this is maintaining one true faith. Again he sees France as a ship: this time caught in a storm of 'vens seditieux' (line 46), he trusts Catherine to take control of the steering and bring the ship safely to harbour. This metaphor of the uncontrollable wind able to drive a country from its way, part of the general instability of nature, was a recurrent theme in the poetry of the era.

The word 'seditious' recognises the view that Protestants committed treason by maintaining their beliefs, even before the concept of armed resistance as at Amboise became known. Having already taken this step once, and now with Condé arming up in Orléans, Protestant loyalty is in question. The tone of this poem, as opposed to paternalistic advice steeped in age-old tradition, is one of fear as to what might be about

to unfold. Ronsard portrays France begging Catherine to bring peace, or else face the mockery of foreign princes. He recalls the monarchs and great soldiers who shaped the country: no one has taken the French by force of arms, but rather evil has crept in unseen. The year 1562 has been long foreseen as holding danger for the French nation and foolishly this was ignored (ll. 95-106). Natural disasters have heralded the truth (ll. 107-114) and now historians must record what happens to teach future generations how to avoid such misery. This comes in the form of the ladies Presumption and her daughter Opinion, nursed by Pride. This horrific offspring, seemingly harmless but ultimately treacherous, has entered France through theological discussions. It has brought foreign ideas (l. 155 ff.) and sets father against son, destroying social order. In a striking passage, Ronsard describes artisans leaving their shops and ministers abandoning their flocks, lawyers their cases, sailors their ships, merchants the fairs. Scholars abandon their studies and labourers take up arms (ll. 167-178). But there is hope, in Catherine, who can lead the country to safety, and Ronsard ends his tale of woe by invoking God's aid for Catherine in France's time of need, and praying He will destroy the mutineers.

This work illuminates Ronsard's belief in the social negligence of those intrigued by the new religion. It is interesting that lawyers, students, artisans and merchants are mentioned: these are the professions traditionally associated with religious reform, and this tends to suggest this interpretation was shared at the time.¹⁶ However, Ronsard is not utterly despairing: the Protestants have been tricked by foreign thought, and although the country is in danger, there is still a sense of condescension towards these poor misguided souls rather than of outright disgust.

The first Protestant replies (1562)

The first pieces written by Protestants in opposition to Ronsard are short, sharp and to the point. They are anonymous, snide and catty and without the intellectual development of the later debate. They are found in the collections of the Protestant surgeon Rasse des Noeux, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which contain many items

¹⁶ On the social composition of French Calvinism, see Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford and New York, 1987), p. 46 ff.

not found elsewhere.¹⁷ It is likely he found them circulating the streets in manuscript. They attack Ronsard's religious beliefs:

... Mais nous ne sçavons pas ou ne que tu pensois
 Lorsque devins Curé et que chantas la Messe.
 L'avarice ne doit un Poete enchanter
 La Messe on ne veid onc aux neuf Muses chanter:
 Ton oppinion n'est encor de tous blasmée.
 On pense qu'à la Messe (ouvrage d'ignorans)
 Tu feras plus d'honneur que non tous ses parens
 En faisant de sa prose une farce rimée.¹⁸

and Catholicism in general: 'Des lors tu presageoys que tu dyrois la messe, Prestre de l'Ante-Christ que Satan mene en lesse.'¹⁹ They discuss Ronsard's clerical status, the topic of much debate amongst Protestants.²⁰ One which appeared after the battle of Dreux even blames Ronsard for the outbreak of hostilities.²¹

More sophisticated rejoinders were not long in surfacing. The earliest identified is the *Contrediscours des misères*, attributed by Malcolm Smith to Florent Chrestien.²² This work seems to have eluded Ronsard, who never replied or referred to it. It is 330 lines in length, and discusses the nature of Man in relation to God and Evil, promoting a Calvinist doctrine of Election. It also criticises French policy: the state has fallen into disorder, and the people being crushed by it, the little people, are those who are closest to God. The image of powerlessness is enhanced by that of a swimmer going against the tide whose failure to keep swimming sees him swept away by the current. It also copies Ronsard by reviewing French history. Pharamond, Clovis, the Martels, and the Louis are all recalled. They fought against Roman occupation, but now these ancestors are forced to watch the destruction of their dear country (ll. 85-119). Catherine de Médici and her foreign councillors come under fire, whilst the Châtillon brothers are praised for warning

¹⁷ On the richness of the Rasse des Noeux collection, see Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'François Rasse des Neux et ses tombeaux poétiques' in Jean-Eudes Girot (Ed.), *Le Poète et son oeuvre: De la composition à la publication* (Geneva, 2004), pp. 37-46.

¹⁸ Pineaux, *Polémique Protestant*, p. 515.

¹⁹ Pineaux, *Polémique Protestant*, p. 516.

²⁰ The beneficiary of several ecclesiastical benefits, Ronsard's reluctance to give up a steady source of income was something of a red rag to many Protestant commentators.

²¹ Pineaux, *Polémique Protestant*, p. 518.

²² Smith, 'Reformer's Reply'.

the people about the dangers of France's situation. The failure of the French to listen is compared to the actions of the leaders of Gomorrah. The current happenings in France are summarised in a powerful passage, where children are killed by their fathers and wives are unfaithful in their husbands' beds, peasants are biased judges, where Justice is run out of town and instead the country is ruled by licentiousness, whilst God waits for its repentance (ll. 265 – 290).

Ronsard: *Continuation du Discours* (1562)

When Ronsard took up his pen again, it was almost where he had left off before. He made no reference to any detractors: there is no proof he was aware of the poems, but they might well have reached his ear at court.²³ He did not take criticism well, especially when it touched upon his motivation and his art, and when it found its target, his subsequent work demonstrated his reaction.

Ronsard's next work was the *Continuation du Discours*. Although nominally a continuation of his earlier work, this second section was not only much longer, but much more combative. Literary specialists today often couple it with the *Remonstrance*, with the *Institution* and *Discours* forming an earlier pair. It was probably written before the battle of Dreux, when Condé was still free. The climate of the court had changed greatly: it had been fashionable to listen to Protestant sermons. Not only was this no longer allowed, but no prayers were to be said in the vernacular at all. In essence, those patrons of Ronsard – the Guise and the crown – that had previously been divided, were now working in concert, and Ronsard was able, if not actively encouraged, to reiterate this in his work. Certainly, Ronsard's criticism of events is much less placid, less emphasis is put on peace and more on the errors of those held responsible for the discord. Although the crown was still trying to achieve peace, Ronsard's words are hardly placatory.

²³ For Ronsard's later reactions to Protestant criticism, see his 'Response aux Injures', and Smith, 'A 'lost' Protestant pamphlet'.

The *Continuation* is 448 lines long. It opens lamenting the condition of France: events should be recorded for posterity, so the pain caused is remembered (ll. 1-8). The Protestants are to blame, and they think God is the one leading them:

Mais ces nouveaux Tyrans qui la France ont pillée,
Vollée, assassinée, à force despouillée,
Et de cent mille coups le corps luy ont batu,
(Comme si brigandage estoit une vertu)
Vivent sans chastiment, et à les oüyr dire,
C'est Dieu qui les conduist, et ne s'en font que rire.²⁴ (ll. 23-8)

To this point, Ronsard has always described Protestants as being misguided and has felt somewhat sorry for them. Now he is openly critical of their religious doctrine, and goes on to portray them as insane, not just misguided. They are described as 'fol', 'superbe' and 'fier' (l. 29). Their conviction in their salvation is challenged:

Les pauvres incensez, qui ne cognoissent pas
Que Dieu, pere commun des hommes d'icy bas,
Veult sauver un chacun, et que la grand' closture
Du grand Paradis s'ouvre à toute creature
Qui croit en Jesuschrist! certes beaucoup de lieux,
Et de sieges seroyent sans ames dans les cieux,
Et Paradis seroit une plaine deserte,
Si pour eux seulement la porte estoit ouverte.²⁵ (ll. 33-40)

He criticises their behaviour, carrying arms and storming towns, hardly compatible with their self-image as the True Children of God. He compares their actions to those of Christ, St Paul and the early Christian Martyrs (ll. 45-60). He finds them closer to earlier heretics, the Cathars and the Arians who brought unrest to Christendom and more recently Zwingli, who died in battle:

Voulés vous ressembler à ces fols Albigeois
Qui planterent leur secte avecque le harnois?
Ou à ces Arriens qui par leur frenaisie
Firent perdre aux chrestiens les villes de l'Asie?
Ou à Zvingle qui fut en guerre desconfit?
Ou à ceux que le Duc de Lorreine desfit?²⁶ (ll. 61-66)

²⁴ 'Continuation du Discours des Misères de ce Temps' in Ronsard, pp. 81-2.

²⁵ Ronsard, p. 82.

²⁶ Ronsard, p. 83.

Biblical metaphor is used to chastise them, comparing the disorder they bring to the plagues of the Old Testament, an extended metaphor equating them with locusts and snakes. Interestingly at this point, Ronsard calls on de Bèze. This presumably is due to de Bèze's literary past, which had seen him engage in secular poetry before his dedication to the Word.²⁷ Referring to Greek myth and the story of Cadmus founding Thebes by slaying a dragon and planting its teeth, from which sprang up warriors who fought each other, Ronsard goes on to remind de Bèze this is his native land, not a barbarian territory, and he owes it more loyalty (ll. 99-126). A striking image of de Bèze's 'duty' involves the Huguenot forces throwing their weapons in Lake Geneva, and de Bèze returning to Lausanne to read the Greek myths. Ronsard uses this motif of Greek mythology to speak to de Bèze in his role as a teacher, reiterating his influence over the Protestant forces. In fact, de Bèze is portrayed as being 'ainsi qu'un Dieu' in the minds of the 'vulgaire ignorant' who follow him (ll. 133-4). There then follows an extended episode invented by Ronsard, where the preacher de Bèze is seen to be carrying arms, and Ronsard is criticised by two elders as an atheist. Ronsard replies he is not an atheist, but believes in the religion of his ancestors and does not trouble the laws of his native country. The Protestants are in a fever of delusion and furthermore have no agreement between themselves as to what is true doctrine. Calvin is criticised for staying safe in Geneva, whilst sending deluded followers to die:

Que vit tant à Geneve un Calvin desja vieux?
 Qu'il ne se fait en France un martyr glorieux,
 Souffrant pour sa parole? Ô âmes peu hardies!
 Vous ressemblés à ceux qui font les tragedies,
 Lesquels sans les joüer demeurent tous creintifs,
 Et en donnant la charge aux nouveaux aprantis,
 Pour n'estre point moqués ni siflés, si l'yssue
 De la fable n'est pas du peuple bien receue.
 Le peuple qui vous suit est tout empoisonné,
 Il a tant le cerveau des sectes estonné,
 Que toute la rubarbe et toute l'anticyre
 Ne lui sçaueroient garir sa fiebvre qui empire:
 Car tant s'en faut hélas, qu'on la puisse garir,
 Que son mal le contente, et luy plaist d'en mourir.²⁸ (ll. 201-214).

²⁷ See footnote 4.

²⁸ Ronsard, pp. 86-7.

Another extended metaphor introduces the personification of France. She is weak, ill and bereft of majesty. When asked the reason, she blames Geneva and the invasions from there:

Une ville est assise és champs Savoyiens,
 Qui par fraude a chassé ses seigneurs anciens,
 Miserable sejour de toute apostasie,
 D'opiniastreté, d'orgueil, et d'heresie,
 Laquelle (en ce pendant que les Roys augmentoient
 Mes bornes, et bien loing pour l'honneur combatoient)
 Apellent les banis en sa secte demnable
 M'a fait comme tu vois chetive et miserable.²⁹ (ll. 337-344)

If this city is not razed to the ground, France will be destroyed. Suffering at the hands of her own people, there is always the hope that God will bring vengeance. France puts faith in the new Monarch and the Guise. But Ronsard must record these miseries so posterity will never forget.

Thus the *Continuation* strikes a harsh chord. Thoroughly anti-Protestant from the outset, the main themes are embodied in the two lengthy metaphorical speeches: that of Ronsard defending his own beliefs and actions to Protestants whilst condemning theirs, and that of France, lamenting her destruction by her own people seduced by an outsider.

Ronsard: *Remonstrance au Peuple de France* (1563)

The *Remonstrance au Peuple de France* was composed in late 1562 but published in 1563. Ronsard appears not to understand why God does nothing when his people sin so openly against him (ll. 9-16). The ignorance of man is highlighted, especially in matters of religion: after all there are men who do not believe Christ was the son of God, and God does not seem to punish them. But then, Ronsard remarks, what pagan would convert seeing the divisions within Christianity?

Mais qui seroit le Turc, le Juif, le Sarrasin,
 Qui voyant les erreurs du chrestien son voisin,
 Se voudroit baptiser? Le voyant d'heure en heure
 Changer d'opinion, qui jamais ne s'asseure? (ll. 41-4)

²⁹ Ronsard, p. 90.

Christians (i.e. Protestants) are weak and inconstant, and links are made between old heresies (Arian, Manichean) and new (Lutheranism, Calvinism). If Ronsard himself had not been given a true faith by God, he himself would repent of Christianity. But he would rather suffer a cruel death than replace this with novelties (ll. 57-62). He does not want to be innovative, but follow the faith of his ancestors – they are in Paradise, and they did not follow Calvin or de Bèze.

Ronsard reiterates the constancy of Catholicism, highlighting the chasm with what he has just described. But apostate monks, benefice holders and lawyers (clear references to Luther and the early leaders of the Reformed movement) somehow dare to question God. How can this be so, when Christ willingly sacrificed himself? This leads into a discussion of the theology of the last supper, namely the status of the elements, and the contentious points of Transubstantiation as opposed to the Calvinist memorial (ll. 109-136). Ronsard dislikes what he sees as the Protestant's use of philosophy and reason, when surely God can achieve things that humans are incapable of understanding: natural phenomena can be debated in this way, not points of faith. These new doctors act as if they have been blessed by the Holy Spirit, whilst the Church Fathers were liars. At one point, Ronsard seems to return to his old stance of feeling sorry for them, calling them 'pauvres abusez' (l. 185), but by connecting the popular view of the vulnerability of both Paris and young students to the dangers of Protestantism, he makes it clear he is still on the attack. This is compounded by his ferocious attack on the Protestant ministry: to preach one does not need experience, just hatred of the papacy and the ability to hide:

Il ne faut pas avoir beaucoup d'expérience
 Pour estre exactement docte en vostre science.
 Les barbiers, les maçons en un jour y sont clercs,
 Tant vos misteres saints sont cachez et couvers!
 Il faut tant seulement avecques hardiesse
 Detester le Papat, parler contre la messe,
 Estre sobre en propos, barbe longue, et le front
 De rides labouré, l'œil farouche et profond,
 Les cheveux mal peignez, un soucy qui s'avalle,
 Le maintien renfrongné, le visage tout palle,
 Se monstrier rarement, composer maint escrit,
 Parler de l'Eternel, du Seigneur, et de Christ,
 Avoir d'un reistre long les espaules couvertes,

Bref estre bon brigand et ne jurer que certes.
 Il faut pour rendre aussi les peuples estonnés
 Discourir de Jacob et des predestinés,
 Avoir S[aint] Paul en bouche, et le prendre à la lettre,
 Aux femmes, aux enfans l'Evangille permettre,
 Les œuvres mespriser, et haut louer la foy,
 Voilà tout le sçavoir de vostre belle loy. (ll. 191-210)

He then includes a very personal reflection:

J'ay autrefois goutté, quand j'estois jeune d'age,
 Du miel empoisonné de vostre doux breuvage,
 Mais quelque bon daimon, m'ayant ouy crier,
 Avant que l'avaller me l'osta du gosier. (ll. 211-214)

Is Ronsard's bitterness due to his own near-conversion to the Protestant faith, his virulence a form of revenge and an attempt to prevent others less fortunate following the same path? He certainly warms to his theme: he will not be mistaken for a Protestant, Huguenots are compared to ancient races of barbarians, a plague that threatens the monarchy and nation of France. It is dismissed as the religion of the uneducated, of youngsters, women, and merchants. As such, Ronsard hopes it will soon be over, for men of reason will surely not be tricked.

Ronsard repeatedly uses the word 'opinion', which first appeared in the *Discours*: man's own deductions, not the solid knowledge brought about by true faith. Opinion must be chased away by God, as it threatens Reason, and brings instability (ll. 245-8). Opinion forces combat, and here families are divided, towns ransacked and kingdoms lost, before Virtue is forever lost to Vice. And Opinion, herself the daughter of Fantasy, will then spread over the whole world. Opinion is described in an extended metaphor, connecting her to past heresies (ll. 255-68) before she addresses herself to Luther (ll. 269-312). She has mislead Luther into thinking he is being called by God to take up arms and lead the masses, when in fact it is Opinion that has inspired him. As she ends, she plants a serpent in Luther's breast who corrupts him by his poison. Although a striking image, this almost seems to exonerate Luther. By personifying Opinion, Ronsard distances himself from the concept that it is Luther's own personal opinions that are causing this

chaos, and the image of the serpent, despite its biblical precedents, again deflects some of the responsibility from the Reformer's shoulders.

The serpent's venom spreads throughout Central Europe (ll. 323-332), and from here discontent arises:

Depuis les Allemans ne se virent en paix,
 La mort, le sang, la guerre, et les meutes espaix
 Ont assiégé leur terre, et cent sortes de vices
 Ont sans dessus-dessous renversé leurs polices.
 De là sont procedez les maux que nous avons,
 De là vient le discord soubz lequel nous vivons,
 De là vient que le fils fait la guerre à son pere,
 La femme à son mary, et le frere à son frere,
 A l'oncle le nepveu: de là sont renversez
 Les Conciles sacrés des vieux siecles passez.
 De là toute heresie au monde prit naissance,
 De là vient que l'Eglise a perdu sa puissance,
 De là vient que les Roys ont le Sceptre esbranlé,
 De là vient que le foyble est du fort violé,
 De là sont procedés ces Geants qui eschellent
 Le Ciel, et au combat les Dieux mesmes appellent,
 De là vient que le monde est plein d'iniquité,
 Remply de defiance, et d'infidelité,
 Ayant perdu sa reigle et sa forme ancienne.³⁰ (ll. 333-351)

The links to Protestantism could hardly be more clear: this 'virus' spread from Germany, and the nephew fighting his uncle is a clear allusion to Montmorency's Châtillon nephews who supported Condé on the Protestant side.

Ronsard addresses different sectors of French society: first Catherine as regent who must learn from the mistakes of her predecessors (ll. 407-420), then the prelates who need to reform the church (ll. 421-450), town magistrates who did not protect their cities (ll. 451-68) and nobles who have abandoned their ancestors' path (ll. 469-90). Again, Ronsard reinforces interpretations concerning the social make up of the French Reformation: nobles, merchants, artisans and lawyers are all blamed, peasants are free from heresy (ll. 521-6). On a more personal level, the poet then addresses those who

³⁰ Ronsard, p. 104.

have threatened him with death for his ‘foul’ writings. If he is doing wrong, why has his muse not left him, he wonders? They cannot touch him with their light (i.e. ineffectual) language. Although they threaten, he is ready for the attack.

Over 100 lines (ll. 611-758) are devoted to Condé. Much is made of the physicality of the war: blood, death, fire and weaponry all play their part, so there is no doubt as to what is damaging France. The other dominant theme is the dual nature of the Protestants. Throughout the work, they are two-faced tricksters. Ronsard pleads with Condé to see how he is being misled. Also addressed are those lawyers and magistrates who have assisted in the ‘martyrdom’ of good Catholics, men such as Sapin, a councillor of the Paris Parlement killed by Huguenots whilst travelling. The unnatural discord of the wars is emphasised yet again as Ronsard blames Condé for his brother Navarre’s death. Having addressed the powers of good – the Catholic princes (ll. 759-84) and their armies (785-826) – Ronsard prays to God in rather gruesome terms that the enemy be defeated and that those who die fighting for France enjoy good deaths and beautiful tombs, so that this will not be forgotten.

An evaluation of France’s situation at the end of 1562, this poem holds the Protestants responsible for causing horrific social breakdown. Ronsard’s main concern is first and foremost the detrimental effect of the war on France, but there is additionally a strong undercurrent of abhorrence for Protestant belief and practice that has not entered into the discourse until this point.

(Chandieu) *Palinodies de Pierre de Ronsard* (December 1562)

In early 1563, the tone of Protestant replies to Ronsard altered dramatically. From short, anonymous pieces consumed by the crowd, Protestant polemic became sophisticated and effective. Quite apart from the length and construction of the poems, this is seen in Ronsard’s reaction: in the *Remonstrance* he dismissed his critics as being too insubstantial to reply to, but the subsequent rejoinder, the *Response de Pierre de Ronsard*, not only addressed his critics directly but also showed the poet’s hurt and anger.

The *Palinodies de Pierre de Ronsard, Gentilhomme Vandomoys, Sur les discours des misères de ce temps* were probably composed as the *Remonstrance* was published in early 1563.³¹ A publication born of the polemical battle heating up between Protestants and Catholics, the *Palinodies* were certainly designed to cause as much offence to Ronsard as possible. They were published anonymously by the Lyon printer Jean Saugrain, who specialised in producing small Protestant works in verse.³² The edition was a quarto of 12 folios, comprising three poems. The first is an epigramme in honour of Ronsard: until recently he was a lying poet but he has changed, and no longer wants to be an avaricious sycophant. Before he was inspired to write by ambition, atheism and distorted reason and he wants to renounce this former life. This establishes the basic premise of this pointedly satirical work. The author, known to be Chandieu although direct proof from external sources is unfortunately lacking, imagines Ronsard has embraced the Reform, as he had hinted he had been tempted, and is using his work to atone for his previous misdemeanours. This is important because of the nature of the two subsequent components. They are in fact reworkings of two of Ronsard's own works, the *Elegie à Des Autels* now addressed to de Bèze, and the *Discours des Misères de ce temps à la Royne Mere du Roy*. It is immediately obvious to someone who knows the originals that this is a reworking: the first *Palinodie* uses 62.4 % Ronsard's words, the second 64.2 %, so each retains just under 2/3 of the original text. The two works achieve this differently. The first *Palinodie* uses Ronsard's text as a base, and modifies key words throughout the work to change the original meaning. Thus, Ronsard's famous comment that Protestant attacks made in books should be replied to with books:

Ainsi que l'ennemy par livres a seduict
 Le peuple devoyé qui faucement le suit,
 Il faut en disputant par livres le confondre,
 Par livres l'assaillit, par livres luy respondre,
 Sans monstrier au besoing noz courages failliz,
 Mais plus fort resister plus serons assailliz. (ll. 19-24)

³¹ Pineaux has highlighted some areas of the 2nd *Palinodie* as being reminiscent of the *Remonstrance*.

³² Andrew Pettegree, 'Protestant Printing during the French Wars of Religion: the Lyon Press of Jean Saugrain' in Thomas A. Brady Jr, Katherine G Brady, Susan Karant-Nunn, James D Tracy (eds.), *The Work of Heiko A. Oberman: Papers from the Symposium on His Seventieth Birthday* (Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2003), pp. 109-129.

becomes a plea from the 'Protestant' Ronsard that Catholics should be preached to, then held back by arms, then addressed in books:

Ainsi que l'Antechrist par ses decretz seduit
 Le Papiste enragé, qui fausement le suit,
 Il faut en disputant par presches le confondre,
 Par armes l'empêcher, par livres luy répondre
 Sans monstrier au danger voz courages failliz,
 Mais plus fort resister, plus serez assailliz.³³ (ll. 19-24)

This is obviously a militant stance. In dedicating the work to de Bèze, Chandieu is able to put into the mouth of Ronsard words of praise that obviously come from his heart, not Ronsard's. This is repeated throughout the work, modifying a few words to alter the meaning. Thus the Guise are praised by Ronsard and vilified by Chandieu, whilst France is destroyed by the new Protestant opinions in Ronsard's work and by the Roman Antichrist in Chandieu's.

The second *Palinodie*, also by Chandieu, keeps large passages of Ronsard's original text, and adds entirely new passages, rather than exchanging individual words. This is possible because the *Discours à la Royne* includes passages which keep their sense in this new context: Catherine can still be praised for her knowledge of history, the illustrious past of the Franks can still be celebrated, and the perversity of civil war that divides families can still be mourned. Both Catholic and Protestant agree that France is in danger. What they disagree on, and what Chandieu examines in his new passages, is how this might best be fought. Ronsard puts his faith in Catherine's leadership through the crisis, and prays to God that he assist her. Chandieu also prays to God, but that France under Catherine might escape the tyranny of Rome. Is this really a criticism of Ronsard himself? It obviously conforms to a Protestant agenda, but borrowing his work could be interpreted as a form of flattery. However, at one point Chandieu forgets he is actually writing as Ronsard, and inserts a new passage criticising the poet, slipping from first person to third. He comments on Ronsard's obvious enchantment which has seen him become a priest, before quickly getting back into character to apologise to God for his previous misdemeanors (ll. 183-198). Thus the *Palinodies* are fundamentally a

³³ Ronsard, pp. 29, Pineaux, *Polémique Protestante*, p. 6.

hijacking of Ronsard's work that not only argue for the opposite of what he intended, but do so by attacking him personally.

Zamariel & Montdieu: *Response aux Calomnies* (December 1562)

The *Response aux Calomnies contenues au Discours & Suyte du Discours sur les Misères de ce Temps, Faits par Messire Pierre de Ronsard, jadis poete et maintenant Prebstre* were published under the pseudonyms of A. Zamariel and B. de Mont-Dieu, but the authors are easily identifiable: Zamariel was Chandieu, the pseudonym a play on his name, using the Hebrew for 'Song of God' or 'Chant de Dieu'. Mont-Dieu, author of the second and third parts was Bernard de Montméja, another minister-poet, who would later publish a collection of Christian verses in Geneva in 1574.

The three works are prefaced by a short letter to Ronsard, possibly by another of Condé's contacts amongst the Protestant ministry, Jean de Novilier.³⁴ Ronsard is told that if de Bèze had the time or inclination to reply to him (which obviously he does not), the poet would have to improve his output or keep silent altogether. As he is obviously 'fort malade de la teste', this concerned bystander has sent him three pills. The address ends with a nasty quatrain that can only have had the intention of setting Ronsard's blood boiling, referring to him as possessed, impure and heretical:

Ta Poésie, Ronsard, ta verolle, et ta Messe
Par raige, surdité, et par des Benefices,
Font (rymant, paillardant, et faisant sacrifices)
Ton cœur fol, ton corps vain, et ta Muse Prebstresse.³⁵

Chandieu's *Response* observes God's people should be ashamed to have 'pagan' poetry in France. A new song is needed to rouse the people, and words are employed as weapons in the fight against the Catholics. Words are important: if used correctly they enhance what is being described, if misused, they corrupt it:

Car qui use du vers à chanter saintement,
Il enrichit son or d'un riche diamant.
Mais le Poëte fol qui par le vers qu'il chante,
Verse dans nostre aureolle une chose meschante,

³⁴ Identified by Pineaux, *Polémique Protestante*, p. 32.

³⁵ Pineaux, *Polémique Protestante*, p. 32.

Il corrompt la bonté du vin délicieux,
 Y meslant du venin le mal pernicieux.
 Il plonge et met la perle en une fange sale
 Qui perd dans le borbier son eau Orientale.
 Il faict puis la rose, ou la larme, que rend
 A l'Arabic heureux, l'arbre odoriferant. (ll. 39-48)

Ronsard is the prime example of this, using his pen to lie, and attack God, even though his gifts come from God himself (ll. 55-64). Ronsard's ambition is compared to an unstoppable runaway horse (ll. 65-74). Chandieu engages his theological knowledge to refute Ronsard's rejection of the Calvinist faith. Ronsard's insistence on maintaining tradition is of no use if tradition itself is flawed. Instead, he should turn to the Bible:

Mais si (mieux conseillé) il te venoit à gré
 De prendre instruction par le feuillet sacré,
 Tu sçauois que de Dieu la bonté et justice
 Feit l'homme juste et bon, qui depuis par son vice
 Se corrompant soy-mesme, est tenu attaché
 En corps et en esprit sous le joug de peché. (ll. 91-96)

At one point, Chandieu takes on Ronsard's ideas directly:

Tu sçauois (pleust à Dieu) que la Religion
 N'ha rien plus de commun avec l'Opinion,
 Que le vray semble au faulz, ou qu'il y a semblance
 Entre la fermeté et entre l'inconstance... (ll. 101-104)

After further rebuttal of Tradition as doctrine, Chandieu puts his theological knowledge and experience to full use, comparing what makes an atheist and what makes a believer:

Voyla comment, Ronsard, de l'Escriture sainte,
 Il faut tirer de Dieu la cognoissance et crainte.
 Et ne nous fault chercher preuves en aultre lieu,
 Pour bien cognoistre ceux qui bien croient en Dieu,
 Et pour bien descouvrir les fureurs effrontées
 Des monstres hommes-chiens, et profanes Athées.
 Car celui croit en Dieu, qui l'escoutant parler.
 Ne veult avec sa voix l'estrangere mesler:
 Mais Athée est celui qui Dieu parlant mesprise,
 Et seulement la voix des hommes autorize.
 Cestuy là croit en Dieu, qui fermement fondé,
 S'arreste sur cela que Dieu a commandé:
 Mais Athée est celui, que la coustume emporte,
 Ores croyant ainsi, ores d'une aultre sort.
 Cestuy là croit en Dieu, qui y croit, non obstant

Que l'homme pour cela l'aille persecutant:
 Mais Athée est celui, qui a pour ses Deesses,
 L'humaine volupté, les mondaines richesses.
 Cestuy là croit en Dieu, qui son fils reçoit,
 Et qui voyant le fils, en luy le Pere voit.
 Athée est, qui estime estre trop difficile
 De croire en Jesus Christ, et en son Evangile.
 Athée est, qui mentant maintient la Papauté,
 De laquelle il se mocque et voit la faulseté.
 Athée est, qui n'attend une seconde vie,
 Athée est, qui un bouc à Bacchus sacrifie,
 Qui escrit contre Dieu, qui diffame la Loy,
 Prend le mal pour le bien, et l'erreur pour la Foy,
 Et qui contre les bons ses oultrages desgorge,
 Crachant contre le ciel le borbier de sa gorge. (ll. 161-190)

The end of this extract is directed specifically against Ronsard, with its mention of pagan sacrifices recalling his dedication to classicalism. In imitation of the speech made by France at the end of the *Continuation*, Chandieu brings in an angel, who guides humankind. Most humans seem to want her to perish, with the Sorbonne attacking her and disfiguring her. Others use poetry to attack her. This section of the poem, where Ronsard is compared to pagan poets of antiquity, is very moving: it demonstrates Chandieu's great distress that Ronsard is wasting a divinely given gift. Instead, he should write true poetry, as David used his gift. But Ronsard refuses to listen, and stops up his ears (ll. 263 ff.). Although he castigates the theologians working for God, the poet is unable to hurt the true Christian soldiers. This becomes a hymn of praise to the soldiers of Christ who make up the Protestant forces. By focusing on Amboise, Ronsard has shown how people can serve their king. Chandieu, an assumed Amboise conspirator, obviously needed to make some rationalisation. His final attack on Ronsard plays with the image of the 'prince des poètes'. Instead of the crown inherited from Pindare, Ronsard inherits the crown of the Beast, whose voice no longer sings beautiful songs, but is now only able to bray the mass at people.

Montméja's works are less obviously based in theological doctrine, although they are manifestly Calvinist. They rely more on a gentle exposition of themes and less on rhetorical flourishes. The themes of sin and virtue dominate the opening eighty lines of

the first poem, establishing a very subdued atmosphere. Having compared Catherine to a gardener carefully tending a delicate tree (ll. 95 ff.), Montméja sets out a portrait of the qualities the French people are looking for in a king: they are hoping for a wise king to administer justice equally, govern well and serve God (ll. 119-138). Most importantly, Montméja's last condition is that he sets free religious prisoners 'Ayant compassion de leurs justes querelles' (l. 138). But Montméja is hardly more magnanimous than Chandieu, scathingly referring to Papal legislation as '...mille statuts, que la Porque Romaine, A vomì ça et là, sur mainte nation De l'Europe...' (ll. 142-4). Hardly conciliatory language, but it is directed against Catholicism generally, not Ronsard personally. Doctrine that does not have Biblical origin must be rejected, priestly abuses stopped and the sanctity of the Sacraments restored. These are in fact reforms that Ronsard promoted in the *Elegie à Guillaume des Autels*, and both Protestant and Catholic poets are distraught at the idea of Frenchmen fighting each other.

Montméja's second work again highlights the poet's distress at France being torn apart by war. The pain of civil war is equated with self-harm: 'Qui ne seroit oultré d'une douleur extreme, Voyant ce povre cors qui se tue soy-mesme?' (ll. 9-10). Tyranny is mentioned continually: the Guise have injured the monarch and go on to sack cities (ll. 81-90), full of pride (ll. 97-112). It is these people Montméja and his cohorts are fighting, not the King. This is a point reiterated throughout the poem – the loyalty of Protestant forces to the King, and their opposition to those who have usurped the King's power. At one point Montméja aims to restore de Bèze's reputation: Ronsard has painted him as a war leader, but that is not his calling. Rather he is using his God-given gifts as an ambassador to France (ll. 199 ff.). This is obviously a criticism against Ronsard, already chastised for wasting his divinely given talent. From the idealised de Bèze, Montméja turns on the corrupt Ronsard:

Mais je say bien, Ronsard, là où le mal te presse,
Et tout ce qui semond ta plume menteresse,
A mesdire des bons, à dénigrer leur nom,
Et à leur imposer quelque mauvais renom.
C'est le soing qui tourment et ronge ta pensée,
De peur qu'on ne se prenne à ta lyre crossée,
Et à ce revenu, qui tout despit te rend,

Allors que l'Evangile à la Messe se prend,
 Renversant du Clergé les plaisirs et delices,
 Avec l'oisiveté, la mere de tous vices. (ll. 229-238)

Ronsard is a lapdog of the Papacy, reliant on Rome for his income. He is more than a simple superstitious papist, he is part of the system, and it is his self interest that makes him write against de Bèze. From lines 257 on, the comparison gets more pointed: de Bèze is engaged in honourable exercises, Ronsard is not, de Bèze might once have loved poetry, but he turned to the good, and Ronsard is highly piqued at the other man's refusal to engage in poetical debate, for which de Bèze is too worthy. Whilst this observation of Ronsard's displeasure at being engaged by 'less worthy' opponents is quite probably true, it does not explain why men like Montméja and Chandieu can take de Bèze's place. Presumably the veneer of anonymity was considered sufficient to disguise the origin of works that are clearly emanating from educated men up-to-date with the current state of affairs. The tone is hardly edifying: Ronsard as bagpipes without air, unable to sing, until his wind is supplied by the Pope (ll. 367-72). Those he criticises, like Calvin, have made reputations that will live forever, and his followers will not be disbanded at his death (ll. 459-76).

It is only towards the end of the work that Montméja addresses the idea of contrary opinions in religion. He addresses Ronsard's criticism of Protestant 'squabbling': the Saints Paul and Barnabas did not always agree, but Ronsard does not consider them schismatic (ll. 540-2). It might appear to be progressive that Montméja believes two men not in agreement are not by default schismatic, but he states this is not relevant for the united church he represents (ll. 543-546). Geneva is presented as a bulwark against Papal tyranny, but it is not very clear what relationship Montméja envisages between Geneva and France: he obviously is less concerned about the nationalistic aspects of the debate. Instead, he turns back to considering the position of the Royal Family. He assesses the contribution of Navarre, who is dismissed for having lost his courage, and Saint-André, whose defeat makes evident God's will. The Triumvirate, in the guise of the triple-crowned Cerberus, will be the next to fall, and without its head, the fractious body will collapse. The final stanza places hope in God

and the young King that peace will be restored. And as a final, post-script insult, a sonnet is appended that compares Ronsard to a croaking frog.

After the *Palinodies*, Chandieu retired from active participation in the debate, and the Protestant side was continued by writers such as Rivandeau, Lescaldin and Florent Chrestien. The majority of the later works were very long, and although at points technically proficient, they lost the freshness of the earlier contributions. Well known to literary scholars through the work of Smith and Pineaux, much that they say had already been said by Chandieu and Montméja. Perhaps the *Temple de Ronsard* deserves special mention for its gleeful use of satire, depicting Ronsard participating in a pagan sacrifice. Far more illuminating, however, is Ronsard's own reaction to his critics.

Ronsard: *Response de Pierre de Ronsard aux injures & calomnies* (1563)

Ronsard's reply was published in April 1563. It differed from his other works in the debate: those had either addressed a person and touched on political events of the day tangentially, or addressed to a wide audience with a survey of events. This however is a very personal response to the attacks levelled by the Protestants, and as such, it has a much more controversial tone.

The first part is a prose letter addressed to the reader.³⁶ It sets the scene by describing Ronsard's impression of the debate. Five weeks after the death of Guise, early in April 1563,³⁷ a friend sent him three small books which had been composed about two months earlier, at the start of the year. This corresponds with the publication of the *Response* by Chandieu and Montméja, and it becomes clear these are indeed the works Ronsard means. This also refers back to the comment that these were intended as medicine for Ronsard to take. The works were designed to be read together, and this is how Ronsard replies to them. He dismisses the pamphlets' authors, describing them as 'quelques ministreaux ou secretaires de semblable humeur' (ll. 5-6). He maintains he has

³⁶ Ronsard, p. 149 ff.

³⁷ The Duke of Guise was shot and wounded in the shoulder at the siege of Orléans on 18th February 1563 by the Protestant Poltrot de Méré. He died on 24th February.

never meant to cause offence to anyone, but he has only recorded events for posterity.

He takes a strident tone with his opponents:

Donq', quiconque sois, predicant ou autre, qui m'as voulu malheureusement calomnier, je te supplie de prendre en gré cette response, t'assurant que si j'avois meilleure cognoissance de toy, que tu n'en serois quitte à si bon marché, et au lieu de quinze ou seze cent vers que je t'envoye pour rechauffer ta colere, je ferois de ta vie une Illiade toute entiere. Car je me trompe, ou ton froq jette aux horties, ou quelque memorable imposture, ou autre chose de pareille farine, me fourniroient argumens assez suffisans pour t'imprimer sur le front une marque qu'aisement tu ne pourrais effacer. (ll. 22-32).

The anonymity of his opponent, whom he tends to address in the singular and whom he will be seen to identify primarily as Chandieu, obviously vexes him: the passage cited with its description of what he would do *if* he knew his opponent's identity, is followed by offhand remarks such as 'la mechante volonté d'un si petit galland que toy' (ll. 40-1). He sees debate as an honour duel, although perplexingly one in which his opponent is of inferior status:

'Le camp est ouvert, les lices sont dressées, les armes d'encre et de papier sont faciles à trouver: tu n'auras point faute de passetemps. Mais à la verité je voudrais que pour esprouver mes forces, tu m'eusses présenté un plus rude champion. Car j'ay le courage tel que j'ayme presque mieux quitter les armes que de combattre contre un moindre, dont la victoire ne me sçauroit apporter ny plaisir ni honneur.' (ll. 56-64)

Ronsard will proceed by attacking the preacher's Genevan doctrines and practices. He compares the debate with a so-called fellow Christian to debating with infidels, Turks or Arabs, and he puts faith in the knowledge that the best man, himself, will win.

A quatrain dedicated to Zamariel echoes that printed at the start of the *Response*. Identified as a preacher and minister of Geneva, Ronsard evidently knew Zamariel to be Chandieu's pseudonym. It raises some questions, not only about the contemptuous tone with which Ronsard refers to his opponent's social background, which in Chandieu's case was more notable than Ronsard's, but also about how Reformed ministers were seen in France. Although Chandieu had spent time in Geneva and was close to Calvin and de Bèze, he was very much a minister and worker of the French church. Had Ronsard simply got his facts muddled? Or is this symbolic of a deeper intuition on the part of the

French people, that Reformed Protestants were automatically members of a 'church of Geneva', opponent of the Church of Rome, and were thus committed to an ideology fundamentally contradictory to that on which French national identity was founded? The quatrain establishes the contempt in which Ronsard holds Chandieu, referring to him as wrong, enraged, proud and deceitful. The preacher is wholly at the mercy of his emotions, hardly an ideal spiritual leader.

The main poem is 1176 lines long. The focus is simple: to destroy the reputation of Ronsard's opponent, and to re-establish Ronsard as the pre-eminent poet of the day. As such, it reveals how offended Ronsard was, and shows a malicious side to the poet not usually discussed by critics.

Ronsard's opponent is a 'Miserable moquer' only brave enough to confront the Prince of Poets when Guise is no longer alive to punish him. The greatness of Ronsard is contrasted to the obvious inadequacy of his opponent. Ronsard frequently repeats his next assertion, that in fact he does not want to engage this person in poetic combat, because he is so obviously superior to this nameless scribbler. Rather, he wishes he could have a proper opponent, one worthy of his poetical engagement. This worthy opponent is named as de Bèze, whom Ronsard would annoy as a fly irritates a bull in a field (ll. 45-50), whom he will antagonize as the Furies did Orestes (ll. 51-59). But this person whose work was merely stolen from Ronsard (a reference to the *Palinodies*) is unworthy of his time and effort. And although he maintains he is not that distressed by the result, nevertheless Ronsard wants to respond to some of the comments that were made about him: he swears by Almighty God he is not going to be vindictive or malicious, in case the opponent is afraid, but rather he wants to set the record straight in a few areas.

The first point to address is the accusation that Ronsard is a priest. To this, he replies that he would love to be a priest, or a bishop, as it would be an honour to serve God. The contrast with how he views the Protestant ministry is striking:

Je serois reveré, je tiendrois bonne table,

Non vivant comme toy, ministere miserable,
 Pauvre sot Predicant, à qui l'ambition
 Dresse au cueur une roüe, et te fait Ixion,
 Te fait dedans les eaux un alteré Tantalle,
 Te fait souffrir la peine à ce volleur egalle
 Qui remonte et repousse aux enfers un rocher
 Dont ta pris ta naissance, et qui voudroit chercher
 Dedans ton estomaq, qui d'un rocher aproche,
 En lieu d'un cueur humain, on voit une roche:
 Tu es bien malheureux d'injurer celui
 Qui ne te fist jamais outrage ny ennuy. (ll. 103-114)

Reformed Protestantism is understood to be a repressive religion that denies people's natural desires and urges, in an implicitly unhealthy way. Furthermore, for all his insistence that he did not know his opponent's identity, Ronsard was in fact well aware and not above using sarcasm himself: the extended word play on the image of the 'Roche' is an obvious allusion to Chandieu, at this point still the younger brother in the family and going by the title La Roche. Chandieu is standing as a representative figure for all Protestants, and we can assume that Ronsard is projecting onto Chandieu all the assumptions he has made about Protestants in general and ministers in particular. But the insults get very personal, and Ronsard appears incensed by what has been said. Chandieu is described as a Disciple of Satan (l. 118). This does not imply Ronsard believes that Chandieu has dabbled in alchemy or astrology, for example, but rather that as a minister in the Reformed church, he is obviously in league with the Devil. The imagery employed gets very graphic, and extremely personal:

Si tu veux confesser que Lou-garou tu sois
 Hoste malancoliq' des tombeaux et des croix,
 Pour te donner plaisir vraiment je te confesse
 Que je suis Prebestre ras, que j; ay dict la grand messe,
 Mais devant que parler, il faut exorciser
 Ton Daimon qui te faict mes Daimons despriser. (ll. 129-134)

The people are encouraged to flee this monstrous werewolf spitting up his poisonous venom and only able to be cured by a nine day abstinence from that which pollutes him: the word of Calvin (ll. 135-210). Such vitriol is understandable as a by-product of the anger felt by Ronsard at the appropriation of his own work to mock him – although there

is a wider theme at stake here, when the opportunity arises for a put down, Ronsard is not going to ignore it.

The mockery made of Ronsard's physical disabilities is seen as being very unchristian, and incompatible with the role of a pastor. Ronsard's reaction is virulent:

Ta langue monstre bien aux brocards qu'elle rue.
 Que tu portes au corps une ame bien tortue!
 Quoy? est-ce le proffit et le fruit que tu fais
 En preschant l'Évangille, où tu ne cruez jamais?
 Que tu moques bien de l'escripture sainte
 Ayant le cueur mechant, et la parolle feinte!
 Apren icy de moy que Dieu te punira,
 Et comme tu te ris, de toy il se rira:
 Tu peux bien en mentant tromper nous pauvres hommes
 Qui grossiers de nature et imbecilles sommes,
 Non la fureur de Dieu, qui voit d'un œil profond
 Ton cueur et tes pensers et sçait bien quels ils sont. (ll. 219-224 & 339-234).

Ronsard pities Chandieu's obvious jealousy that has led him to make such uncharitable accusations as that Ronsard has venereal disease. Not only is this a fine subject for a pastor to bring up, but it also mocks the unfortunate record of Ronsard in affairs of the heart. Ronsard goes on to lament that he has been called an atheist. He thinks Chandieu has written him off as such because he studied Reformed ideas and was not seduced into believing them. He compares his life in France, quiet and law abiding, with Chandieu's, who has brought a Trojan Horse into the kingdom (l. 315). Chandieu has willfully misinterpreted incidents such as a banquet for Jodelle as pagan rites (ll. 463-488). And in case this is not enough to make Chandieu repent, he is reminded of a 'sacrifice' de Bèze made of a moth, in a poem of 1548, proving that even people praised by Chandieu have embraced this art form in the past (ll. 489-494).

Ronsard refutes accusations of a lascivious lifestyle by describing his daily routine of study and prayer. This comes straight from the school of Rabelais, although it has a very different intended outcome (l. 507 ff.). This leads back to an extended attack on the differences between Catholic and Protestants (ll. 621-646). The overall theme is the duplicity of the ministers, who will be forced out by the cunning of the fox-like

Ronsard. Each of Chandieu's 'points' is introduced by 'tu dis', then refuted by Ronsard, creating an atmosphere in which the reader is conditioned to treat everything Ronsard reports as Chandieu's speech as erroneous. Items challenged include Ronsard's relationship with his Muse (ll. 681-688), the Colloquy of Poissy (ll. 699-710) and his attendance at a sermon by de Bèze (ll. 719-730). It is wrong of the Reformers to believe that virtue can only be found in Geneva, when it can be found all over the world (ll. 781 ff.). And it is also wrong for them to teach that France's illustrious ancestors will be pleased by the new direction in which they are steering the country, when in fact they are disturbing their peaceful rest by abandoning tradition (ll. 813 ff.). Chandieu is derided as being a mere 'versificateur' unable to comprehend the beauty of Ronsard's work (ll. 847-898). Ronsard appears to lose his temper with the young pastor:

Escoute Predicant, tout enflé d'arogance,
Faut il que ta malice attire en consequence
Le vers que brusquement un poëte a chanté?
Ou tu es enragé, ou tu es enchanté,
De te prendre à ma quinte, et ton esprit s'oublie
De penser arracher un sens d'une folie.
Je suis fol, Predicant, quand j'ay la plume en main,
Mais quand je n'escris plus, j'ay le cerveau bien sain. (ll. 899-906)

Ronsard takes it upon himself to teach Chandieu: the pastor has misunderstood and has taken all these verses too literally. Poetry is about the joy of composing, and one should compose for pleasure. As charming as this sounds, it is at odds with the picture Ronsard has painted of himself as the great Prince of Poets, made additionally ambiguous by his insistence that he would rather not be famous at all. Ronsard warns the nobles who have been tricked by these sweet-talking preachers: if they let them into their homes, they put themselves at risk (ll. 951-58). He himself is not an opulent person and has not been swayed by royal favour, but then he has, of course, done so much more for France than these preachers. Ronsard is keen to re-establish himself as the perfect poet and a good Catholic: he is inspired by his muse, and is a far superior poet (ll. 1035-1042). He refuses to respond to Chandieu's theological arguments, which he compares to a tramp who has filled his pockets with rubbish picked up from his travels. Instead, he rounds on Chandieu for being insulting, for causing shame to those who had tried to support him, such as the King of Navarre, and hints at the Conspiracy of Amboise, as something

Condé refused to join in with (ll. 1147 ff.). Ronsard's parting shot is that he is really above trading insults in the street, and that the people of France need to beware: what happened in Saxony is not what God intended for his people.

Ronsard: *Aux bons et fideles Medecins Predicans* (1563)

This is a direct reply to the letter by Jean de Novilier.³⁸ It tells Ronsard's opponents that he took the pills they prescribed for him, but as he is still of the same opinion, they obviously cannot have worked. Instead, they should take the medicines he is going to send to them, which might act as a purgative. These Latin works include a 'recipe' of various herbs and natural products that are to be mixed into a draught which can be taken at moments of crisis. The second is a poem subtitled 'The Croaking of a Frog from Lake Geneva', which plays with the ideas of Ronsard's debts to the Muses which have dulled the effectiveness of his verse and his affinity for the mass.³⁹ This is followed by a reply by Ronsard, who says he's been inspired by St John the Evangelist to write to these croaking frogs, who threaten to drown out men of good faith with their noise. The frog is said to be one of three, the others being Calvin and de Bèze, but he is the loudest of the three. This frog has never tasted the waters of Pindar like Ronsard, but merely the stagnant waters of Lake Geneva, impure having been mixed with dirty snow from the mountains. This is why the frog's throat is infected and his words are only croaks. Only a frog could corrupt the sacred words of the Mass. Ronsard advises the frog to leave and make as much noise as possible whilst he still lives, as he will never really trouble the land of the faithful, and he will then have to face those other treacherous waters, the Styx and the Phlegethon.

In 1564, Ronsard wrote another prose piece, after having said he would no longer participate in the Protestants' game. Indeed the debate should have been brought to an end with the Edict promulgated by Charles IX on 10 September 1563, which forbade any further 'libelles' being published. This addressed the later Protestant writers, such as

³⁸ Ronsard, p. 211 ff.

³⁹ There is some dispute as to whether Ronsard was the author of this piece.

Rivandeau, Chrestien and Grévin, and was the final piece Ronsard contributed, although various Protestant pamphlets continued to target him.

Analysing the *Discours*

The themes of these works fall into three main categories: the loyalty all participants felt they showed to France and to God, the disloyalty all participants felt their opponents demonstrated to the same, and the tension arising from the state of the Catholic Church in the years before the Council of Trent. Throughout this, there is constant reference to the power of words as alternative weapons, producing a climate in which engagement in contemporary events was not restricted to active soldiers, but spread throughout literate society.

The *Discours* presents a stumbling block in many commentators' appraisals of Ronsard, but there have been several excellent works that clarify the process of production. The standard texts on the *Pléiade* and Ronsard tend to run over the events as perfunctorily as possible, somewhat unnerved by Ronsard veering away from his traditional role and acting more as a hired pen.⁴⁰ The best introduction to the concept of polemical debate and its application during the early wars of religion is that of François Charbonnier. Although nearly a century old and written before several of the more obscure works had been rediscovered, Charbonnier's bibliography of Protestant pamphlets and overview of both sides of the debate reveal the vast expanse of works written in the spirit of engagement, from 'valueless' quatrains to sophisticated epic works stretching over hundreds, indeed thousands, of lines.⁴¹ From this wealth of information, and that provided in the collections of Bordier and Jacques Pineaux, it is clear that the Ronsard polemic, whilst singular in its development and consistent high standards, was

⁴⁰ For example Chamard, *Histoire de la Pléiade* Chapter 21; Champion, *Ronsard et son temps* Chapter 5; Michel Dassonville, *Ronsard: étude historique et littéraire* Tome III 'Granduers et Servitudes' (Geneva, 1995) Chapter 4 'Un poète dans la mêlée' is disappointingly simplistic in its understanding of the wider context surrounding Ronsard's output at this point. Far more informative on a literary level is Marcel Raymond's *L'influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française*, which demonstrates incontrovertibly the debts owed between the participants for their style and ideas.

⁴¹ F. Charbonnier, *La poésie française et les guerres de religion (1560-1574)* (Paris, 1920, reprinted Geneva, 1970).

by no means an isolated instance of poetic engagement.⁴² From the outset of the wars, poems had been used by both sides to express beliefs, hopes and opinions. Thus it was not unsuitable for a pastor like Chandieu to engage in such verse. This was a disposable medium, characterised by relatively quick production and a short shelf-life. The key was using device and style to ensure the ideas stuck in the reader's mind. This has been noted by one of the 'Discours' later commentators, Malcolm Smith, who also highlighted the 'high topicality' of the works involved. He cites the example of Ronsard's *Discours à la Royne*, originally anonymous, and rushed off the presses in the last six months of 1562. An early reply fails to mention Ronsard's name and makes no mention of the *Continuation du discours*, written soon after the *Discours*' publication.⁴³ Smith and Francis Higman both marry intricate literary critique of the individual works with the unfolding situation, providing the reader with a complete run of works from 1560 onwards.⁴⁴ Still a great deal of the ongoing work on these poems takes less account of the context in which they were written, and focuses more on literary themes developed within the works themselves.⁴⁵

Were these works read by people at the time, and can they consequently be taken to reflect popular opinions? Each work has its own publication history but in general they were subject to quick turnover between writing and publication, being so topical, and seem to have been in such demand that multiple print runs were needed in certain cases. It was of course a very small section of the population who actively engaged in the discourse itself, but the rapidity of production and the number of editions suggest that the works at the very least found a market. As to who was buying them, after the first few Protestant works, which have only survived in manuscript due to the Rasse des Noeux

⁴² Henri-Léonard Bordier, *Le Chansonnier Huguenot du XVI^e Siècle* (Geneva, 1969) & Pineaux, *Polémique Protestante*.

⁴³ Smith, 'A Reformer's reply to Ronsard's *Discours à la Royne*'. Smith further demonstrates this 'high topicality' and its effect on speed on publication in his examination of a later work by Ronsard, after the end of the *Discours* debate. A work written before the battle of Moncontour in 1569 praying for Catholic victory had to have its title changed at the last minute, supposedly by the printer, when the battle was indeed won by the Royalist forces. See Smith, 'An early edition of a *Discours* by Ronsard'.

⁴⁴ Smith, 'A Reformer's reply to Ronsard's *Discours à la Royne*'. See also M. Smith, 'Ronsard et ses critiques contemporains', in Smith, *Renaissance Studies Articles* pp. 219-226; Higman, 'Ronsard's political and polemical poetry'.

⁴⁵ Duval 'The Place of the Present'; Langer, 'A Courtier's problematic defense'; Bellenger, 'A Propos des *Discours* de Ronsard'.

collection, the anticipated audience clearly has a disposable income with which to purchase pamphlets. They are also obviously educated, as these particular pamphlets assume a level of classical knowledge. The fact of armed conflict increased the flammability of the situation, and this mixture of manifesto and name calling gives deeper insight into what was going on in people's minds. What these poems demonstrate is how totally the wars mobilized different sections of French society and how advanced the manipulation of the media to win hearts and minds actually was. So effective was this engagement, however, that its own participants became caught up in the emotions, exemplified above all by Ronsard's vitriolic response to Chandieu's mockery.

Yet Ronsard would be thwarted in two ways. Firstly, the conclusion of the peace negotiations of the Edict of Amboise saw the circumstances change, and his brand of intellectual propaganda become outdated, as Protestants were once more, theoretically, reconciled with the crown. A royal proclamation of September 1563 forbidding the publication of verses that might have shattered this fragile peace saw Ronsard forced to make good on his earlier promise not to take up his pen again, and the poet's parting shot in this debate was his *Epistre aux lecteurs*. And secondly, he never succeeded in provoking de Bèze to reply.⁴⁶ The origins of this personality contest stretched back over a decade, to the publication of de Bèze's *Abraham Sacrifiant*, with its prefatory letter which rejected his youthful inclination to classical poetry, and encouraged those blessed with the gift of verse to put it to the proper use, celebration of God. It is interesting, indeed, that apart from Ronsard, the most visible personality in this whole enterprise is one who did not take part, de Bèze, as the ultimate champion of the Calvinists and the only worthy opponent of Ronsard.

The idea of France

This debate provides a hitherto untapped source for evaluating how Protestants saw themselves, and were seen by their enemies. Both sides celebrated their devotion to France, but they were two different Frances. Ronsard's France was the France of the

⁴⁶ This decision by Ronsard to engage with Chandieu alone, whilst denying he is engaging and declaring Bèze is his only worthy adversary, has led some commentators to attribute all three parts of the *Response aux Calomnies* to Chandieu. This supposition has been rejected by Pineaux amongst others.

established monarchy and of tradition, the Catholic France that had been created in the public imagination over many centuries, the France of Chivalric Order and where the Monarch had the title 'Most Christian'. The France of the Protestants was Christian too, but in the sense of being God's chosen people. Subject only to His word and not to any foreign forces, to their minds, they were loyal to their king and to their faith. Here we have the first flashpoint between the two sides: what was France to them? The poems use the concept of Loyalty to demonstrate their connection to the idea of France.

The idea of Loyalty

Closely linked to the idea of France is the belief in loyalty. This might appear obvious, but it is not a question of chauvinistic patriotism. Ronsard demonstrates his loyalty to France by addressing her monarchs and by creating extended allusions to her glorious past: with references to her unconquered status, the envy of other European nations, her great kings and nobles.⁴⁷ These are mirrored in the Protestant works, which are also steeped in the glorious past of the mother nation, the implication being that this state has been lost and must be sought again. Ronsard perhaps makes this most apparent in his extended description of the dishevelled personification of France.⁴⁸ This repeated glorification of the nation state, however nebulous that concept was, is essential to understanding the depths to which the ideological conflict would sink: no compromise was possible when both sides understood their actions to be fundamentally based in loyalty to the state. For Ronsard and the Catholics he represented, this was rooted in tradition and continuity, seen in repeated references to ancestors and elders and time. For the Protestants, loyalty to a Christian King could only be based on the words of Scripture: tradition could be flawed, and indeed was flawed, and could not be relied upon to ensure France's continued glory.⁴⁹ For history is not isolated in the past. Both sides comment on the necessity of making an accurate record of the ensuing events so that future generations can avoid a similar situation. But this precious loyalty to God and the state is

⁴⁷ See Ronsard, *Institution*.

⁴⁸ As in Ronsard, *Continuation*, ll. 319ff. Micha discussed the tradition of the allegory of France which had medieval precedents in the work of Alain Chartier in 'Sur l'Allegorie de la France'.

⁴⁹ As in Chandieu, *Response aux Injures*.

not something that occurs in isolation: there is always an opposite which will be used to define the opposing side.

Disloyalty

In ascribing themselves the moral high ground of loyalty, each side automatically denigrates their opponents as disloyal. This takes two main forms. There is the usual interpretation of disloyalty, as in betrayal of the country to an outside power. For Ronsard, Calvinists have done this by turning to Geneva above all, but also to Germany.⁵⁰ By seeking spiritual guidance from an outside source, they are held to be betraying France. Of course, the Protestants use the same argument for Ronsard, but replacing Geneva with Rome. Although the tradition of Roman dominance had been challenged in France as it had been nowhere else, the Reformation would still highlight the dominance of the Pope in Catholic religion, and the corruption of the clergy. The Catholics represented by Ronsard were accused of other forms of treason, however, by their association with the Guise. As the cadet house of Lorraine, not then a part of France, their service to the French crown under François I and Henri II could be ignored and their foreign nature highlighted.⁵¹ This question of origin proves to be extremely powerful: in a similar way Calvin and de Bèze's native Frenchness can support them, as natural patriots concerned with restoring the greatness of France, or against them, to portray them as traitors to the national cause who had fled abroad.⁵² This is further reinforced by Ronsard's continued insistence on the Protestants as social agitators, disrupting the social fabric of the country, best exemplified in his images of shattered families and broken friendships.⁵³ But these images are in turn used by the Protestants, equally shocked by the rupture of French life. And they repeatedly go to great lengths to state they have nothing to do with the Anabaptists, Münster or any other socially radical groups. Clearly, the idea of loyalty and what it meant to be a good Frenchman was not a

⁵⁰ See Ronsard, *Remonstrance*, ll. 333-351, cited above.

⁵¹ See Montméja, *Responce aux Injures* (Part 2).

⁵² Protestant works dealing with this include Rivandeau's *Remonstrance à la Royne Mere du Roy* reproduced in Pineaux, as well as Montméja, *Responce aux Injures* (Part 2) ll. 199 ff. For Ronsard's opposing attitude, see especially *Aux bons et fideles Medecins Predicans* and *Continuation* ll. 201-214 and 337-344.

⁵³ Perhaps best seen in the elegies to Des Autels and Des Masures.

concrete thing, but rather was consolidating into two different images, one based on tradition, the other on obedience to Scripture.

The Essential Need for Reform

Having seen how embittered the two sides were towards each other, it is striking how similar they were in their criticisms of the contemporary Catholic church. Although Catholic, Ronsard is not about to let the church escape without criticism, and indeed he sees many of its corruptions, primarily monetary greed and pastoral neglect, as being direct contributors to the present situation. Chandieu lifts entire passages from Ronsard on the church without changing a single word. But whilst this is a temporary slip in standards for Ronsard, the Protestants are keen to highlight the doctrinal differences between the groups, stressing their reliance on the Word as the only true faith. Thus, the need for reform is acknowledged by both, but the means by which this is to be achieved are totally divergent.

The Power of Words

Throughout the discourse, there is constant reference to the power not just of the Word of God, although that is of course fundamentally important, but to mere words themselves. This is first raised by Ronsard in his poem to des Autels, when he mentions how necessary it is to employ books to ‘attack’ the Protestants in response.⁵⁴ Chandieu replies directly to this in his opening *Response* (ll. 33–48). That Ronsard is wasting a divinely given gift is of great distress to Chandieu. Montméja’s first *Response* formulates this in a slightly different way. Whilst discussing the need to have an accurate history for the future, words are put forward as being used as a shield: the opposite of an offensive weapon (ll. 261 ff.). This repeated emphasis on the dual nature of the word as both weapon and protection provokes consideration of what role these poems fulfilled for their authors at this time. It also demonstrates the power that the word, most obviously in its printed form, was acknowledged to wield over events. Obviously, these were pieces written to sway opinion, and unlike many of the rhetorical works published at this time, the Condéan pamphlets of Orléans for example, their intention was less to justify their

⁵⁴ Ronsard, *Des Autels*, ll. 21-2, cited above.

own author's beliefs than to vilify their opponents. By employing memorable images (Ronsard and Chandieu describe each other as fantastical animals, Chandieu's title of La Roche is used by Ronsard to portray him as dense),⁵⁵ the fight that had started in the fields at Vassy and Amboise and had threatened the walls of Orléans could be carried further, into the houses of the intelligentsia, where concepts such as loyalty and what it meant to be French were intellectualised, as opposed to the gut feeling supposed of the peasant classes.

Protestant self belief

What do these works tell us about how Protestants saw themselves at the outbreak of the wars? Two main groups composed these works, which lets us compare self-identity within divergent strains of French Protestantism. Chandieu and Montméja are pastors. They are the men who so far had shaped Protestant identity by their application of theology, by their construction of prototype church structures, and by their own dedication to the word. Their works are pictures of the 'official' side of the French Protestant movement, even if they wrote anonymously. They debated with Ronsard on serious ground. They discuss theology, they show awareness of politics, and although they might not be above the odd biting sideswipe, their objective is kept firmly in mind. They see the Protestant movement as the embodiment of God's will on Earth, and everything Ronsard and his fellows do, at court, in the Catholic church or reviving pagan debauchery, is diametrically opposed to this, therefore it must be openly identified and castigated.

The later strand, writers like Chrestien and Grévin, are not ministers, and as such are less concerned about the promotion of Reformed Protestantism to readers outside the debate itself. Chandieu and his co-ministers use this opportunity to promote the Reformed movement. Chrestien and Grévin, good Calvinists though they may be, are mainly concerned with vilifying Ronsard: this they do well, and memorably, but for little discernible purpose other than he offends their co-religionists. Their arguments are well expressed, especially the virulence of the *Temple*, but they are no different to arguments

⁵⁵ Chandieu, *Responce*, ll. 335 ff., Ronsard, *Response aux Injures*, ll. 129-134 and 109 ff.

thrown against Ronsard time and time again, and not always by Protestants.⁵⁶ They less promote Protestant identity than fight Catholic faith by attacking a well-known figure whose actions lay him open to criticism.

The Catholic view of Protestants

By focusing on the polemical debate of the early 1560s, several poems written by Catholics that addressed the idea of French Protestantism have been left to one side. For it was not only Ronsard who wrote of ‘heresy’ and its effect on the country. Joachim du Bellay engaged in the idea of church reform in his *Regrets*, coming to the same conclusion as Ronsard, that the Catholic church needed reform from within.⁵⁷ In the 1550s, the ultra Catholic Etienne Jodelle wrote verses denouncing Protestantism, as did Artus Desiré in his *Disputes de Guillot le Porcher*, which took on Calvin’s theology directly. But the extended series Ronsard gave to this concept means that his work provides a framework in which the representation of Protestantism in France is coherent.

Protestants in France are foreigners. As seen, this idea of bringing external values into play in the conduct of French affairs is anathema to a ‘loyal’ Frenchman such as Ronsard. Furthermore, the implications mean that the Protestants are accused of being seditious, a charge that many Catholics would take to heart after the debacle of Amboise.⁵⁸ This negative stereotype is further darkened by the images of seduction and trickery the Protestants are held to employ. And although Pineaux has demonstrated how the Protestants fought back to reclaim their image in the face of Ronsard’s dismissal of them as followers of ‘Opinion’, the divisive reputation of Protestantism was hard to ignore. Division was visible within France of course, but also within the Protestant movement itself.⁵⁹ All of this served to undermine the positive image maintained by the serious Protestant poets.

⁵⁶ See Smith, ‘Ronsard et ses critiques contemporains’.

⁵⁷ Sonnet 43, Joachim Du Bellay, *Les Regrets et Autres Œuvres Poétiques*, J. Jolliffe (Ed.) (Geneva, 1979), p. 111.

⁵⁸ See chapter three.

⁵⁹ See chapter four.

What is most surprising in this entire debate is the similarity of each side's self image. Both Catholics and Protestants hold the same values dear: those of order, loyalty to one's country and monarch, and the fundamental greatness of the French nation. Both despise disorder and disloyalty. Where their consensus breaks down was over the minutiae of theology, minutiae which proves to be so important that each side's adherence to the same values makes them implacable enemies with little hope of reconciliation. What the entire *Discours* demonstrates best of all, perhaps, is the intransigence of the situation once war had broken out. The same arguments being repackaged ad infinitum seems rather emblematic of the wars themselves.

The poetical polemic of the early 1560s has been neglected as a source for understanding popular sentiment during the early Religious Wars. Partly, it is due to the nature of the works themselves. There are many written and printed sources for this period, from royal edicts and official declarations to prose propaganda, all of which present the opinions of the opposing factions in French society. Poetry could be seen to be a rather affected manifestation of sentiments expressed more accessibly elsewhere.

Additionally, the common interpretation of literature specialists has been to condemn Ronsard's works in the debate as amongst the poorest of his oeuvre. They do not show the innovative beauty of his love poems of the 1550s, or the majestic sweep of his projected *Franciade*, a nationalistic rendering of the tale of Troy. Instead, they show Ronsard as a hired pen for the crown, peddling jingoistic royalist propaganda, and as a bitter narcissist lambasting anyone who dares criticize him. For those who hold Ronsard and the *Pléiade* poets as the exemplification of a new purer poetical attitude, this episode is not attractive, hence the *Discours* poems are not considered alongside the more 'acceptable' works in his canon. And although the Ronsardian side of the debate has long been available due to the large number of modern editions of his work, it was not until Pineaux published his collection *La Polémique Protestante contre Ronsard* that both sides of the debate could be easily seen in context. Still, few historians have used these sources, preferring to leave evaluation to literary scholars more interested in the works' reflection of the great Ronsard than of society at large in 1560. The true nature of the

Ronsardian polemic is, in fact, more complicated, and provides a literary snapshot of educated reasoning and confessional justification at the outbreak of the religious wars.

Why was a single part of this ongoing poetic battle, with its style of response to works already in the public domain, and its pointed attacks, ever suitable to be included in Condé's political and far more serious manifesto? As demonstrated by the rarity of the poem's survival in the existing recueil, it was not integral to the argument. And if the assumption that it was the reader who designed the make up of each collection is correct, obviously it was felt by many to be out of place in political discussion. But not all. With no evidence of Chandieu's feelings or plans for the poem, it is impossible to say what he intended. What seems most likely is that the poem was known through its association with Ronsard, and had achieved a certain notoriety on its own account. Chandieu used the same printer as Condé, unsurprisingly as they were both in Orléans and were committed to the same cause. Presumably Chandieu's *Response* was in a similar basket to the other Condéan tracts, and might be included in a collection if a purchaser's eye fell upon it and liked it. Although tempting to see the work as a convenient summary of many of the positive points Condé was trying to get across, in a form that might make it memorable to some, it cannot be removed from its polemical origins. The inclusion of Chandieu's work in the Condéan tracts of Orléans is thus something of a historical accident, one that demonstrates the divergent genres which could be appropriated in the name of propaganda, and how in the battle for hearts and minds the 'pamphlet moment' operated on multiple levels.

And what happened to these spirited defenders of the faith? Ronsard continued in the service of the crown, promoting the idealised France through verse. The text of the *Discours* poems was incorporated into his *Oeuvres*, which enjoyed continued print runs throughout the sixteenth century. Montméja and Chandieu both continued their pastoral duties, and developed a less antagonistic line of meditative verse (see chapter six). Florent Chrestien turned his hand to translation of non-threatening authors like Pybrac and spent most of his career in service as the future Henri IV's tutor. André de Rivandau spent most of his life in Poitiers, producing biblically inspired poetry and drama. None

changed their religious allegiance, which makes their early defences of their thought so engaging, and gives such an insight into confessional thought processes at the outbreak of the Wars.

Chapter Six: 'la Foy qui l'vnt au François oppressé' – Poetical Expression and the Crisis of French Calvinism.

Chandieu continued to be a driving force at the centre of the French church's search for identity and stability throughout his career. He became a figurehead for French Protestants' quest for the right to worship. This is perhaps best evidenced by his adoption by the French refugees in Geneva as their spokesman in the *Compagnie des Pasteurs* and before the City council after the St Bartholomew's Day Massacres. At the same time, his work maintaining the church in the face of exterior criticism continued, although in a more intellectual form: from 1567, Chandieu was one of the Reformed church's chief apologists, engaging Jesuit detractors in debate, and going on to write his own independent theological treatises on the finer points of Calvinist theology. Chandieu had an international role, evidenced by his work discussing the death of the Count Palatine, Wolfgang, which formed part of the ongoing attempts to find middle ground between the Calvinists and the German Princes. The *Ode* which accompanied this, on the miseries of the French church, illustrates Chandieu's poetical and spiritual development, and presages his later meditative writings. The 1570s saw the first engagement of Chandieu with meditative writing, with the *Ode*, the *Cantique à la Mémoire de sa fille*, and the *Meditations sur psalm XXXII*, an innovation which would be brought to full fruition in the *Octonaires*.

Chandieu's middle years found him in a very difficult position. For someone who had fought to establish and maintain a coherent church structure, in which everyone's place was accounted for, his own role as a peripatetic pastor in Burgundy was somewhat incongruous. In addition, his status as a "noble" Calvinist must also be reconsidered: less obviously in the service of great princes, did he use his nobility in the opposite direction, to impose regulations on the new communities he visited? Or was his work in noble households, the establishment of the Protestant noble cell structure, a modification of the work he had undertaken in the houses of Navarre and Condé? Finally, how did Chandieu's residences in the Genevan mother church and in Lausanne affect his work with the French communities?

Chandieu and the German Princes

In 1569, a short pamphlet appeared from the presses of François Perrin and Jean Durant in Geneva. Entitled *Epithaphe de la Mort de Tresillustre Prince Wolfgang, Comte Palatin du Rhin, Duc de Bauieres & de Deux-ponts, Prince du Saint Empire*, the work ran to 12 folios, and comprised French and Latin translations of the prince's epitaph, French and Latin verses and an *Ode*, set to music, entitled *Sur les Miseres des Eglises Françoises*, signed by A. Zamariel.

The occasion of the pamphlet was the death of the Count Palatine, Wolfgang. The text of the epitaph itself is plain and laudatory. In its French translation, it cannot fail but to hit home with its glowing appraisal of the count's role in events:

DEDIE A LA MEMOIRE DE TRESILLVSTRE ET TRES-PIE PRINCE,
VVOLFGANG, COMTE PALATIN DV RHIN, DVC DE BAVAIERES ET
DE DEVX-PONTS, PRINCE DV SAINCT EMPIRE: LEQVEL APRES
AVOIR AMENE AV TRES-GRAND BESOIN DES EGLISES
FRANCOISES, LE SECOVRS DES EGLISES D'ALLEMAGNE, DEPVIS
LES BORNES DV RHIN, IVSQV'AVX DERNIERS LIMITES DE
LIMOUSIN, NON SANS VN EXTREME DANGER: ET CONJOINT
ICELUY SECOVRS A L'ARMEE FRANCOISE, MALGRE LES FORCES
DE CEVX DE GVISE ET DV PAPE, PASSA DE CE SIECLE EN LA VIE
ETERNELLE, AV MESME PAYS DE LIMOUSIN, LE XI. IOVR DE IVIN,
M. D. LXIX.¹

The tone is sombre and respectful, celebrating the count's deeds. The bilingual edition has several explanations. Latin speaks to an international audience. The count's successor is presented with a daunting legacy to emulate. The French version speaks to a native audience, naturally, and indicates comradeship between co-religionists. It also tells the international audience that the French Protestant community recognises the concept of mutual interest: the Count is so missed by his allies that a translation is necessary, to succour the grieving French he leaves behind. This is a showpiece designed to bring potentially disparate parties together, and cement them in their common aims. This is continued in the accompanying verses. The *Argument* is a stirring interpretation

¹ *Epithaphe de la Mort de Tresillustre Prince Wolfgang, Comte Palatin du Rhin, Duc de Bauieres & de Deux-ponts, Prince du Saint Empire* (Geneva, 1579), A3r.

of the death of the Count designed to promote unity between French and Germans. Using a battle scene where Wolfgang leads the Protestant forces, the two countries are shown to be united by faith:

Sçauoir à l'Alleman, le lien relacé
De la Foy qui l'vnit au François oppressé:
Lien, di-ie, qui point ne doit estre destruit
Par la force des mains, ni par l'esprit instruit
Aux ruzes de la cour: ainçois constant & ferme
Doit nouër des saisons le plus eslongé terme.²

Interesting with its rejection of the 'ruzes de la cour', the message is that common faith should take precedence over the protocols of diplomacy and rank. The French Protestants had solicited the aid of the German Princes citing common religious aims. Yet it would be naïve to ignore that it was their princely status which enabled them to offer any aid to co-religionists. Wolfgang is an exemplary leader. He is described as leaving his soul as a hostage under French guard. This is in order that the two nations might share a common future. Germany is credited as being the 'tutrice' to the French church, a reference to the Reformation's German beginnings as well as to the current situation, and the two are predicted to join inseparably, as they both enjoy Christ as their parent. The relationship is mutual, with Germany described as presiding over France, with the next line having France as Germany's guide. One might be militarily stronger than the other, but they must unite for the common aim of serving Christ:

Que pour l'honneur de Christ chacune communique
L'vne à l'autre sa force & puissance bellique
Par un secours commun: & brief que sans partage
Remettent en commun le vif de leur courage
Pour la cause de Christ: tout ainsi que la grace
D'un seul Christ est commune à l'vne & l'autre race:
Et que les moeurs des deux sourdent d'un mesme fons:³

After all, the count died that his legacy might be the unification of the two armies. With all its talk of unity and common goals, the tone of the 'Argument' is less optimistic than needy. The sense is real that without further encouragement the German forces might dissipate, and the French be left to continue their struggle alone.

² *Epithaphe*, A4r.

³ *Epithaphe*, A4r-v.

This desperate tone is put into context by the subsequent poem, the *Ode sur les Miseres des Eglises Françaises*. This work of 49 stanzas is incredibly dark compared to Chandieu's previous writings, and is the first step along the path of meditative literature that he followed for the duration of his poetical career. Fully the first two thirds of the work are a bleak description of the current French situation. Chandieu uses an image he had already touched on in the polemical debate with Ronsard, that of a ship in a storm, to evoke the precarious nature of French politics:

France est au nauire semblable,
 Qui n'a mast, ny voile, ny cable
 Qui ne sois rompu & cassé:
 Et se iette encor à la rage
 Du second & troisieme orage,
 Oublieuse du mal passé.

Son gouuernal est cheut en l'onde,
 Dont elle flotte vagabonde
 Au seul vent de sa passion:
 la du naufrage elle s'apporte,
 Heurtant à l'insensible roche
 De sa longue obstination.⁴

The second and third storms refer to the second war of religion (November 1567-March 1568) and the third (September 1568-August 1570). For Chandieu, each war is a fresh tumult that rocks the unsteady boat once again. The boat has no oars or mast, and thus cannot be steered, a reference to the government which the next stanza further clarifies: it has fallen into the water, and now the ship is being blown by the winds of passion towards the rock of obstinacy.

From this quasi-pastoral rendering of the French situation, the focus shifts to conveying the strange nature of the wars. Over five stanzas, France is described in terms approaching that of schizophrenia: her strength has been turned upon herself and she is tearing herself apart, in ways that the armies of her adversary Spain could never achieve.

⁴ *Epithaphe*, B1v. In later editions read 'temps' for 'mal'.

Having used the image of 'vn esclaue empire' where the subjects are destroyed so that they can be dominated, Chandieu reinforces this with a more bloodthirsty image:

Qui a point veu le phrenetique,
Lors que l'ardeur du mal le picque,
Cacher son glaive dans son flanc?
L'enragé Françoise luy ressemble,
Meurtri & meutrier tout ensemble,
Se baignant en soy propre sang.

Il prend son plaisir à se battre,
Pensant son ennemi combattre,
Et mescongoist tout ses amis:
Ceux qui pour sa langueur souspirent,
Et qui sa santé luy desirent,
Il les tient pour ses ennemis.⁵

This is chilling, a warrior so taken over by bloodlust that he cannot distinguish between friend and foe, so that he kills those who wish him well. It accurately summarises the attitude of men like Chandieu, who worried at the loss of their co-religionists in battle as they maintained their dedication to the French state. This conveys something of the bewilderment this situation evoked in the hearts of men who considered themselves far from being traitors. This sense of ill-comprehension continues with the image of a drunk man insisting he is sober reflecting the France which insists she is well although she is in ruins. The family ideal is also at risk:

Trois fois desia l'espee a prise,
Trois fois a transpercé l'Eglise,
Et dans son estomach fendu
Fait tiedir la poincte trenchante,
Baignant la terre rougissante
Des ruisseaux du sang espandu.

A l'enfant on oste la vie,
Es bras de la mere qui crie,
Qui s'efforce, qui le defend,
Et qui veut sentir la premiere
Le coup de l'espee meutrieur
Et de la mere & de l'enfant.

Le pere a veu en sa vieillesse

⁵ *Epithaphe*, B2r.

Mourir le fils de sa iuensee:
 Et d'une lamentable voix
 Le pere pleuroit sa misere
 De son fils, & le fils du pere,
 L'un & l'autre mourant deux fois.

Les soldats brutaux & farouches,
 Ont souillé les pudiques couches
 Des maris, tout deuant leurs yeux:
 Yeux ternis d'angoisses extremes,
 Qui voudroyent n'estre plus yeux mesmes,
 Pour ne voir ce crime odieux.

La vierge en son florissant aage
 A esté proye de leur rage,
 (Sans qu'on l'ayr osé secourir)
 Tout deuant la mere liee,
 Qui attendant d'estre tuee,
 Mouvoir ia deuant que mourir.

Le barbare n'a pas eu crainte
 D'ouvir la mere estant enceinte:
 Qui d'un precipité tourment
 Rend son fruict, son fruict qui bouillonne
 En son sang, alors qu'on luy donne
 Plustost fin que commencement.⁶

The repetition of 'Trois fois' grabs the reader's attention, and forces engagement with the horror of this episode straight away: the church's stomach being sliced open so rivers of blood flow from it. In case this is mistaken as being a metaphor, Chandieu gives examples of real blood flowing, each more successively gruesome. The first, the child being killed in its mother's arms, is bad enough, but is followed by the unnatural idea of a father watching his son being killed. The juxtaposition of old age and youth, father and son, is especially touching, with the final line of the stanza, where they die together, creating a strong sense of unease. After that between father and son, the next bond to give way is that between man and wife. This is a crime so unbearable that the poet personifies the husband's eyes to give them their own feelings, so that their horror at having to watch can be accurately portrayed. Virgins are also sacrificed to the soldiers' rage as mothers look on, waiting to die, mirroring the father and son image. In a final

⁶ *Epithaphe*, B3r-B4r.

outrage, the process of life is challenged so thoroughly that those who are not even born are killed, denying them a beginning by forcing them to their end. The cumulative effect of these images, forcing the reader to consider the threat to the ordinary family in terms of crimes against nature, is striking and climactic.

These crimes are witnessed by nature: the air, trees and rivers. This reflects Chandieu's growing preoccupation with the natural world and the inhumanity it witnesses. He shows his own sorrow in a particularly affecting stanza:

O que mes yeux ne sont fontaines
Sourdans du rocher de mes peines,
Et faisans des fleuves diuers,
Qui sur l'eschine de leur onde
Me portassent par tout le monde
Dedans la barque de mes vers!⁷

In Chandieu's theological and poetical works, he expressed sorrow, outrage, anger, contempt, a whole range of emotions that one might expect from one who understood his vocation to be that of a man of God whose efforts are thwarted by force. This strange stanza, in the middle of a poem so replete with examples of this challenge, stands out in its simplicity. It tells the reader how deeply the author has been struck by the events he has witnessed and described, so much so that he worries his eyes are fountains of tears, tears in such volume that they might create their own river. It is a plea for strength, so Chandieu can continue his work. Being overcome by emotion would not help him continue, and so he uses his poetry as a boat to traverse the rivers so frequently alluded to. This is a rare glimpse into the interior world of Chandieu's experience, and his description of poetry as a boat suggests by this point he realised its potential as an escape mechanism. He uses poetry to understand the events unfolding around him, and deal with them so he can move on and continue his other work. Although this was a published work intended to reach a wider audience, poetry's capability to provide an outlet for difficult personal emotions should not be ignored.

⁷ *Epithaphe*, B4r.

Having established the depravity of the world around him, Chandieu brings himself up short, realising he has been concentrating on the wrong sphere, and turns to the source of hope:

Mais que fay-ie helas? pourquoy est-ce
Que chargé de douleur i'abbaisse
Ma veuë aux hommes terriens?
Pourquoy tien-ie courbe ma teste,
Alors qu'estonné ie m'arreste
A la terre, au monde, au moyens?

I'esteue à toy mes yeux, ô Sire,
De l'abysme de mon martyre:
A toy, dont la grande grandeur
Surmonte la haute machine,
Qui d'un cours mesuré chemine,
Et ne se lasse en son labour.⁸

This prefigures the rejection of worldly things fully explored in the *Octonaires*, and the rest of the poem celebrates Chandieu's relationship with God in terms that restore some sense of optimism. This brings the reader far from the opening negative imagery: although the 'misères' of the title are very real, there is hope and potential for a better outcome, and with this being in the hands of God, it will assuredly come about.

Grief Poetry: the *Cantique à la Memoire de sa fille* and *Vers sur la mort de Coligny*

In the early 1570s, Chandieu's poetry addressed the themes of death and loss. This arose due to the death of two people who had made an impact on his life, one unknown to history, the other much celebrated. On 5 October 1571, Chandieu's first child, seven year old Marie, died. Her only legacy was the poem she inspired her father to write. Less than a year later, Coligny was murdered in the opening stages of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacres. Chandieu had written obituary verses before, on the death of Calvin, and we see in his treatment of both the preacher and the Admiral the distress felt in the Protestant movement when a leader passed on.

⁸ *Epithaphe*, C1v.

Three sonnets were attributed to Chandieu addressing Calvin's death. The first examines how the month of Calvin's passing has turned from spring, the period of new life, to that of death. Comparisons are made between the beauty of the spring flowers and the beauty Calvin had brought into the world:

May, qui doit resjouir la terre universelle,
Et revestir les champs de sa verte beauté;
May, qui doit descouvrir la riche nouveauté
De mille et mille fleurs, que la terre nous cèle;

May nous a despouillés de tout contentement,
May a changé son verd en dueil et en tournant;
Bref, ce May fut un mois au mois de May contraire.⁹

The second sonnet has an aura of resignation, that the natural order has been followed by Calvin's returning to the place from which he came, namely heaven. It seems to have been a source of comfort that their leader has not forsaken them in his passing on:

Cessez (dit l'Eternel) et vous l'aurez tous deux:
Car je luy ay donné un nom tant glorieux,
Qu'il n'y a mort, oubli, no tombeau qui l'enserre:

Le ciel aura l'esprit, la terre gardera
La gloire de son nom: et immortel sera
L'esprit vivant au ciel, le nom vivant en terre.¹⁰

The final sonnet is immediately more personal, as it is written in the first person, and talks about the physical attributes of the man himself.

Je pensoy que la mort avoit trop tost fermé
L'œil, l'aureille, et la bouche à ce chef vénérable,
Qui a veu et ouï le fruit inestimable
De son dire excellent, entre tous renommé.

...

Alors je cognoy bien, Calvin, que tu es mort
En un temps propre à toy, et qu'heureuse est la mort
Qui t'a fermé ton œil, ton aureille, et ta bouche.¹¹

⁹ BSHPF., t. V, p. 327.

¹⁰ BSHPF., t. VII, p. 14.

¹¹ BSHPF., t. VII, p. 14.

By dwelling on the disparity between physical being and the joyful fate that awaits after death, Chandieu is turning to themes that will become more overt in his treatment of the death of his daughter, and his later meditative poems.

The six verses on Coligny's death are also quite short. The first two bridge Chandieu's polemical poetry and the later reflective works, as the old patriotism so vehemently defended against Ronsard is made an integral part of Coligny's character:

Passant, veux tu savoir celuy qui gist ici
 Et sa vie et sa mort et son sepulchre aussi?
 Vous tous ces trois en un, regarde sa patrie:
 Tu verras son tombeau, et sa mort, et sa vie.
 Il vivoit à la France, en la France vivant,
 Il est mort à la France, à la France servant,
 Et contre sa fureur par sa fureur extreme
 La France est le tombeau de luy et d'elle-mesme.
 Car elle, luy niant tout honneur du tombeau,
 Et deschirant son corps en a jetté en l'eau,
 En a bruslé au feu, et le rest a fait pendre,
 Pensant par ce moyen sans sepulchre le rendre:
 Mais un homme incons a ce corps retiré,
 Et l'a secretement en ce lieu enterré.
 Où est donc son tombeau? il est par tout le monde:
 Il est en l'air, au feu, en la terre, et en l'onde.¹²

This final theme will be repeated in the *Octonaires*.¹³ In the second and third of the Coligny poems, the comments on the physical body show how this patriot has been betrayed. Coligny used his physical body to preach the Gospel and to protect France, but his body has been butchered by his enemies:

Celuy qui pour la vie et bien de sa patrie
 A cent fois exposé et les biens et la vie,
 Celuy qui pour la France a sa teste cent fois
 Exposee à la mort, sans test tu le vois.
 ... Voilà France, comment les bons Français tu payes,
 Te tuant en leur mort, te navrant en leurs playes.

Cruel, cruel François, tu ne t'es contenté
 D'avoir cruellement à l'amiral osté
 Et la test et les mains: mais tes mains furieux

¹² *Vers sur la mort de Coligny*, BSHPF t. XXIV, p. 83 ff.

¹³ See *Octonaire* 3.

Luy ont aussi coupé les parties honteuses:
 Je di donc qu'en sa mort n'y a rien de honteux,
 Et que les seuls meurtriers ont la honte pour eux.

In a later poem, this is used to underline Coligny's ultimate fate:

...Car le bras furieux
 Qui t'a mis bas t'esleve jusqu'aux cieux.
 Pendez plus haut, levez le et haussez ores:
 Il est plus haut sur vos testes encores.

The fourth poem is reminiscent of the *Ode sur les Misères des Eglises françoises*, with the ground soaked in blood and innocent lives lost: 'La terre a beu son sang, la terre gemissante De boire ainsi le sang d'une vie innocente.' In this way, the death of Coligny is really just another loss amidst the cycle of death that Chandieu and his co-religionists have been party to. The final stanza acts as a kind of summary, bringing Coligny back to a position of respect, and judging the manner of his death to be demonstrative of the current inescapable turmoil in the world.

These obituary poems are short, corresponding to their aim of encapsulating distress and recognising the impact the person's life has had. They also demonstrate how those left can continue. The verses on Marie's death are quite different. This is a long outpouring of grief over 160 lines. The poet's soul is lost in the desert searching for refreshment, trapped in 'la prison de son corps' (line 6). Chandieu despairs because he can sense the better alternatives:

Je sens en moy revenir
 D'une autre vie immortelle
 Un immortelle souvenir:
 Je voy au grand mal present
 La grandeur du bien absens[t]
 Duquel le desir s'augment
 Par la misere presente. (ll. 10-16)

From here, his thoughts turn to death: man falls from cradle to grave, and life is only just begun when it ends, reinforced by Marie's short life. He remarks on the inconstancy of this, and of human life in general, in which young men grow old with the lines on their

face to prove it, and forget their glory days of youth. Chandieu tries to clarify his insistence on the transient nature of human life:

Certes la vie est pareille
 A la rose qui ouverant
 L'oeil de sa beauté vermeille,
 Rend l'air odoriferant:
 Puis soudain on s'esbahit
 Comme elle s'esvanouit,
 Estans flestrie & seichee
 Par le vent qui l'a touchee.
 Si la course est incertaine
 Du vent, qui audacieux
 D'un pied leger se pourmeine
 Parmi le vuide des cieux,
 Et roule & chasse & poursuit
 La nuee qui s'enfuir:
 Aussi le temps nous emporter
 Ou d'une, ou d'une autre sorte.
 Qu'est-ce donc que ceste vie?
 Un songe, une rose, un vent,
 N'ayant rien que tromperie,
 Pourriture & changement. (ll. 50-69)

His discussion of the vanity of human life carries over several stanzas, before hope is introduced:

Mais la vie est proffitable
 A qui congnoist, comme il faut
 Que la vie est miserable,
 A fin d'aspirer plus haut:
 Et qui, nageant, void le port
 D'une bienheureuse mort,
 Qui de la mort le deliure
 Pour eternellement vivre.
 Cessez donc, mes yeux, d'espandre
 Les pluyse de ma douleur,
 Cessez de percer & fendre
 Les entrailles de mon coeur. (ll. 98-109)

The idea of death as hope fits with Chandieu's ideas about the futility of achieving salvation on earth, and his abhorrence at the corruption he sees in the world around him, but it also runs true to Calvinist theology, where the greatest reward will be after death when one reunites with the elect:

Dieu l'a ainsi ordonné:
Il prend ce qu'il a donné. (ll. 110-111)

Chandieu is not speaking as a theologian here, but as a father who has lost his daughter:

Ma fille vit à ceste heure
D'une vie trop meilleure.
Elle n'a faict en ce monde,
Sinon entre & sortir,
Du tormens[t], qui y abonde,
Dieu la voulant garentir.
Elle n'a qu'un peu gousté
De nostre calamité,
Et de la peine diverse
Qu'à pleine coupe on nous verse.
Au repos, ou je la croy,
Je puis dire en ma misere
Qu'elle a vescu devant moy,
Combien que je soy son pere: (ll. 112-125)

As a father, the greatest comfort Chandieu has at this point is that his daughter is in a better place – in fact, the best place:

Car du bien elle jouit,
Dont l'espoir me resiourir:
Elle a la gloire presente,
Dont n'ay encore l'attente.
Sortant d'une loge basse,
Elle est montee en un lieu,
Ou ell' contemple la face
De la maiesté de Dieu. (ll. 126-133)

For Chandieu, the fact that Marie has achieved the salvation which he has only to look forward to is indeed the greatest possible comfort at this time.

O vie cent fois heureuse
De ces espritz bienheureux:
O ma vie douloureuse,
Tant que ie soye avec eux.
Icy vivant ie ne voy
En moy, qu'un bien peu de moy:
Quand ie verray leur lumiere,
Lors sera ma vie entiere. (ll. 146-154)

This undeniably moving work shows how Chandieu brought his faith to bear on his personal life. This is the most tangible account we have of how being Protestant allowed him to act in his everyday life. The loss of a daughter was far closer to home than the more noteworthy death of a political leader, even of a beloved teacher and religious guide. In these lines, the heartbreak at losing one's own offspring is mitigated only by the very real belief that she has gone to a better place, one that can be achieved because of the faith in which she lived her short life, and to which the father has dedicated himself. Additionally, the themes of human weakness and above all of the transient nature of the world around us were to be predominant themes in Chandieu's later poetry, all the more so after Marie's death was followed by that of so many other innocent victims the following year.

The *Meditations*, and the indications of the deepening spiritual crisis

Prose meditations on Biblical passages were popular with Calvinist writers during the religious wars. There are surviving *Meditations* by de Bèze (published 1582), Jean de Sponde (1588), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1605) and Agrippa d'Aubigné, as well as a number of other linked items, as seen in table 6.1.¹⁴ The genre is technically ingenious in its manipulation of language.¹⁵ Meditations combine knowledge and reflection on the Psalms, which had known such a successful reception amongst the Protestant readership of the sixteenth century, with a conscious use of the first person that enables the author to achieve a personal tone not usually seen in the religious texts of the era. Naturally when this passes on to another reader, the emotive first person text can be counted upon to raise *their* emotional engagement with the ideas, promoting deeper reflection and engagement. In her consideration of the genre as practiced by d'Aubigné, Fragonard points out that the style is that of prayer, as opposed to philological-theological self expression: using the

¹⁴ This is based on the research of Klára A. Erdei, 'Méditations calvinistes sur les psaumes dans la littérature française du XVI^e siècle' in *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T. 24 (1-2) (1982), pp. 117-155.

¹⁵ A revival of interest in this narrow genre occurred amongst literary scholars in the early 1990s.. *La Méditation en prose à la Renaissance*, Cahiers VI. Saulnier no. 7 (Paris, 1990). For other examples in this genre, see Théodore de Bèze, *Chrestiennes Méditations*, Mario Richter (ed.) (Geneva & Paris, 1964), Jean de Sponde, *Méditations sur les Pseaumes*, Sabine Lardon (ed.) (Paris, 1996), and Agrippa d'Aubigné, 'Méditations sur les Pseaumes' in *Œuvres Complètes*, T. II, Eug. Réaume & de Caussade (eds.) (Geneva, 1967). Also of interest is the relevant section of Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, *La pensée religieuse d'Agrippa d'Aubigné et son expression* (Paris, 2004), especially pp. 93 ff.

Table 6.1 Prose Meditations

Author	Title	Publication details
Theodore de Bèze	Chrestiennes Méditations sur huict Pseaumes du prophète David	Geneva, Berjon, 1581
Antoine de Chandieu	Méditations sur le Psalme XXXIII	earlier Latin edition
Philippe Duplessis Mornay	Discours de la Vie et de la Mort (with Savonarola's Meditations)	Paris, Auvray, 1584
Philippe Duplessis Mornay	Meditations Chrestiennes sur les Pseaumes VI, XXV, XXX, & XXXII	La Rochelle, Haultin, 1586
Philippe Duplessis Mornay	Meditations chrestiennes sur quatre Pseaumes du Prophete David	Geneva, Chouët, 1591
Philippe Duplessis Mornay	Meditations chrestiennes sur plusieurs Pseaumes	Paris, Auvray & Louvain, 1596
	Meditations sur le Psalme Cent-un. Au Roy	La Rochelle, Haultin, 1591
	Meditation sur le Psalm Cente-trante	La Rochelle, Haultin, 1594
Pierre Pelisson	Meditation sur le Pseaume CXXVII	in Mornay 1586
Jean de Sponde	Méditations sur le Psalmes XIII., ou LIII, XLVIII., L., & LXIII	La Rochelle, 1588
Agrippa d'Aubigné	Mediations sur les Pseaumes	Geneva, Aubert, 1630
Daniel Toussain	L'exercice de l'Ame fidele, Assauoir Prieres et Meditations	Frankfurt, 1582
Philippe Duplessis Mornay	Les Larmes de Philippe de Mornay sur la mort de son fils unique en latin et en françois avec des meditaions sur les versets 11 & 12 du chap. III. des Proverbes	
Simon Goulart	Meditation chrestienne, sur les paroles du Seigneur, au 18. ch de S Matth v. 10	Geneva, Marceau, 1623
James VI	Meditation de Jacques VI, dv nom, Roy d'Escoce	La Rochelle, Haultin, 1589
John Fox	Eicasmī seu Meditationes in Apocalypsin S Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistae	Geneva, 1596
	Le voyage de Bethel (par Jean de Focquembergues) avec les Preparations, Prieres et Meditations	Middlebourg, Parmentier, 1602
Simon Goulart	XXV Meditations chrestiennes	Geneva, Chouët, 1608
Charles Drelincourt	Prières et méditations pour se préparer à la communion	Charenton, 1621
Sébastien Durant	Méditation pour les Églises réformées de France	Sedan, Jannon, 1622
Juan de Valdés	Les divines considérations et saintes méditations (trans. Claude de Kerquifinen)	(1563) re-ed Lyon, Rigaud, 1601

first person brings the reader fully into the text and allows identification with David. The Biblical King encapsulates both aspects of the Protestant personality: the Chosen One, anointed to lead Israel in the same way that the Protestants were chosen to receive God's grace; but also the sinner, whose actions removed him from the exalted position his by right and whose recognition of this sin was necessary to bring him back into God's light.¹⁶ The popular conclusion amongst scholars researching this highly specialised genre is that the meditation fulfilled the same basic role as confession did for the Catholic psyche, allowing the individual to engage in admission, repentance and absolution in order to square themselves with God. Meditation provided the same cathartic release: guiding the penitent Christian in a solitary setting, with no intercession from a priest. In essence, these texts use deeper study of Biblical works to achieve deeper religious awareness and to draw parallels with the ongoing upheavals in the everyday lives of Protestants. The Psalms themselves were originally a literature of suffering, that of the personal suffering of David and the collective sufferings of the Israelite peoples. Thus the adoption of this biblical antecedent by the Protestants in the period of their own trials is not surprising.

The genre's history is somewhat confused. The earliest studies, by Richter and Erdei, focused on de Bèze, the highest profile "name" and the translator of the Psalms through the 1550s and 1560s. Both commentators made much of the fact that de Bèze mentioned in his dedication to Anne Bacon that he had been long been thinking of putting together his reflections on the content of the Psalms:

il y a quelque temps qu'après m'estre employé à la traduction et exposition d'iceux, je me suis mis aussi à esbaucher quelques meditations sur ce subject ayant choisi, comme pour un essay, les sept Psalmes pieçà nommez penitentialux, pour estre lors specialement dediez à ceux lesquels après avoir satisfait à la penitence publique et canonique, estoyent r'alliez au corps de l'Eglise: le tout pour mon instruction et consolation particuliere. Et depuis encores ayant esté requis d'une grande et vertueuse Princesse de luy dresser quelque formulaire de prieres, je les ay reprins en main et polis aucunement, en esperence mesmes de les publier: ce que n'estant venu à effet par le soudain decez d'icelle Dame, je les ay gardez entre mes papiers comme chose de peu de prix.¹⁷

¹⁶ Fragonard, *Pensée religieuse*, p. 95-6.

¹⁷ De Bèze, *Chrestiennes Méditations*, pp. 39-40.

It would make sense for de Bèze to have been working on this project after his translations and with them still fresh in his mind. The ‘Princesse’ mentioned might well have been Jeanne d’Albret. De Bèze met her in 1571 at the synod of La Rochelle, along with Chandieu, before her death the following year. Yet her death was followed quickly by the tumult of the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacres, and publishing must have slipped de Bèze’s mind when more practical matters needed to be addressed. This climate was to inspire many of de Bèze’s co-religionists. The fact remains that de Bèze was not the first Protestant to publish a Psalm Meditation, contrary to some reports. Chandieu’s original Latin *Mediationes in psalmum xxxii* had appeared in 1578 (Lausanne, François Le Preux) and had been translated into English the following year.¹⁸ Chandieu was not necessarily the innovator in this area, and it is probable that studies of Latin and vernacular collections will uncover similarly themed works appearing in the 1570s. This realisation serves two purposes. Chandieu has been dismissed by some as nothing more than an associate of de Bèze. Rather, his work bridges the Meditation and more traditional theology, and as represents a key step in the development of the Meditation as a genre. Secondly, it forces greater consideration of the climate in which these works of profound contemplation of the pitiful human condition appeared, and the event which led to their conception, the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacres.

There is only one surviving copy of the 1583 French edition of Chandieu’s *Meditations*, in the BCU in Lausanne.¹⁹ This contained the first full edition of the *Octonaires*, for which it has received much attention, but its main text has been little explored. Chandieu’s *Meditations* are different to those of his contemporaries for their sheer length. On one short psalm, Chandieu produces 248 pages: the same psalm saw de Bèze produce 18 pages in his original edition.²⁰ Other meditative writers would follow de Bèze’s example. So Chandieu is conspicuous in his extensiveness. He was first and foremost a minister, extremely knowledgeable about the Bible and its interpretation. He had experience composing detailed theological tracts designed to convince opponents, so

¹⁸ *Moste excellent meditations uppon the xxii Psalme, written in latin by ... A.Sadel, and nowe newly translated into English...by W. W[atkinson]* (London, T.Dawson, for T Cook & T Man. 1579).

¹⁹ The English translation is available at Early English Books Online at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.

²⁰ De Bèze, *Chrestiennes Méditations*, pp. 59 ff.

it is not surprising that when left to exhaust himself on a particular, and in this instance well-defined, subject, he could run on. But it is unfair of one commentator to dismiss Chandieu's *Méditations* as not belonging to the genre at all:

La méditation pour Chandieu n'est pas de la littérature, il n'y pense même pas, son style est celui des raisonnements arides. Son exemple montre que les Protestants formés par l'*Institution*, malgré les Méditations de de Bèze dont l'influence se répandait déjà, ont eu du mal à dépasser le puritanisme calvinien contraignant.²¹

Chandieu wrote his *Méditations* before de Bèze's pervasive influence took hold, although there remains the possibility that the two friends had shared their works in manuscript. Erdei believed Chandieu's prose leant too heavily towards the theological texts of his past to be truly accepted as part of the meditative canon. Chandieu's theological past is manifestly obvious in his treatment of the text, but this work was very different to anything else he had produced, and signalled a new departure for his writing, borne out by the subsequent *Octonaires*.

Looking at the exact wording of the French title *MEDITATIONS Sur le Psalme XXXII. Traduites de Latin en François, & reueuës par l'auteur mesme. Avec vne preface à ceux qui se sont despartis de l'Eglise reformee. Ont esté aussi adioustez cinquante octonaires sur la vanité du monde*, the reference to the subject matter of the preface is striking.²² This initially appears to be a dazzling homage to the person of David in the Bible, and the significance of his struggles with sin:

Car combien qu'il ait esté grandement honoré par ceste victoire là: si est-ce que sa repentance a esté aussi vne victoire d'autant plus magnifique, que l'ennemie qui a esté vaincu, ascauoir le peché, estoit plus dangereux & redoutable: veu que Goliath ne pouuoit tuer que le corps, mais le peché peut tuer & le corps & l'ame[sic]. Et si la victoire est plus admirable, quand le soldat qui est sous les pieds de son ennemi comme desia tout vaincu, reprend coeur & non seulement se leue, mais aussi abat & terrasse celuy par lequel il auoit esté abattu: il faut confesser, que Dauid se repentant de sa faute, a encores mieux & plus vaillamment combatu contre le peché, qu'il n'auoit fait contre Goliath. Car lors le combat estoit d'ennemi à ennemi: mais en la

²¹ Erdei, p. 129.

²² Taken from FVB, SN 65850.

repentance de Daud, le vaincu a combattu contre le vainqueur & l'a surmonté.²³

David's victory over Goliath gave the Israelites courage, as his victory over sin should give Christians courage in their own battles. This is why Chandieu has produced this work:

Et parce que ie desire que ce mien petit labeur puisse seruir non seulement à moy, mais aussi aux autres, autant qu'il plaira à Dieu le benir: ayant sceu que quelques vns qui n'entendent pas la langue Latine (en laquelle ces Mediations ont esté premerement mises en lumiere, il y a ia quelque temps) desiroient en auoir communication: à ceste causes ie les at traduites en Françoises & reueues, selon que i'ay pensé estre conuenable pour respondre à leur intention & desir.²⁴

Of course, the *Méditations* are for anyone to read and use, but Chandieu especially mentions his hope that they will be used by those who have turned away from the Reformed churches, because they have suffered great afflictions. He knows there are some people who openly sin against God's word, but his interest here is those who are unhappy in their sinning but who still persist in it:

Le say qu'aucuns personnages de grande pieté & sauoir leur ont ia tendu la main, tant par leurs doctes escrits, que par leurs saintes remonstrances & exhortations, auxquelles ie ne pourroy rien adiuster: mais ce que ie fay à present, est seulement pour tesmoigner, que ie suis du nombre de ceux là qui desirent de tout leur coeur, que ceux qui se sont destournez de la profession de l'Euangile, y reuiennent, & par leur retour nous donnent autant de ioye & consolation, que leur depart nous a donné de fascherie & de tristesse. Ce q[sic] ie les prie de prendre de bonne part, & exhorte au nom de Dieu de se rendre bons disciples & diligens imitateurs de Daud és choses conntenues au present Psalme.²⁵

The introduction ends with a prayer to God that this might be achieved.

This introduction was composed around the same period as the *Octonaires*, in the early 1580s, and the accompanying *Meditation* at the end of the previous decade. The end of the 1570s have traditionally been seen as a crisis period for Calvinism, with thousands having abandoned their faith at the time of the Massacres, fearing continued

²³ *Méditations* (G), ¶2r-v.

²⁴ *Méditations* (G), ¶3r-v.

²⁵ *Méditations* (G), ¶4r.

violence. Those who had escaped with their lives and who now watched from a safe distance could only voice their disappointment. For someone so intimately involved in the growth of the church as Chandieu, this disappointment had to be all the more crushing. Out of harm's way in Lausanne, this preface demonstrates how keenly he felt the need for action to save the church, for the sake of the souls of the lost, rather than the church itself. This is a perfect example of how Chandieu's vision of the church was completely bound up with its members. It was not a political issue or desire to increase attendance, but a matter of saving souls. He could help through his ministry and his writing. Far from being a cold, inhuman Calvinist dogmatist, he is desperate to bring comfort to those who need it.

The text begins with a short explanation of the nature of sin and repentance in man. This is thoroughly Calvinist in tone, utterly convinced of the state of human wretchedness:

Mais les hommes sont tellement addonez & asseruis à peché, qu'entre les autres fautes qu'ils commettent, cest ci est des plus grandes, qu'ils n'ont pas vn tel sentiment du peché comme il est necessaire pour les amener à vne droicte repentance. Car il y en a de si stupides que combien qu'ils soient presque accablez sous le pesant fardeau de peché, ce neantmoins ils ne sentent pas leur charge, mais au contraire, pensent estre bien à leur aise: & se plaisent tellement en vn si miserable trauail, qu'ils ne font autre choses tous les iours que d'amasser peché sur peché, c'est à dire, entasser charge sur charge, & mettre vn fardeau sur l'autre, avec telle stupidité que plus le monceau est gros & pesant, & moins ils le sentent.²⁶

The alternative to this is being aware of one's sin but also of one's own weaknesses and falling into a state of despair. But in this Psalm, Chandieu explains, David shows man how to remedy these states, in three ways: firstly, he proposes the doctrine of the remission of sins and how this comes from the Grace of God, before confirming this doctrine with his own life and experiences, and finally remonstrating with sinners to recognise their faults and come to accept the judgement of God. Chandieu explains the Psalm's title, likening this to the doorway one must appreciate before crossing the threshold, before contrasting it with ancient philosophy. Chandieu observes the best

²⁶ *Méditations (G)*, a1v-2r.

philosopher of all was he who said he only knew one thing, and that was that he knew nothing. He is slightly dismissive of all the sciences (meaning knowledge) they designed for living well, for there is nothing to compare with the science that David demonstrates.

Chandieu employs a series of rhetorical questions to make his point:

Mais la science doit estre proprement appelee science, qui rend les hommes non seulement plus sçauans; mais aussi meilleurs. Car si nous considerons les sciences qui ont esté anciennement tant renomnees, comme l'Arithmetique, l'Astrologie, la Geometrie, & autres semblables: dequoy seruira la cognoissance de toutes ces choses, sil le remors de nostre conscience nous rend conuaincus que nous sommes indignes du ciel & de la terre, & de la iouissance des creatures de Dieu? Que seruira-il à l'Astrologue de sçauoir le cours & le mouuement du ciel & des corps celestes, si son peché le precipite iusques aux enfers? Que profitera au medecin de sçauoir guerir les corps si cependant son ame est malade de vne maladie mortelle. Pourquoi se vantera le Iurisconsulte de cognoistre le droict & l'equité s'il se sent conuaincu en sa conscience d'iniquité & d'iniustice? Quoy plus?²⁷

All worldly sciences are useless if the science of remission of sins is not added to perfect them. Man can take comfort from knowing David underwent periods of doubt, as did St Paul, to inspire the reader to follow the same mental pathway.

The meditation itself addresses each verse in turn. It is obviously meant to be read as a whole. In Chandieu's theological works, each subsection is very clearly marked out and set apart, so the argument can be broken down and digested piece by piece. Here, there is often not even a clear paragraph break between the eleven verses. Instead, the reader is presented with a mass of text. There is no convenient break point, but rather one is drawn deeper and deeper into to the psalm and its ramifications. The overall result is overwhelming. The tone is very different to that of the theological treatises: although not written in the first person as many meditations were, Chandieu writes as though addressing a congregation or a parishioner. The benevolent 'tu' is far more relaxed than the ranting of the *Response aux moines de Bordeaux*. He even puts words into David's mouth, to convey with absolute clarity what the reader should be thinking. His treatment of the first verse exemplifies this, and harks back to the introductory section, continuing the critique of ancient philosophers. Most pertinent is the middle section of the first

²⁷ *Méditations (G)*, a7r-v.

verse, where Chandieu considers man's quest to find happiness. The ideas here are revisited in the *Octonaires*, those of man's basest natures, and the lack of constancy in the world:

Di moy, auaricieux à quoy pretens tu par tant de peines, tant de veilles, de soucis, de dangiers, & par le continuel trauail tu amasses ordinairement tes richesses? C'est, dira-il, afin que par ce moyen ie soye heureux. Et toy, ambitieux, à quelle fin pourchasses-tu tant les honneurs & dignitez de ce monde? Pour estre bien heureux, dira-il. Et si ie m'adresse au voluptueux, il me respondra de mesme, & me dira qu'il pense estre bien heureux, quand il se sera plongé en ses delices, & en toutes sortes de voluptez & plaisirs. Partant les auaricieux, les ambitieux, & ceux qui suiuent les voluptez pensent estre bien heureux au milieu de leur malheur, iusques à ce qu'en fin l'experience leur monstre que la felicité n'est pas es richesses, ni es honneurs, ni es voluptez de ce monde.²⁸

Chandieu rails against those who believe happiness can be achieved through the pursuit of good works, an idea irrevocably linked with Catholicism. Instead, he addresses those discouraged by the present situation:

Il semble que dés le berceau vous suciez desia les fascheries qui croissent quand & vous, & vous accompagnent iusques au tombeau. Le monde vous a en detestation, & semble que tous les elements conspirent contre vous. Car la terre vous reiette, les feux vous consomment, les eaux vous estouffent, & si quelques vns eschappent, ils sont si estroittement reserrez que le libre vsage de l'air, & presques la respiration commune leur rest deniee. Les autres hommes voudroyent que vous ne fussiez plus hommes, & sont marris d'auoir ce nom commun avec vous. La patrie, qui est naturellement douce aux autres ne vous peut souffrir. Vos parents vous desauoënt, vos amis vous deliassent, vos ennemis triomphent de vous: ou est donc ceste felicité de laquelle vous vous glorifiez? Le respon qu'elle n'est voirement en ces elements corruptibles, puis qu'elle est exempte de tout corruption, & qu'il ne faut iuger des bien heureux selon le iugement de la chair, & l'auis de monde: mais selon la sentence que Iesus Christ luymesmes en a prononcée (Matt. 5).²⁹

A desperate picture, but it matches the French Protestants' plight: hated by Catholic France, they had experienced fire and water as means of execution, above all during the massacres; they had been rejected by friends, family and above all their country. Chandieu the exile speaks for his fellow countrymen in their plight. But there is hope, in the Calvinist vision at least, in the form of the final judgement in which the just shall be

²⁸ *Méditations (G)*, b4r-b5r.

²⁹ *Méditations (G)*, b7r-v.

saved. The righteous should imagine this day and suffer what happens to them, however cruel, in the meantime:

Puis donc que les paroles de Iesus Christ nostre Seigneur doiuent auoir plus de poids enuers nous que les paroles des hommes, nous mespirons aisement les moqueries, dont on vse coustumierement contre nous. Si la terre nous a en haine, le ciel nous approuue: Si les hommes nous reiettent, Dieu nous reçoit: Si nos amis nous mescognoissent, Dieu nous recognoit pour ses seruiteurs & enfans: Si la patrie nous dechasse, nous auons vne demeure & vne cité permanente au ciel: Si nostre vie est subiette à beaucoup de maux, nous auons esperance d'une meilleure vie, qui sera exempte de tout fascherie & calamité. Par ainsi, tant s'en fait que la haine du monde esbranle nostre felicité, qu'elle la conferme d'avantage, nous esant vn certain tesmoignage que nous ne sommes pas du monde.³⁰

They are in fact lucky to be rejected by such a horrible world, as it underlines their progress along the path to righteousness.

The second verse, *Bien heureux est l'homme auquel le Seigneur n'impute point l'iniquité, & en l'esprit duquel il n'y a pointe de fraude*, discusses God's justice, and the necessity of true faith. When he encourages people to live in faith and to reject its enemy hypocrisy, it is not hard to imagine Chandieu thinking of those who have turned from their faith in the panic after the massacres. This passage is remarkably positive about the administration of God's justice, and the impression is that Chandieu is trying to convince lapsed members to come back as they will regret persisting in this delusion. This verse teaches people to hate hypocrisy. It rejects the idea of good works and talks on the subject of the remission of sins, on which Chandieu would write separately. The most encouraging part of this verse is the reassurance that not everyone is perfect: if even David can make such grave mistakes and be forgiven, then there is hope for the rest of mankind.

The rest of the meditation follows on in the manner established. The third verse takes the theme of consolation, teaching the value of confessing one's sins to God: not auricular confession, dismissed as being of little worth because it is coerced (f3v), but rather the joy of entering into an honest relationship with God. The fourth verse explains

³⁰ *Méditations (G)*, b8r-v.

the joy of accepting God's help and reflects on the physical benefits of honesty with God, whilst the fifth verse again encourages men to undertake this by their own volition and to talk to God, with more condemnation of auricular confession (g4r ff.). The sixth verse states God's blessings are shared by the whole church, especially relevant at this point. When the church has been threatened by outside menace and so many people have returned to the Catholic church, reminding people of its communal nature and its exclusivity, which had been so attractive to those joining in the early years, is a sensible measure to take. By forgetting this, the church has found itself in this dire situation, and steps must be taken to end this, although people have been slow to respond:

Or il faut que i'accuse nostre lascheté en cest endroit. Car combien en-y a aujourd'huy qui facent leur profit de cest exemple? où sont ceux qui gémissent pour leurs pechez, qui se conuertissent, & qui implorent la grace de Dieu? Combien en verra-on qui prient Dieu de bon coeur au milieu de tant de calamitez & miserez? En somme nous n'auons pas faute d'exemples, veu mesme cestuy-ci de Dauid qui nous est présenté deuant les yeux. (h1v).

Verses seven and eight examine how the remission of sins is central to our relationship with God, and how man's sinful nature means he is unable to achieve this alone, but is reliant on God's aid. The final sections bring in the idea of repentance, once again highlighting man's utter dependence on God, before concluding with promises of triumph. For those who have been moved to act on his words, Chandieu helpfully includes a prayer for those who wish to confess their sins to God, taking meditation from a passive to an active experience.

The *Méditation* was part of a growing trend in Protestant literature, but the reasoning behind its growth has not sufficiently been explored. Taking into account the other works Chandieu wrote at this time, it seems the French Protestant experience had been flung off course from its original optimism, and this caused its members to question their motivations. As they found their purpose to be pure and true, they still needed a way to interpret recent events. The most logical way for them to do this was by copying the actions of their Biblical predecessors, and David became the model for thoughtful protestants wishing to reflect on their situation. For these years were perhaps the darkest for men like Chandieu, and the inner contemplation encouraged by the Reformed religion

gave little emotional support outside the actual service itself for adherents troubled by their conscience. With no equivalent to confession, an alternative outlet had to be found. The burst of meditative writing and reflective verse that surfaced during the later decades of the sixteenth century proves that meditations and poetry proved to be the most appropriate channel for these men who found themselves far removed from the militant confidence of the previous decade. And as the position of French Protestantism grew more precarious, such resources would prove to be even more valuable.

The fortunes of French Protestantism

This era in the fortunes of French Protestantism could not help but be marked by the effects of the massacres of 1572. Chandieu's writings indicate despair had entered into the Protestant mindset prior to this date, evidenced by the tone of the *Ode*. But nothing prepared them for the scale of violence and the practical losses of those few months, and the mass exodus away from the faith in the years that followed. In this climate, two main shifts can be seen to have occurred. The first was practical; having devoted so much time and energy through the early years to establishing a Protestant church separate to that of Geneva, with its own structures and its own specifically French identity, the body blow dealt by the massacres to the Protestant leadership left them no option but to flee to the sanctuary and protection of Geneva. The work of Olson has shown this was not an easy situation to manage in practical terms.³¹ Further examination of the relevant surviving documents in Geneva may well demonstrate corresponding emotional problems. Interestingly, the letters of the Bullinger Project in Zurich imply an attempt to maintain a separation between the French congregation and the native Genevan churches: appendix C shows the existence of a letter of December 1572 specifically from the French Stranger's church, with Chandieu's name attached to this document.³² This letter suggests that the assimilation into the Genevan church was not immediate. Yet in this climate of loss, Geneva's supremacy had to be acknowledged, and

³¹ Jeannine E. Olson, *Calvin and Social Welfare: Deacons and the Bourse française* (London and Toronto, 1989), p. 25 and 136.

³² There is no other obvious documentation which allows for us to suppose that this group carried on functioning in the same way as the Italian or English churches did.

the fate of the French churches shifted as much due to their loss of independent identity as to the physical losses of 1572.

Chandieu was mostly based in Lausanne after the spring of 1573, in comparative calm after his work between France and Geneva, and in an atmosphere of contemplative comradeship among the staff of the Lausanne Academy which he joined in June 1577 as professor of theology. This put him in contact with academics such as Nicolas Colladon and Blaise Marquard as well as Claude Aubéry, his great friend and intellectual sparring partner. In this atmosphere, assumedly somewhat rarefied after fleeing from massacres in Lyon, Chandieu had the time to turn his mind to wider issues facing the Reformed church, not exclusively in France but in Europe as a whole. His work during the 1560s had carved out a niche for himself as a talented polemicist. After the massacres, a man like Chandieu who had shown remarkable leadership qualities, and who had been selected by his peers as spokesman, was expected to announce and reinforce the Calvinist message to the wider world. What had originally been the vision of one man, in one city, had taken root in many communities throughout Europe, and a new generation of leaders had to be found to provide at least nominal guidance. Chandieu's experiences in France, as polemicist and leader, made him an ideal proponent of this amended agenda. The debate with Jesuit writers showed Chandieu taking on the mantle of a top level Calvinist spokesman, charged with representing the movement on an external basis as well as providing guidance within. Yet whilst promoting and protecting his religion, Chandieu continued to use poetry to examine the Protestant experience.

The *Octonaires*

The most recognised part of Chandieu's literary output has traditionally been the *Octonaires*, a cycle of fifty poems written at the end of the 1570s and start of the 1580s.³³ Their main occupation is man's weakness and tendency to fail in his duty to God. Table 6.2 shows the main types of imagery used in the cycle. After an introductory duo which

³³ All citations of the *Octonaires* are from Antoine de Chandieu, *Octonaires sur la Vanité et Inconstance du Monde* Françoise Bonali-Fiquet (ed.) (Geneva, 1979). The numbering used in this edition has been kept for simplicity's sake, although the *Octonaires* were arranged into different orders in some of their appearances in other works.

Table. 6.2 Imagery in the Octonaires

Oct.	Monde	Course	Cieulx	Yeux	Terre	Arrester	Feu	Air	Eau	Repos	Nuict	Inconstance/ Vanité	Mer/ Water	Vent/ Tempeste	rouler
1	•	•	•	•		•					•	•			•
2		•	•	•	•	•				•		•			
3	•		•		•		•	•	•	•					
4	•												•	•	
5	•					•							•		•
6	•										•				
7			•	•							•				
8					•						•				
9	•						•							•	
10														•	
11															
12				•								•		•	
13	•											•			
14	•				•									•	
15	•														
16	•													•	
17	•						•			•					
18	•				•									•	
19					•			•	•					•	
20					•										
21															
22	•		•		•							•			
23															
24										•				•	
25		•							•					•	
26	•											•			
27	•														
28	•													•	
29	•						•				•				
30	•													•	
31	•								•						
32	•														
33	•														
34	•														
35	•														
36	•		•				•				•	•			
37	•											•			
38	•														
39	•									•					
40	•									•					
41	•														
42	•													•	
43	•														
44	•			•							•	•			
45	•			•											
46	•			•											
47	•		•						•						
48	•			•								•			
49	•											•			
50	•											•			

Oct	soleil	jour	blind	time	flower/ garden / fruit	weather	senses	vie/ mort	food	desire	ambition	volupté	avarice
1	•			•									
2								•					
3													
4										•			
5													
6	•	•											
7		•	•										
8				•	•								
9				•	•								
10				•	•			•					
11				•		•							
12							•		•				
13								•					
14								•					
15									•	•			
16									•	•			
17										•			
18											•	•	•
19										•			
20											•		•
21											•		•
22											•		
23											•		•
24								•		•			
25													
26								•		•			
27							•	•					
28					•								
29		•											
30					•								
31						•		•					
32				•									
33					•								
34				•	•		•	•					
35				•						•			
36	•									•			
37													
38													
39													
40										•			
41													
42								•		•			
43								•	•				
44							•			•			
45			•							•			
46				•			•	•					
47							•						
48							•			•			
49													
50								•		•			

introduce the ideas of the passage of time and the fallibility of the human senses,

Octonaire 3 looks at the interchangeability of the four elements:

Le Feu, L'Air, l'Eau, la Terre ont tousjours changement,
 Tournant et retournant l'un à l'autre element.
 L'Eternel a voulu ce bas Monde ainsi faire
 Par l'accordant discord de l'element contraire,
 Pour monstrier que tu dois ta felicité querre
 Ailleurs qu'au Feu, qu'en l'Air, qu'en l'Eau et qu'en la Terre,
 Et que la vray repos est en un plus haut lieu
 Que la Terre, que l'Eau, que l'Air et que le Feu.

Octonaire 4 at the unpredictability of the seas, and 5 similarly at rivers:

Y a-il iren si fort, si rude et indomptable
 Que le flot de la mer par les vents tourmentée?
 Y a-il rien qui soit si foible que le sable?
 Le flot est toutesfois par le sable arrêté.
 O Mondain de combien la tempeste est plus forte
 Du vent de tes desirs, que ton ame transporte!
 Veu que rien n'est si fort au monde, qui retienne
 Le flot tempestueux de la passion tienne.

Vous, Fleuves et Ruisseaux, et vous claires Fontaines,
 De qui le glissent pas
 Se roule roule en bas
 Dites-moi la raison de vos tant longues peines.
 C'est pour montrer au doigt que ta vie en ce Monde
 S'enfuit ainsi que l'onde,
 Et ta felicité
 Ne s'arrect icy-bas où rien n'est arrêté.

This theme continues: 24, 25, 28, 31, 33, and 34 all deal with nature themes, water, plants, wind. The idea of nature being untrustworthy is arresting: the works of the *Pléiade* had established the pastoral genre as man in his idyll, without social constraints. Writers like Ronsard explored how man's inner temperament was reflected in the beauties of nature. Chandieu's work takes this further, and concludes if this is so, then man is unavoidably unstable, as nature is forever changing. Octonaires 6, 7 and 29 look at night and day, emphasizing the disorientation of the senses and man's weak perception of the world around him, whilst reminding the reader of the light God brings into one's life.

Octonaires 8 to 11 form a complete set, dealing with the seasons of the year and how each season demonstrates the precarious nature of man's reliance on the world. Having introduced the 'Mondain' as an everyman character in Octonaires 16 & 17, Chandieu examines in Octonaires 18 to 21 what he sees as the fundamental aspects of man's character, Ambition, Voluptuousness and Avarice:

Le Mondain se nourrit tousjours
De l'espoir de ses vains discours,
Qui ne sont que fumee et vent,
Qui le vont ainsi decevant,
Et rendent son ame affamee
Ne t'esbahi doncques s'il est
Si leger veu qu'il se repaist
Tousjours de vent et de fumee.

Le Mondain craint tousjours et tousjours il desire,
Doublement tourmenté d'un contraire martyre.
Son desir est un feu qui court parmi ses os,
Le sechant, l'aterrant, le privant de repos.
Sa crainte est un glaçon, qui luy saisait le cœur,
Pensant ne tenir pas ce qu'il serre et embrasse;
Et ainsi combattu d desir et de peur,
Il gele dans le feu, et brusle dans la glace.

Ambition, Volupté, Avarice,
Trois Damessont à qui on fait service,
Et les Mondains se travaillent sans cesse,
Pour en avoir Honneur, Plaisir, Richesse.
Tous sont payez. Le vain Ambitieux,
N'a que du vent. Le fol Volupteux,
Un repentir. L'Avare, un peu de terre,
Et moins en a, d'autant plus qu'il en serre.

Comme de l'Aigle en l'air l'aile viste et hautaine,
Comme la nef en l'eau, portée par le vent,
Ainsi s'envole et fuit la richesse mondaine,
Ainsi passe soudain le plaisir decevant.
Et comme on ne peut pas voir ni en l'air, ni en l'eau
Ou la trace de l'aigle, ou celle du vaisseau,
Ainsi les biens s'en vont, et ton plaisir se pause,
Et t'efforces en vain de les suivre à la trace.

L'Ambitieux tousjours en haut tendre

Et adjouster honneur dessus honneur.
 L'Avare fend la terre, afin d'y prendre
 Le metal riche, où il fonde son heur.
 L'un tend en haut, et l'autre tend en bas,
 L'un est contraire à l'autre, ce nous semble.
 Mais pour cela contraires ne sont pas,
 Car à la fin ils se trouvent ensemble.

J'ai de l'Avare et de l'Ambitieux
 Les grands regrets et la plainte entendue:
 Las! j'ai perdu mon thresor precieux,
 Et moy (helas!) j'ai ma grandeur perdue.
 A quel propos ces regrets tant extremes?
 A quel propos ces extre mes douleurs?
 Pleurez plustost de ce que vos grandeurs
 Et vos thresors vous ont perdus vous-mesmes.

The *Méditations* had made similar observations: obviously Chandieu was more preoccupied with the weaknesses of man in his experiences of the post-St Bartholomew world. Worldly issues weigh heavily on the reader's mind throughout the series. Another theme is historical context: 32, 38 and 48 all consider how antiquity failed to achieve salvation, whilst Octonaire 26 makes a direct reference to the French situation, itself demonstrative of the inconstancy of the world:

Tu me seras tesmoin, ô inconstante France,
 Qu'au monde n'y a rien qu'une vraie inconstance,
 Car ta paix est ta guerre et ta guerre est ta paix,
 Ton plaisir te desplaist et ton soulas t'ennuye.
 Tu crois qu'en te tuent tu sauveras ta vie,
 Flotant sur l'incertain de contraires effects.
 Il n'y a chose en toy qui ferme se maintiene,
 Et n'as rien de constant que l'inconstance tiene.

This seems to be a rather muted response to events compared with Chandieu's more virulent works, such as the *Ode sur les Miseres des Églises Françaises*. Chandieu sees the present situation as part of God's overall design. The wars are just another example of the unpredictability of the world, where salvation only comes from the grace of God.

Throughout, Chandieu uses different styles: rhetorical questions (27), thundering sermonizing (41), and detached observation of events (40). The effect is to force

consideration of the arguments from all sides. The idea of man being in balance with nature and the world, but most importantly with himself, had developed throughout the Renaissance. Some medieval thinkers believed man's soul to be separate from his body, and had contemplated the connection between soul and body, and the ideal state the two should be in before death. This led naturally to reflection on what happens after death, when the two separated. If the soul is that part of the human constitution closest to God, then the body, which is visibly weak and subject to age, disease and death, is by definition removed from God. It was Christ's assumption of the human body which marked out His sacrifice. It is in death that man comes close to God. The aim was to show the unstable and transitory nature of earthly life. Man should be aware of his miserable state, so he realises God is his only hope. This pessimistic view of Man's condition was integral to Calvinist theology, whereby Man can only have limited joy on his own, none if he has not entered into a state of Grace. If Man is in a state of blindness and sleep, the role of pastors like Chandieu is to awaken the chosen. In the *Octonaires*, this sleeper is the everyman character referred to as 'Mondain', the embodiment of all weaknesses and foibles, but about whom God still cares enough to offer a means of salvation. In his *Méditations*, Chandieu separated 'Mondains' from 'fideles' and 'craignans Dieu'. Chandieu plays a dual role, that of a poet and of a preacher bringing the Mondain to God. From Calvin's *Epistre au Roi* (1536) onwards, the idea of salvation beginning with the sinner's recognition of their own state of corruption was integral to the salvation process. Chandieu's poetry is an example of how this recognition might be articulated.

The *Octonaires* are generally considered to be devotional poetry.³⁴ This term applies to Catholic and Protestant works which took spirituality as their subject matter, and aimed to increase the reader's spiritual awareness through the development of standard themes. The sixteenth century had seen an increasing emphasis on the inner values of religion: prayer and meditation as opposed to outward ceremony. In the early

³⁴ See Terrence Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France, c. 1570-1613* (Cambridge, 1969) for the best introduction to this genre. Other examples of the genre can be found in Terrence Cave & Michel Jeanneret, *Métamorphoses spirituelles: Anthologie de la poésie religieuse française 1570-1630* (Paris, 1972).

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church, theology and private religion were complementary, but this had ceased during the middle ages. The soul-searching prompted by religious reforms reinforced the role of the individual in religious experience. Although evident in the practices advocated by evangelical writers such as Marguerite de Navarre, spirituality became more visible in French literature from the 1570s, when devotional religion as practiced at the court of Henri III became fashionable, and an accompanying literature became necessary. This was built around the themes explored by Philippe Desportes and Guy Le Fèvre.

Obviously, some themes of Catholic devotional poetry were anathema to Calvinist worship, for example the abundance of penitential literature, something the Protestant church had no need of in a theology where election not penitence ensured salvation. This also cut out some of the necessity for reflection on the life of Christ so prevalent in Catholic poetry, where sharing in the bodily suffering of Christ led to the salvation of the individual. In essence, Chandieu's *Octonaires* were the poetical continuation of the *Meditations*.³⁵ Although not specifically based on a particular psalm, they addressed the same issues as meditation literature and would prove to be popular with the reading public.

What do the *Octonaires* tell us about the mental state of French Protestants after the massacres? Chandieu had found a method, either knowingly or inadvertently, by which surviving believers could reconcile the horror of the events they had witnessed to their overall destiny as the chosen children of God. This world was not meant to be easy: if one did not face challenges that truly tested one's faith, one was apt to fall into sin. In this, the constant believer could take comfort from their closeness to the trials of biblical characters, most obviously David, and take heart that the eternal reward for their suffering on Earth would be salvation. The similarity to David's situation was reinforced by the continued use of Psalms in congregational worship and lay activity. This means of coping is seen in other works. Chandieu's great work has been studied alongside D'Aubigné's Protestant 'epic' *Les Tragiques*, but the other poems in the various anthologies by Maisonfleur and Valagre addressed similar themes, and both Goulart and

³⁵ Du Bartas's creationist poetry is counted as profane, despite its subject matter, as it had no aim to encourage spiritual devotion.

du Chesne took Chandieu's work to heart, and continued the *Octonaire* format. But this is not the whole story. Although Chandieu's intention might have been to create a sense of inevitability and acceptance amongst Protestants, once his work entered the public domain, it became malleable and useful in achieving the aims of others. Thus we see it appearing in various guises, as songs, as a source for emblems and in anthologies.

The Octonaires: poetical afterlife

The variety of editions of the *Octonaires* suggests that they tapped into a stream of thought within the Calvinist consciousness, and they quickly became a popular item for the sixteenth-century mass audience. They appeared in various formats, with different forms reaching different audiences and achieving different goals.

Publication History

The *Octonaires* were first mentioned in a manuscript edition of 1576 of 19 *Octonaires*, owned by the Protestant surgeon Rasse des Noeux.³⁶ On 13 October 1581 Claude Juge asked the Genevan council for permission to print *Octonaires de la vanité du Monde*, Pibrac's *Quatrains* and de Bèze's *Pseaumes Latines & Pseaumes François*, all set to music by Pascal de l'Estocart. In November 1581, Jean de Laon published two books of l'Estocart's music, including the *Octonaires*, but a letter from l'Estocart implies they were written earlier:

Il est advenu par la providence de Dieu, qu'à mon dernier retour d'Italie pour entrer en France, j'ay esté prié d'un mien ami de mettre en musique quelques Octonaires composez par le Sieur de Chandieu sur l'inconstance et vanité du monde. Or combien que j'eusse discontinué un tel exercice l'espace de plusieurs années, ayant esté employé a autres affaires, toutesfois desirant r'entrer en grace avec les Muses, je donnai air à cinq ou six huitains, qui ayans esté esprouvez induisirent cest ami et autres à me presser de poursuivre le reste: ce que je fis au moins mal qu'il me fut possible.³⁷

³⁶ Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'François Rasse des Neux et ses tombeaux poétiques' in Jean-Eudes Girot (ed.), *Le poète et son oeuvre: de la composition à la publication* (Geneva, 2004), pp. 37-46.

³⁷ Cited on pp 14-15 of introduction by Bonali-Fiquet.

This implies that the final sum of fifty had not yet been reached, or at least that Chandieu had not distributed the full set, else l'Estocart would have completed the cycle. The subsequent editions of *Octonaires* by l'Estocart only included works by du Chesne and Goulart.

The first edition to comprise all fifty *Octonaires* appeared in 1583, when they were published after Chandieu's *Méditations*. The *Régistres du Conseil de Genève* record a request for publication by Louis du Rozu. A three year privilege was granted on the advice of de Bèze on 29 July 1583, and du Rozu passed this on to Laimaire.³⁸

Florence Mauger identified an earlier incomplete edition of the *Octonaires* from 1580.³⁹ Drawing on the tradition of Emblem Books, this Strasbourg edition, printed by Bernard Jorbin, comprised 18 engravings entitled *Octonaires sur la Vanité et Inconstance du Monde* by the engraver Etienne Delaune.⁴⁰ Only one copy apparently survived, now held in a private collection. The composition is slightly different, and gives clues as to the development of the *Octonaires* as a complete corpus. In 1576 there were 19 stanzas in manuscript. The 1580 edition comprises seventeen *Octonaires* and a dedicatory huitain ostensibly to Marguerite de Navarre which Mauger attributed to the printer's brother-in-law Jean Fischart.⁴¹ The verses were lettered A-S, with a series of engravings. These were well known to aficionados of Delaune, but the link with Chandieu was not known. The poet's name only appeared on the manuscript as AZ, and the notoriety of Delaune meant that the accompanying verses were seen as somewhat of secondary interest.⁴² As thought-provoking as Mauger's work is on the history of this lost edition, her final remarks, that Chandieu composed the remaining *Octonaires* after having been inspired by the emblematic engravings of Delaune, seems somewhat arbitrary, and fails

³⁸ RCP Vol V p. 17.

³⁹ Florence Mauger, 'Antoine de Chandieu and Etienne Delaune: Les *Octonaires sur la Vanité et Inconstance du Monde*. Un recueil d'emblèmes?', BHR LVIII (1996), pp. 611-629.

⁴⁰ This was originally cited by Mario Richter in *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery* (2nd Ed) (Rome, 1964-1974).

⁴¹ Fischart was an established Protestant satirist in Germany who had translated *Gargantua* into German. Mauger identifies him by the use of his device, "Alors comme Alors" in the Colophon (op. cit. pp. 620-1).

⁴² Delaune's engravings are held at the BN and the Musée des Beaux-Arts. Mauger notes manuscript additions of other parts of the *Octonaires*.

to take account of the series as a constituent whole that takes its logical place in Chandieu's work. These poems address themes that can be seen to have built throughout Chandieu's career as a poet and as a Protestant.

Three octonaires were published as an appendix to Pierre Poupo's *La Muse Chrestienne* (1585, Geneva).⁴³ They also appeared in the collections of the *Cantiques de Maisonfleur and Valagre*. Étienne de Maisonfleur is identified with some reservation as Jérôme L'Huiller, seigneur de Maisonfleur, a friend of Ronsard. His first collection of *Cantiques* appeared in 1580 in Antwerp, and in 1584 this was extended to include works by Yves Rouspeau, Remy Belleau, Marin Le Saulx, Philippe Desportes, Th. De Sautemont and Joachim du Bellay, and was dedicated to Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier. The 1586 edition added in the *Octonaires* and Pibrac's *Quatrains*. Once published, it would have been hard for Chandieu to have any control over how his work was reproduced and to prevent its inclusion in collections.

Thirty-six octonaires were set to music by Claude le Jeune, Henri IV's *compositeur ordinaire du chambre* (1596), which were completed by his sister and published in 1606. Multiple editions were reprinted in Geneva both of complete and partial collections. Two were added to editions of *Abraham Sacrifiant* in 1598 and 1606. A Genevan edition of the *Méditations* (1599) included them, as did Jean de Tournes' *Poèmes Chrestiens et moraux*.⁴⁴ In 1591 Jean Jacquemot made a Latin translation of the first 25 octonaires, which were included with his translation of Jérémie's *Lamentation*. A full Latin translation was made in 1598 with Pibrac's *Quatrains*, and another collection appeared in 1601. Thus it is clear these poems were popular with Protestants, and became firmly embedded in their literary world, as attested by their frequent reproduction

⁴³ On Pierre Poupo see Michel Jeanneret, 'Pierre Poupo: Recherches sur le Sacré et le Profane dans la Poésie Religieuse du XVI^e siècle' in *Bulletin Annuel de la Fondation Suisse, Université de Paris XIV* (Paris, 1965) and Ernest Roy, *Poesies Diverses tirées de la Muse Chrestienne de Pierre Poupo* (Paris, 1886).

⁴⁴ The only copy of this collection is found in Geneva BPU SU 2306 Rés, and includes an *Ode* by de Bèze, Chandieu's *Ode sur les Misères des Églises Françaises*, his *Cantique* and the *Octonaires*, followed by Pibrac's *Quatrains*.

in various forms. They were obviously a useful product, which could be used complete or in parts, in French or Latin as appropriate.

Emblem Books

The 1580 edition is fascinating due to its rarity and its composition. The structure is not that of a standard emblem book: conventionally these comprised an illustration accompanied directly by either a verse or verse and prose explanations, underneath the illustration on the same page, or on the facing leaf. Thus the links between illustration and verse/explanation were very visible. The first part of the Delaune book was made up of the verses printed in succession, and the illustrations followed on in an unsigned second section. That the two were indeed intended to be seen in tandem has been established by Mauger's research: the printed verses were each signified by a letter from A-S which corresponded directly to letters found in the illustrated section. Also the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris holds a set of the Delaune engravings with the corresponding verses inscribed on them. The subject matter of the *Octonaires* corresponds to de Bèze's *Quarante-quatre Emblemes Chrestiens* (1581) and Georgette de Mornay's *Emblèmes, ou Devises Chrestiennes* (1571).

So although not a conventional emblem book, it does have some similarities. The intended usage of such works is still not understood. Obviously expensive luxury items, arguments have been made emphasizing their didactic nature, and their possible use as educational aids. However, the complexity of the ideas which were routinely conveyed in the forms of emblems and devices has led one specialist to conclude that they could not possibly have appealed to any but the educated classes, with their emphasis on classical knowledge and symbolism, and the frequent use of Latin in their composition. Daniel Russell's work has highlighted quite how difficult it was to convey information in this form, and the skill needed in making the ideas accessible.⁴⁵ Another important point he makes is how emblems could be put to work as publicity, especially when addressing

⁴⁵ Daniel S. Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France* (French Forum Publishers, Lexington, Kentucky, 1985) p. 62.

complex religious debates.⁴⁶ This has been investigated by Alison Saunders, who has found that as the sixteenth century wore on, emblem books changed from being a all-encompassing genre to manuals of policy, especially those composed on the Protestant side by de Bèze and Mornay.⁴⁷ Although the subjects addressed in these books, as in that of Chandieu, are strictly those of Protestant orthodoxy, by utilizing this genre, the arguments are presented to a select readership, which tended to be intellectual and educated. This was persuasive literature of the most sophisticated level, designed to inspire an intellectual response. It is therefore possible to see works of this nature as an attempt to push the continuing doctrinal debate into a more intellectual arena, avoiding the popular tensions and bloodshed of former years. In the form of an emblem book, or similar composition, issues could be raised and thoroughly examined by interested parties, who could then respond. Of course, this seems not to have been a huge impact on the Chandieu work: there is after all only one surviving copy, and Chandieu's name appears nowhere near it. Why this did not take off is perhaps due to the success Chandieu's *Octonaires* experienced in other genres.

Musical Editions

Chandieu's work enjoyed success as music lyrics.⁴⁸ France had a strong musical tradition, but in the sixteenth century this mingled with Italian influences to produce the *chanson*, much lighter and simpler than earlier compositions. In a broad sense, the effect of the Reformation on music was to democratise what had previously been exclusive. In the Catholic tradition, liturgical music was the preserve of the 'schola', specially trained musicians, and the general congregation was expected to follow the service in silence. However, Protestants soon introduced congregational singing into their worship, with

⁴⁶ Russell, *Emblem and Device*, p. 90.

⁴⁷ Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth Century French Emblem Book: A Useful and Decorative Genre* (Droz, Geneva, 1988).

⁴⁸ On the role played by music in the Reformation and sixteenth century life, see Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, Chapter 3; Jean Balsamo, *La musique dans l'éducation aristocratique au XVI^e siècle* (Chambery, 1991); François Lesure, *Musique et musiciens français du 16^e siècle* (Geneva, 1976); *Musique et poésie au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1954); Pierre Pidoux, *Le Psautier Huguenot du XVI^e siècle. Mélodies et documents* (Bâle, 1962) and 'Les origines de l'impression de musique à Genève' in J.-D. Candaux & B Lescaze (eds.) *Cinq siècles d'imprimerie genevoise* (Geneva, 1980); and Edith Weber, *La musique protestante en langue française* (Paris, 1979) and *Histoire de la musique en France 1500-1650* (Paris, 1996).

vernacular hymns with simple melodies being sung in the course of the service. Examples include the German hymns of Martin Luther and the French church's Psalms, translated into rhyme by Marot and de Bèze. The Huguenot Psalter enjoyed great success as a printed book, with multiple editions throughout the century, and it became an established part of the liturgy. The entire cycle was apparently sung over the course of about six months. There were marked differences between Protestant music and traditional Catholic song, mainly in the simplicity of Protestant composition, which was seen as necessary for people's understanding of the words. The practice of writing music to fit specific sets of words had only developed at the end of the fifteenth century: previously any number of sets of words might be sung to a melody. Under the influence of Clément Janequin, the words became an integral part of the whole composition. Because it was important that the words were intelligible, this resulted in simplified part-writing. Secular music theorists imply that there was a certain amount of improvisation by both vocalists and instrumentalists from the music printed on the page, so it is impossible to know exactly what performances would have sounded like. What is known is how music fitted into Reformed life. Hymns and sacred chansons were seen as a recreational pursuit. Calvin's understanding of how music might be applied to worship can be traced to his time in Strasbourg, where the community around Bucer held services in the vernacular from 1523, and included vernacular music in worship from 1524. It was from Strasbourg that Calvin took his liturgical structure, which included singing by the entire congregation. Calvin's attitude was that music should be simple and not distract from the devout nature of the words being sung. From simple settings, compositions became more complex, longer and in several parts (polyphonic). This was not designed for concerts, but private performance, sometimes the part of one or more voices being replaced by an instrument. Music was an identifiable aspect of Protestant lay piety, in conjunction with the family reading of the Bible. The communal singing of Psalms became symptomatic of combative Protestantism, much to the annoyance of Catholics. Another form of Protestant music, the *chanson spirituelle*, refers to the music set to texts other than that of the psalms. These did not use pre-existing melodies, and took freer musical liberties, being closer to the secular chanson. The *Octonaires* are an

outstanding example of this, and their musical settings are considered to be quite uncommon and inventive.

Pascal de l'Estocart and Claude Le Jeune both set the *Octonaires* to music.⁴⁹ Two of the most significant French composers of the sixteenth century, both had Protestant backgrounds. Claude le Jeune had a long career as a musician, and ended his days as *compositeur ordinaire de chambre* for Henri IV. He died in Paris in 1600, and eight editions of his works were compiled and published by his sister Cecile. The works are grouped into twelve modes, groups of three songs each, which are based around a similar theme. Pascal de l'Estocart's first book of *Octonaires* appeared in 1581, and was dedicated to the Protestant prince Guillaume-Robert de la Marck, duc de Bouillon. Both Le Jeune and l'Estocart follow the guidelines for Protestant music described above: simple melodies with the clarity of the words being of the utmost importance. In their subject matter and musical application, the *Octonaires* fulfilled the same role as the Psalms. The Psalms were the songs of David, and singing them let Protestants identify not only with each other, as they certainly did, but also with biblical traditions of music. As seen in the *Méditation*, David was someone whose faith had been tested by many difficulties, but whose ultimate faith in God saw him achieve salvation. The use of Psalms and similar music could let Protestants draw from this sense of identification, and process what they had gone through before returning to the fight.

The poetry anthologies

The most intriguing trajectory of the *Octonaires* is their inclusion in collections of devotional poems. Poetical anthologies became increasingly popular towards the end of the sixteenth century. Perhaps the forerunner of the *Cantiques de Maisonfleur et Valagre* was the *Poemes Chrestiens de B. de Montmeja & autres diuers auteurs* which appeared in 1574.⁵⁰ This was a collection edited by Philippes de Pas, and dedicated to the then Count Palatine, Frederick. Although it is Chandieu's former co-author Montméja who is

⁴⁹ There are modern recordings of selections of the *Octonaires* available for both composers, as mentioned in the Introduction, note 10. See also Isabelle His, 'Le livre des Melanges de Claude le Jeune, Anvers, Plantin, 1585: Au coeur du débat modal de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle' in *Claude le Jeune et son temps* (Chambery, 1991).

⁵⁰ *Poemes Chrestiens de B. de Montmeja & autres diuers auteurs* (s.l., 1574). FVB Sn 11292.

named on the title page, the collection includes works by de Bèze, Tagaut, Goulart and other authors, as well as some anonymous works. Whilst some felt that the Psalms were poetry enough, others believed that the rise in the number of ‘pagan’ poets needed combating by an home-grown poetical tradition. Poetry was not valued for its beauty alone, but rather for the impact it had on bringing the reader closer to God, and thus it was important that it kept to the fine line between devotional and independently spiritual. Famously de Bèze had written verses in his youth that he later came to regret, seeing them as too worldly, but from the 1580s, this debate was mainly in the past, and poets could happily investigate more and more deeply the spiritual topics that had been frowned upon several years before.

The Maisonfleur collections stand somewhat apart, and pose some perplexing questions concerning the exclusivity of devotional identity, as they include works from both Catholic and Protestant poets. They are known of by literary scholars, but not much has been done to understand them. Cave described the Maisonfleur editions as being ‘outstanding’, and commented that ‘the editorial policy is surprisingly liberal, gathering together poems by both Protestant and Catholic poets’.⁵¹ The standard explanation for this series of anthologies has been that they were Protestant in origin, and used the Catholic works, all by well known authors, who in some cases had been dead for several years, as a cover for their more controversial Protestant works. This makes sense, as it accounts for the slightly bizarre inclusion of works by Ronsard and du Bellay, who belonged to an earlier generation of poets, and whose works, whilst spiritual in direction, do not enter fully into the devotional paradigm. But this does not fully explain the phenomenon. These books were produced in Catholic centres, Paris and Tours.⁵² It is worth taking into account the production values involved: these were high quality books, well presented and of a high print standard. They were obviously intended as a luxury product, as indeed was the majority of non-polemical poetry.

⁵¹ Cave, *Devotional Poetry*, p. 79.

⁵² Printers who produced editions including Chandieu’s verses included Jean Houzé (Paris, 1586), Mathieur Guillemaut (Paris, 1587 and Tours, 1592, shared with Sébastien Molin) and Raphaël du Petit Val (Rouen, 1602).

The works included for the most part all come from the same devotional background, the only true exceptions being the inclusions from the established poets of an earlier generation. The themes reflect a society tired by years of destructive war: the transient nature of life, the rewards awaiting believers after death, the instability of the world around us and the glory of the hereafter. Cave's work found this symptomatic of the genre as a whole. When trying to define the difference between Catholic and Protestant devotional poetry, he could only do so by use of a negative construct: a Protestant work is not going to touch on devotional aspects anathematic to Protestant doctrine, such as meditation on the body of Christ and the Passion. But this became less pronounced a division, with boundaries being eroded, in poetry at least, throughout the 1590s, and more obviously after the Edict of Nantes.

These collections did their best to remain enigmatic. The overall dedication was to the Protestant Princess Charlotte de Bourbon, by an editor who signed himself. P.M.D.M.S.D.L.G., dated from Antwerp in the spring of 1580. It states merely that the late Sieur de Maisonfleur wanted to dedicate this work to her, illustrating as it does so well the ideals of Piety and Virtue. The editor undertook to bring this wish to fruition after Maisonfleur's death, neither wishing to deprive the princess of her gift nor the public of the worthy poems. At no point does he mention the inclusion of the other works in the dedication. The letter to the readers mentions the other works very briefly. The main point of this short prose letter is to debate the idea that poetry can have an honorable role in society, and is not just the frivolous verse of the court, a very Calvinist concern. At the very end of the letter, the editor mentions having included other Christian works to give more contentment to the reader, which have been gathered from different authors. No more hints as to the criteria for inclusion are given. And no further information is given in subsequent editions as to the selection processes for the expansion of the contents.

These editions, which spread over three decades in which we have seen France internally battered and divided, are an intriguing hint that not all France was so easily divided between 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' in the emotional moulds in which we have

traditionally cast them. This is not to deny that being a Catholic or Protestant carried an inherent identity that one was proud of and aware of, but rather that the ideas these identities stood for had many similar characteristics. The fact of their production at all means a market existed for books in which confessional differences were if not ignored totally, then at least put aside. These were books of a religious nature, designed to encourage piety, and thus their lack of confessional exclusivity makes them all the more intriguing. Enough common sentiment was expressed in poetry for Catholic and Protestant works to sit alongside each other and not provoke comment. Although it would be premature to suggest this indicates a movement of reconciliation between Protestant and Catholic, it surely shows that throughout this era, people were being forced to consider the same questions on either side of the confessional divide: questions of salvation, being and the relationship man has with God, and at some points, what applied to one group was equally as valid for the other. Chandieu's poetry had grown more reflective over the years since his engagement with Ronsard, and collections such as this indicate he was not the only author for whom prolonged civil disruption had provoked inner contemplation. Although both Catholics and Protestants wrote poems encouraging deeper spiritual awareness, this did not mean they were any closer to theological reconciliation. The *Octonaires* are perhaps best fitted to being Chandieu's legacy, and their content, and their afterlife, show that the spokesman of the French Refugee community had struck a despairing chord with readers from a far wider circle than he could ever have envisaged.

The middle years of the French Wars of Religion saw Calvinism change from a thriving militant movement confident enough to raise an army and take on the royal forces to a shrunken vestige of its former self, in many areas leaderless and without hope. Although the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacres are mainly responsible for this reversal of fortune, Chandieu's verse shows that despondency had in some cases set in years before these seismic events rocked the foundations so carefully laid. As one of the surviving leaders of the church, Chandieu took on his practical duties without complaint, and maintained the vestiges of the 1559 Confession and Discipline even in exile. But his poetry, always far more indicative of his emotional state than his prose, shows how much

the heavy human cost weighed on the French church. Even when not specifically writing in memory of someone dear to him, it was impossible to escape the gravity of the situation which French Protestants now faced. With few causes for optimism, Chandieu and his colleagues clung to what hope they had, and began to forge a new identity for themselves, one which turned their desperate losses into a secret sign of hope. From the horror of 1572, a more sober church emerged, one that identified with David and the Israelites. With the glory days of mass expansion thoroughly behind them and the shock of recent events slowly being absorbed, thoughts turned to consolidation of what little remained. Again, it would be Chandieu who answered his church's call.

Chapter Seven: ‘sa solide erudition est redoutee de tous les aduersaires de verité’:
Chandieu and his later prose works.

Chandieu’s later works continued to reflect his preoccupation with the administration of the French churches and the interior spiritual life of the Protestant believer. His three treatises of the mid 1580s, on Purgatory, the death of Christ, and the Word of God, and his refutation of the *Confession* of the monks of Bordeaux demonstrate Chandieu’s continuing role as an active theological mind. Their interest lies less in their theological content than in the way in which Chandieu presented Calvinist ideas at this late stage in the religious wars. For this was the era of crisis for French Calvinism. Chandieu’s work had already begun to reflect the despair of the times in his verses on death and his *Meditations*. By the 1580s, the upper echelons of the Protestant leadership could not help acknowledging that their vision of a Protestant France would never be realised, and they had to accept their position would be at best as a minority church within a culture used to hating and blaming them for decades of civil war. Chandieu’s writings reflect this crisis: the theological works still pull no punches when they come to lambasting monks and supporting Calvinist doctrine, but there is an element of *rapprochement* in certain turns of phrase which hint at an awareness of the need to band together with other Protestant groups.

The scholastic statement: Chandieu’s treatises

From July 1579, Chandieu was based in the small community of Aubonne. Just outside Lausanne, Aubonne was a base for Chandieu and his family after continual upheaval.¹¹ From here he produced a series of theological treatises that reiterated the Calvinist standpoints on key aspects of theology: the word of God, the nature of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross and predestination, and finally on the true remission of sins and the idea of Purgatory. These treatises, published between 1580 and 1582 in Latin, were then later revised and reissued in Latin, before being translated into French after Chandieu’s death by Simon Goulart. Their publication in Latin indicates they were intended for an academic audience, but the fact that they were translated implies they had a wider

¹¹ As described in chapter one and as seen in Appendix A.

readership, especially when their earliest translation is considered. In 1584, over a decade before the French editions, a work appeared in London from J. Harrison, entitled *A Treatise touching the word of God, Tr J. Cox*. Clearly, Chandieu's work was appreciated far from Lausanne, and not just by a Latinate audience. Chandieu and his contemporaries considered the three works to be a set: Chandieu refers readers to things he says in the other compositions, and Goulart makes apologies for translating out of order. Their theology is unsurprisingly committedly Calvinist, and they follow Chandieu's fashion of theological writing: refutation point by point, use of biblical, apostolic and patristic writers, taking the opponents' arguments apart piece by piece. Much of the theological content was repeated in the more expansive *Response à la Profession du Foi des Moines de Bordeaux*, but Chandieu's prefaces set out his thoughts on each subject, and the dedications of their translator, Goulart, explained why he wanted to translate them. The final treatise, on Purgatory, will include a deeper examination of Chandieu's application of scholastic method in combating the false accusations of the Catholic church.

The Word of God

The first of the three treatises appeared in 1580, from Jean Le Preux's works in the town of Morges, outside Lausanne, under the title *Locus de verbo Dei scripto, adversus humanas traditiones, theologice et scholastice tractus*. It was reissued from this same printer, again in Morges in both 1582 and 1584, with the London edition appearing between these two. Its final Latin edition was again by Le Preux, from his Genevan workshop the year after Chandieu's death, and it also appeared in the collected works.

In his dedication 'A Ses Treshonorez Freres & compagnons, fideles seruiteurs de Christ, excellens en pieté & doctrine, Les Pasteurs & Docteurs des Eglises Françoises qui font profession de la verité de l'Evangile' Chandieu reminds his audience that St John Chrysostom compared the role of the minister to that of the trumpets that brought down the wall of Jericho. The Catholic faith has been surrounded by many impregnable walls too, but by preaching the true word, the cracks in them might be exposed.² Chandieu

² *Parole*, A4r.

warns against two potential traps: the continuous appearance of new liars and schemers who wish to bring the pastors into disrepute, and the misapplication of logic to confirm erroneous Catholic doctrine. This is especially true of the Jesuits, who have lately flourished in their many schools and academies. Chandieu wrote this book to combat such men. He will apply ‘Analytique’ correctly, and thus prove the errors of Catholic thought on the idea of tradition in the church. He makes a plea for clarity in writing, with recourse to Cicero, using the image of a clear fast-flowing river as opposed to a muddled pond. This debate on the Word of God is put in context of other disputes, including that on the succession of pastors which he had already debated with Turrianus. Chandieu challenges the papists to read and respond to his work, knowing the light of Truth will shine on his work. He ends with a plea to his fellow ministers:

Mais quant à vous, Treshonorez Freres, en permettant que ie vous applique l’exhortation de l’Apostre, combattez le bon combat de la foy, apprehendez la vie eternelle, à cause de laquelle vous auez esté appelez, & des longs temps auez fait vne excellente confession d’icelle deuant plusieurs tesmoins, sans vous arrester à ces mesdians: d’ardante affection, de constance & patience inuincible, paracheuez vostre course, & continuez, en vostre acoustumee diligence & integrité, de maintenir la verité de l’Euangile al’encontre des erreurs du monde: afin que, le cours de vos trauaux courageusement paracheué, vous puissiez laisser à vos successeurs la doctrine en sa pureté, & la discipline de l’Eglise en son vraj[sic] vsage. De mon estude, le vingttroisiesme iour de Feurier, l’an M. D. LXXX.³

Chandieu is not writing for an ‘open audience’ here, as the original Latin composition implies. Rather, his work is for a specialist audience, ordained ministers in the frontline of the fight against Catholicism. There is less ‘identity defining’ language here: having undergone ordination, the pastors of the French churches would be secure in their place in the world. It is when Chandieu writes for a wider audience that he becomes more concerned with examples and archetypes: here, he can dedicate himself to the mechanics of theology and be safe in the assumption that his readership will have the same cultural references as himself.

³ *Parole*, A6v-7r,

The Preface carries the subheading ‘De la vraye Methode de disputer Theologiquement & Scholastiquement’.⁴ Chandieu distinguishes between two kinds of human, those who are content not to learn anything but to live in ignominy, and those who try to end their ignorance but who go about it the wrong way. The latter are infinitely more dangerous. Chandieu’s experience mirrors that of St Augustine, who found that whilst being a Christian was hard enough, maintaining the truth in the face of heresy is even more difficult: ‘L’experience a verifié des long temps combien ceste sentence est veritable’.⁵ Each time a well-grounded theologian makes his point, the ‘fumees Sophistiques’ are sent into battle against him. This calls to mind Chandieu’s earlier image of muddled waters: the key theme here is clarity. Sophism is repeatedly dismissed as the enemy of correct speech. It is compared to poison, that one must avoid if one hopes to live a healthy life. Dialectic is only able to illuminate if correctly employed. However, even good men like Duns Scotus have been corrupted by the idiocy of those who have followed them. Chandieu identifies four main errors the Scholastics made: they based their arguments on logic alone, without the addition of Scripture; they argued theological points using ‘for’ and ‘against’ arguments, which makes their works disputes rather than treatises; their subtleties made things more obscure when they be clearer, and finally, they wasted time over many vain and profane questions instead of concentrating on the things which really matter. Yet the Catholic writers Chandieu is facing do not even do that. They ignore the practice of syllogisms and instead make long declamations, mainly against Protestants, and ignore all the rules of proving and disproving arguments. Chandieu hopes to demonstrate that scholastic method is the correct way.⁶

The principles of theology are clearly distinct from philosophy, and Chandieu highlights this by reiterating the sacred inspiration of the Word. He warns against relying on flawed human reason and points to the Bible as the sole source of knowledge for the Christian. Catholic insistence on the authority of the church is countered by the

⁴ On Chandieu’s contribution to Reformed Scholasticism, see Donald Sinnema, ‘Antoine de Chandieu’s call for a scholastic reformed theology (1580)’ in W Fred Graham (ed.) *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 159-190.

⁵ *Parole*, A8r.

⁶ *Parole*, B6r.

statement that the church of Christ is not to be defined without the inclusion of Faith, which is based on the teachings of the Scriptures. For interpretation, Chandieu points the reader to theologians, who are aware of how Scripture works.

Interestingly, Chandieu distinguishes two types of theological teaching:

Quant à la maniere de traiter la Theologie, ie la distingue en deux. L'une est ample, & composee d'un stile plus fourni, enseignant les ignorans, incitant les paresseux à embrasser la doctrine de verité. L'autre, exacte, mais referee, qui laissant ce qui est proposé pour esmouuoir les affections, & mettant bas l'ornement de rhetorique, nous deschifre simplement & nettement les choses mesmes, & propose les simples argumens: tellement qu'on peut presque voir & toucher la verité des choses. A l'avanture ceste seconde maniere sera moins agreable à ceux qui prennent plaisir à un discovrs de grand' parade: mais elle n'en sera pas moins vtile à tous ceux qui aiment la simplicité & sont studieux de verité. Car ainsi que la contemplation du corps humain est plus agreable, tandis qu'il est vestu de chair, par tout arrousé de sang, & de couleur plaisante: neantmoins si par fois on vient à l'anatomizer, lors la perfection & l'usage de chascune des parties avec toute la structure du corps se conoissent bien mieux: au semblable, si quelqu'un veut peser soigneusement & à bon escient ces amples & elegantes deductions de propos, les dissouldre & anatomizer, pour certain il lui sera aisé de descouvrir, si elles sont dressees en perfection, ou bien s'il y a encor quelque chose à redire: & ceste recherche exacte lui sera toucher, comme du doigt, les sources & causes des maladies spirituelles, c'est à dire des erreurs, qui y pourront estre. Ainsi donc la premiere esmeut les cœurs des doctes & des indoctes: mais ceste seconde, enclose en doctrine & demonstration, conuient mieux aux esprits plus exercez, qui ne s'emeuent pas pour un torrent des paroles vaines, s'il n'y a point de substance es choses: attendu qu'un propos destitué de raison doit estre tenu pour babil inutile.⁷

Chandieu points out that theological disputes are different to any other kind of dispute, because they require great reverence. In this case the subject matter is so weighty that Chandieu calls it the foundation of all religion (C4r). But the Catholic church has become so bogged down in human tradition that this treatise is necessary. The chapters treat the true belief of the Protestant churches, the proof of this in the Bible, the papist interpretation and its errors, their remarks against Reformed doctrine, Chandieu's replies to these accusations, and finally the correct interpretation the Papists should follow.

⁷ *Parole*, C1v-2v.

In the French translation, Goulart's dedication to the Minister and Members of the Walloon church in Haarlem is brief but illuminating. It was the final treatise Goulart translated, and he refers the reader back to his previous prefaces, discussed in turn below. But he does play Chandieu one of his more memorable compliments. Although several people have written on this subject, some at length, some more briefly, Goulart is confident that Chandieu's work 'en peu de paroles a clos la bouche aux aduersaires'.⁸

The Unique Sacrifice of Christ

Chandieu's second treatise treated the nature of the Mass, and the role of Christ's sacrifice. It was first issued in 1581, from Le Preux in Geneva, as *Locus de unico Christi sacerdotio et sacrificio, adversus commentitum missae sacrificium theologicæ et scholasticæ tractatus*. Le Preux brought out another edition in Morges, two years later, before further Genevan editions in 1588 and 1592, again from Le Preux. Le Preux also published the French translation by Goulart in 1595, *Traité Theologic et Scholastique De l'unique Sacrificature & sacrifice de IESUS CHRIST: contre le controuué sacrifice de la Messe. Escrit en Latin par ANTOINE DE CHANDIEU excellent theologien, & nouvellement mis en François, par S.G.S.* Goulart actually translated this treatise first, although he knew it had been written after the work on Scripture.

Chandieu's preface remarks on the necessity for strong foundations for edifices and religious statements, recalling Christ's own parable:

Car ainsi qu'un bâtiment n'est que despense inutile & superflue, si les fondemens ne sont fermes & bien assis: aussi ne pouuons-nous esperer gueres de fruit de nos labeurs, s'ils ne sont appuyez sur des commencemens conuenables & propres: ni ne peut-on attendre de mauuaise entrée progres & auancement heureux.⁹

Chandieu has decided to make a scholastic survey of the principal points of the Christian religion that bring Protestants into contention with Catholics. He is disparaging of his opponents in explaining his motivation:

... afin de ramener dans le cercle de vraye dispute Theologique les effrenees daclamations des moines (si nous pouuons obtenir cela d'eux) nous auons

⁸ *Parole*, A2v.

⁹ *Sacrificature*, ¶5r.

commencé par l'article de la Parole de Dieu escrite, à l'encontre des Traditions humaines: & auons mis en auant cest dipsute il y a quelque temps, afin que ce fust le ferme fondement des autres suyuanes.¹⁰

His methodology is clear and logical: he started with the treatise on the Word of God, because without understanding of why that is important, none of the other parts of his theology would make sense. The primacy of Scripture must be accepted before it can be used to validate the other tenets of the Christian religion. Having established this in his first treatise, he can examine the other important points:

Or maintenant, pour bastir sur ce fondement excellent, de l'or, de l'argent, & des pierres precieuses, comme dit l'Apostre, c'est à dire mettre en auant des doctrines qui conuiennent avec la parole de Dieu: voici, nous proposons l'article de l'vnique Sacrificature & Sacrifice de Christ, de tresgrande importance entre les autres lieux communs de la Theologiem & lequel contient le principal poinct de nostre Salut.¹¹

Chandieu gives a résumé of his argument, that the power and efficacy of Christ's sacrifice on the cross was so immense that its being performed once and that one time only was enough to be offered to God eternally for all mankind's sins. He attacks Catholicism once more, this time more specifically the Pope and the edifice of the Catholic church:

Comme c'est chose esmerueillable, aussi est elle deplorable, que Satan, par ses fraudes & mensonges, ait peu tant auancer, que de ramener en vsage presque tous les supersitions payennes, condamnées & rebutees par les Apostres, n'ayant fait que changer les noms d'icelles: &, retenant le nom de Christ, effacer (tant qu'en lui a esté) la vraye conoissance de Christ, voire Christ mesme, du coeur des hommes. Ainsi le Pontife Romain, se faisant appeller vicaire de Christ, est vrayement cest aduersaire dont parle l'Apostre: & les Euesques, successeurs titulaires des Apostres, employent tous leurs moyens à aneantir la doctrine Apostolique: ainsi les Papistes de glorifiants du specieux & illustre nom d'Eglise Catholique, persecutant cruellement, il y a plus de sepante ans, la vraye & vrayement Eglise Catholique, & tous fideles qui adherent à la pure parole de Dieu. Il faudroit vn long discours sur cela, qui requiert autre commondité & plus ample propos.¹²

¹⁰ *Sacrificature*, ¶5r.

¹¹ *Sacrificature*, ¶5v.

¹² *Sacrificature*, ¶6r.

Chandieu's next task is to present how the mass differs from the true Sacrifice that Christ made. The mistakes made by the Catholic church have caused many ceremonies and practices to grow up that are absolutely contrary to the true nature of the original ritual.

Chandieu describes these with an unmistakable sense of glee:

Représenterai-je les tours, retours, gestes, bransles, & mouuemens diuers du prestre chante-messe? Il se monstre tantost droit, tantost courbé, ores faisant vn tourdion, puis s'arrestant au milieu de ses vireuoustes: souuentefois demeurant tous court, & par fois marchant au petit pas: tantost il estend les bras, puis les serre: maintenant il les hausse, & soudain les baisse: ses doigts sont occupez sans cesse à faire croisades: souuent il mamonne entre ses dents, & au contraire il crie tout haut apres ceux ausquelz il tourne le dos: quelquesfois il souffle des mots sur du pain & sur vn calice: par fois aussi il fait du dormeur, puis du resueillé, qui soupire, sanglotte, & soudain vient à chanter à haute voix. Telles & infinies autres chimagrees (que i'obmets, & n'eusse marqué les autres, si la necessité du propos ne m'y eust contraint) ont-elles quelque chose de commun ou avec le tressainct Sacrifice que Christ mourant a vne fois fait pour nous: ou avec le Sacré mystere de la Cene du Seigneur?¹³

This fall into fallacy, Chandieu explains, did not happen overnight, but rather Satan gradually managed to seduce good people into superstition. Indeed its very name is debated: calling the event a 'Sacrifice' is blamed on the idea that every religion needed a sacrificial element to make it effective, as seen in pagan and Jewish rites. Yet the Christian Sacrifice was that given by Christ, and all subsequent events have been commemorative ones. Still the custom grew up that they themselves were sacrifices in their own right. Rather, in Christ, Christians have the most perfect sacrifice of all. Christianity is not a religion without sacrifice, however, because Christians offer spiritual sacrifices to God. Yet the baseness of human nature means that men turn from spiritual things to concentrate on those 'externes & charnelles'. This recalls the concerns of the *Octonaires*, the concentration on the transitory temporal world at the expense and neglect of the spiritual one. Over hundreds of years, the 'saint Cene du Seigneur' became debased into the Mass of the Catholic church, and fallacies such as transubstantiation grew up and wormed their way into theological orthodoxy. Chandieu is upset by this: after all, this was not merely empty practice. But man's salvation depended on these

¹³ *Sacrificature*, ¶6v.

doctrines. His words are damning not just of the Catholic church, but of mankind in general:

...la stupidité & l'ignorance des superstitieux s'est enflée de telle sorte, que les hommes ont commencé à ignorer totalement leur ignorance: veu qu'ils tenoyent à grande vertu, & notamment pour marque de foy Catholique, de ne sçauoir chose quelconque de la parole de Dieu. Ainsi donc, la pratique de ceste Religion a merueilleusement agréée aux hommes, qui ont prins plaisir d'assister souuent à vn sacrifice si artistement fabriqué, c'est adire à vne pompe toute farcie de delices & de pasetemps: où ils se contenoient de voir force ceremonies qui les rauissoient, & vn grand bruit de paroles estranges, sans qu'ils entendissent le sens de ce qui estoit fait & dit.¹⁴

Such was the effect of Satan's lies, that men actually thought this would be enough to get them to heaven, but luckily, such ignorance is no longer tenable. There is no excuse in Chandieu's world for men to plead a lack of awareness of Scripture. This has of course caused the Papists to moan about how little order there is in the world, how the church is about to be destroyed, and how the Mass especially is to be smashed into pieces.

Chandieu proclaims he does not understand the Papists' concerns when Protestants celebrate the Mass as Christ commanded in the Bible. He directly addresses the Catholics on this subject:

...ie demande à vous autres, Papistes, pourquoy nous condamnez vous comme heretiques & ennemis du sacrifice de Christ? est-ce pas d'autant que nous reiettons les repetasseries de vostre Messe, & vos ceremonies ridicules, absurdes, & blasphematoires? Mais vous, dites-moy, pourquoy resiste vous à la verité toute euidente? d'où vient ceste impudence qui vous fait froidement & par cauillations ineptes reietter les clairs & expres tesmoignages de l'Ecriture sainte, touchant l'vnique Sacrificature & sacrifice de Christ, lesquels vous ont esté tant de fois opposez par nos Theologiens? Vous confermez à bon escient le dire de S. Augustin traitant de l'erreur, en ces termes: Il y a deux choses mal aisees à supporter en ceux qui se fouruoient: presumption auant que conoistre la verité: & quand elle est decouverte, vouloir maintenir la fausseté que lon a embrassee.¹⁵

The Jesuits are blamed for obstinately continuing to press these absurd ideas onto people. Chandieu admits he is only one of many who have tried to correct them in their errors

¹⁴ *Sacrificature*, ¶8r.

¹⁵ *Sacrificature*, ¶¶1r.

and says he is not actually putting anything new forward in this treatise. His purpose in writing is more nuanced:

...mais ie me suis confié, que ce ne seroit pas vn trauail du tout inutile, si avec les vrayes armes de la science de discourir par raison, par le propre art, dont les Sophistes s'attribuent la conoissance, quoy qu'à grand tort, on battoit & chassoit au loin telles gens. Pour ceste cause, comme nous prions beaucoup les amples escrits, & les copieux discours des autres, auouant que de la lecture d'iceux nous recueillons vn tresgrand fruit: aussi requerons nous que l'on nous permette d'vser de ceste façon d'escrire precise & scholastique, & suyuant les preceptes de la vraye logique, proposer tellement ce que les eloquens & doctes Theologiens de nostre temps ont escrit d'un stile estendu & abondant: afin que lon voye que nous eslancons & reiettons à l'aide des bras de la science du vrai discours contre les communs ennemis, les traits qu'ils dardent & nous presentent.¹⁶

This passage explains Chandieu's intentions for his treatises. He knows other people have written on these subjects, and he is not hoping to bring anything new to bear on the theological side of the argument. Rather, he aims to instill a sense of order and clarity using scholastic method. He appreciates others' works, but feels that writing according to logic will bring more benefit than the eloquence of the doctors he has read in his research. How does this match with the 'other' Chandieu, Chandieu the poet? Evidently, this work has a totally different aim in mind, but even when pursuing the objective of doctrinal clarity, Chandieu's ability to turn a phrase does not desert him. Indeed, his love of metaphor crops up almost immediately. Having mentioned how inspired he is by St Augustine, he describes the theological situation thus:

Car ainsi que ceux qui tendent à vn mesme port, ne peuuent pas faire voile en vn mesme nauire, n'estant possible qu'un seul vaisseau porte toutes choses: aussi en ceux qui ont ceste intention de maintenir vne mesme verité de doctrine, lon ne doit reprendre la diuersité de methode, ni la dissemblance du stile.¹⁷

Here Chandieu directs his readers back to the preface of his earlier work on the Word of God, and dedicates the current work to 'tous ieunes hommes craignans Dieu, & qui s'adonnent à l'estude de Theologie'. He exhorts the Catholics to leave aside their human innovations and join with them in the true worship of Christ.

¹⁶ *Sacrificature*, ¶¶1v.

¹⁷ *Sacrificature*, ¶¶2r.

Goulart's preface to the translation begins by praising Chandieu's work through which:

... sa solide erudition est redoutee de tous les aduersaires de verité, voyant le mensonge assaillir de diuers endroits les Eglises Chrestiennes & reformees, resolut maintenir les principaux poincts de la Religion contre les Sophistes.

This he achieved so well, that his opponents were, in a word, amazed:

... qui, estonnez de l'adresse que Dieu auoit donnee à ce seruiteur sien, commencerent à parler plus bas. Et quant à ceux qui continuerent, nul d'entre eux n'osa iamais entreprendre de respondre à ses disputes, en suyant l'ordre qu'il leur a prescrit. selon les reigles de la science de parler & d'escrire avec raison.¹⁸

The format of Chandieu's works is so distinctive, taking points one at a time, submitting them to biblical analysis, then patristic tradition and final contemporary theology, that it would be difficult for a combatant to avoid a very dry rebuttal if he choose to follow a similar pattern. Goulart mocks the attempts at combat by Turrianus and Lindanus, with Turrianus making additional mistakes trying to extract himself from the ones Chandieu originally identified, and Lindanus's book being so bad that its publication in Cologne was halted almost as soon as it started. Instead, Goulart describes why he decided to translate Chandieu's works. Interestingly, at first, he states there really was not a need to translate:

Or les liures que ce Noble & docte personnage nous a laissez en latin, pour estre escrits en termes vsites es escholes de Theologie, faits pour les mieux exercez es disputes, demeuroyent enclos au grand recueil aui a esté fait de ses oeuvres apres son trespas: & ie ne pensois point les communiquer à nos François, estimant que ce que l'auteur mesme auoit elegamment & solidement escrit en nostre langue contre les Moines de Bourdeaux, sur tous les poincts qui sont aujourd'hui en dispute entre nous et les Papistes, pourroit satisfaire à ceux qui desirent sçauoir son auis sur tels differens. Ioint que l'encline assez au iugement de plusieurs grands personnages, qui estiment que par silence & douceur lon peut gagner beaucoup sur les plus opiniastres.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Sacrificature*, ¶2r-v.

¹⁹ *Sacrificature*, ¶3r.

Evidently, Chandieu's works were used for theological training, stating as they did so clearly the progression of thought from one point to the next. This fits with their structure and makes a great deal of sense. There would be little need with such a target audience in mind to bother with a French translation. As Goulart remarks, there were also the editions of collected works, and Chandieu's own French theological tract, the *Response à la confession de foy*. These are to be supplemented by haughtily ignoring those who express vain opinions: a dismissive approach to theology that seems excessively worthy in theory, and yet does not really correspond with the intellectual milieu in which Chandieu wrote. Goulart challenges the Catholics: either they engage seriously with the Protestants on the subject, and answer each of Chandieu's articles in turn, or they admit their error and join with Goulart and the Protestants. However unlikely the acceptance of such a challenge might be, it could easily have been carried out in Latin. Instead, Goulart has decided to extend the field of play, to open it up to non-Latinate readers, because of the centrality of the Mass to the Catholic-Protestant debate:

C'est ce qui m'a esmeu de mettre en auant ceste translation Françoisse, pour le soulagement de ceux qui n'entendent pas le Latin. J'ai voulu commencer par ce liuret, combien que celui qui traite de l'autorité de l'Escriture sainte semblast deuoir precéder. Ma raison est, puis que les Papistes estiment toute la profession de Chrestiennté consister auioird'hui à voir la Messe, & à cause de ceste opinion, sont si desnuez de honte que d'appeller heretiques, par un tiltre ordinaire, ceux au detestent ce sacrifice contouué par les Prestres: il est bon que les Chrestiens voyent que c'est du principal poinct de la Messe, asçauoir du Sacrifice, que renuersé (comme il est totalement en ce liure) enseuelit la transsubstantiation, l'adoration, la reseruacion du pain, & les processions esquelles il est porté en grande pompe, avec la pluspart des ceremonies & de l'equippage des Prestres, ensemble leur purgatoire, avec les prieres & offrandes pour les morts.²⁰

So even though *Locus de verbo Dei scripto* was written earlier, Goulart felt circumstances demanded he translate this tract first, being more crucial at that point in time. He ends by recommending his translation to his dedicatees, the Minister and Elders of the church in Delft, and reminding them of their common faith. Goulart's intentions here are reminiscent of Chandieu's own in the 1560s and 1570s, promoting unity between potentially divergent churches.

²⁰*Sacrificature*, ¶3v-4r.

The Remission of Sins and Purgatory

The final work on the remission of sins and the existence of Purgatory, was first published, as its sister works had been, in Morges, a joint publication from the Le Preux brothers and the Genevan printer Gabriel Cartier: *De vera peccatorum remissione adversus humanas satisfactiones et commentitum Ecclesiae Romanae puragtorum, theologica et scholastica disputatio*. Subsequent editions, in 1583 at Morges, and Geneva in 1588 and 1591, were undertaken by Jean Le Preux alone, before, once again, he brought out Goulart's French translation in 1595: *Traité Theologic et scholastique de la vraye Remission des pechez .Contre les satisfactions humaines & le controuuvé Purgatoire de l'Eglise Romaine. Escrit en latin par Antoine de Chandieu, excellent theologien, et nouvellement mis en François, par S.G.S.*

Chandieu begins his preface with an explanation of what he considers a true theologian: someone who is fit not only to teach, but also to reply to queries and convince people of the truth. He agrees with Biblical descriptions (at 2. Tim. 2.6 and 1 Cor. 3.9), that the theologian is much like a farmer:

Car ainsi que le deuoir d'un bon & soigneux laboureur est non seulement de bien ensemer ses terres, mais aussi d'arracher, tant que faire se peut, l'yuroye & autres herbes inutiles de ses champs: semblablement il ne suffit pas que le Theologien mette en auant la pure & saine doctrine, si quand & quand il ne tasche d'exstiper avec la main de verité les erreurs qui se descouurent.²¹

Chandieu looks at Augustine and Athenagoras on the subject of theological debate to avoid error and maintain truth, and comes to the conclusion that his engagements so far have taught him: '... que pour refuter les erreurs, on peut vtilement proposer non seulement vn discours copieux & estendu, mais aussi reserrer les aduersaires en vn propos sommairement deduit & dans le circuit d'une dispute Scholastique.'²² Thus he has come full circle, from avowing the utility of scholastic method in combative theology

²¹ *Remission*, A1r.

²² *Remission*, A1v.

in discussing Scripture, through his maintenance of this position in the work on the Mass, to this comment, which draws on his experience of using scholastic method.

The Mass (and Chandieu's treatise upon it) is so connected with the idea of Purgatory that to write on one necessitates that he writes on the other. Chandieu describes this vividly, with the Mass as the head of Papal religion and Purgatory its stomach: '... si nous desirons voir bas ceste religion du Pape, il faut donner à la teste, & lui transpercer aussi le ventre.'²³ The imagery is clear: this is a fight in which the spectre of the Pope must be brought down. Chandieu further expounds why he is writing this treatise. Obviously those who follow the religion of the Scriptures know that Purgatory is wrong and thus do not need the arguments set out here, but still the Papists maintain their errors, as they have done for many years. Chandieu makes a few jibes at the fires of Purgatory that have kept the fireplaces of Monks and Bishops warm for so long, but seems almost to straighten his face before proceeding to discuss the origins of Purgatory. He examines the ancient uses of excommunication and communal confession of sins. Originally pure in motivation, so the entire assembly was at peace, this was perverted by the bishops of Rome into auricular confession and the human effort of penance. Chandieu is especially condemnatory of the advent of money into this equation, spitting out the observation that the riches are used 'pour engraisser les Moines'. Purgatory grew out of this ambition:

Là dessus, les Eueques de Rome, desireux d'estendre les limites de leur Monarchie iusques en enfer (car leur ambition estoit trop grande pour demeurer enserree dedans les bornes de la vie presente, & en l'enclos de la terre habitee) & voyans que les Anciens plus par maniere de dispute que par resolution, auyent auancé ie ne sçai quoy de certain feu qui au dernier iour deuoit purger les pechez du monde: empoignerent ceste occasion, & bastirent leur Purgatoire: non pas celui dont estroit question entre les Anciens, & que quelques vns d'eux cuidoyent deuoir estre au dernier iour, car telle inuention n'eust de rien serui aux Papes: mais ils firent vn arrest, que les Chrestiens qui trespasseroient deuant qu'auoir pleinement satisfait à Dieu pour leurs pechez, incontinent apres la mort seroyent precipitez en Purgatoire, pour y estre rostis, iusques à ce qu'ils eussent entierement satisfait. Toutesfois ils adiouterent ceste condition, que les Papes pourroyent par leurs Indulgences tirer les ames hors de ceste rotisserie: moyennant que les parens & amis

²³ *Remission*, A1v.

viuans achetassent à beaux deniers contant icelles indulgences, pour le soulagement & salut des trespassez.²⁴

The Popes in the passage are hateful beings: they have purposefully misconstrued an ancient debate over what happens at the end of days to justify the construction of their Purgatory. This is a place where they have as much control as any divine presence, through their administration of indulgences, that old touch paper of Reformation controversy. Chandieu looks deeper at this ancient controversy, all the while claiming his respect for the early church is undiminished. He puts this down to the curiosity inherent in human nature, that continually asks questions outside that which God has established, and thus leaves the door open for error and heresy to creep in. This ancient error had been found amongst the pagan Philosophers too, with Plato being singled out for his *Phedon* and *Gorgias*. Although Chandieu admits to admiring Plato's other writings, on the subject of Purgatory he is clearly mistaken. Other equally misled groups include Cabalistic Jews and Virgil. The Devil seduced the pagans and infidels with this belief, then looked for a way to introduce it into Christianity, possible when so many of the early Christian theologians were not sufficiently removed from their pagan philosophical writings. Origen is given as an example, for having maintained that devils could be saved if they had spent enough time in Purgatory (A4r). This preceded another, dangerous shift, where the sins committed by man whilst alive became enmeshed in the question of Purgatory, until the Popes institutionalised the belief to support their expensive tastes: 'La raison fut, qu'estans desirieux d'amasser de tous costez des monceaux d'or & d'argent, ils allument le feu de Pergatoire, sachans bien qu'on ne peut forger monnoye sans fournaise & sans feu.'²⁵ Established at the Council of Florence, , this misconception was maintained throughout the years until the events of the early Reformation:

Mais ce que porte l'ancien prouerbe (que les meschans sont ruinez par leur conseil) leur est auenu: car l'immense & admirable prouidence de Dieu, a fait, que ce Purgatoire tant pesché, tant chanté & rechanté par les prestres, donna occasion au Docteur Luther, de sainte memoire, de crier tout ouuertement contre les abus de la Papauté: tellement que depuis, le feu de la

²⁴ *Remission*, A3r.

²⁵ *Remission*, A4v.

verité Euangelique allumé en diuers endroits a viuement tourmenté & bruslé
tout vifs les Papes, & les Moines leurs estaffiers.²⁶

As seen in the *Response à la confession de foy*, Chandieu and his fellow Calvinists were at this point attempting a *rapprochement* with the German Protestants. Thus an admiration for Luther extended beyond the works of the man himself, telling potential German allies that the differences between the two groups did not cover every aspect of theology.

This work again is made up of six chapters, subdivided into small-scale sections which ease the argument's progression. The first chapter, only seven pages long, is a basic introduction to the idea of Purgatory, and the Calvinist teaching on this subject. It debates who between the followers of Rome and Geneva are the true Catholics, unsurprisingly rejecting the claims of Rome. The two main topics of the treatise are introduced, that of the satisfaction of sins, which Chandieu immediately attributes to the sacrifice by Christ on the cross, and that of the purgation of sins. This is explained in terms of sins leaving an earthly stain or 'souilleure', with biblical examples of the subsequent cleansing process. The actions of Christ, God the Father and the Holy Spirit are thanked for this process, in which Chandieu maintains that satisfaction and purgation are inseparable. The Catholic counter-position is then introduced, with its insistence on Purgatory. Chandieu reviews the differences between the two positions, and states his aim:

La question donc est, Asçauoir si Iesus Christ seul est la satisfaction pour nos pechez & la purgation d'iceux, ou s'il faut ioinde au benefice d'icelui, les peines temporelles satisfactaires pour les pechez, payables ou en ce monde, ou apres la mort en Purgatoire, par ceux ausquels la coulpe des pechez a esté remise par le benefice de Iesus Christ.²⁷

The second chapter, also only a few pages in length, is a collection of biblical statements on the satisfaction of sins and their purgation. It is interesting to see here how Chandieu treats his material:

²⁶ *Remission*, A4v-5r.

²⁷ *Remission*, A8r.

... lesquels toutesfois nous n'auons pas tous reduits en forme de syllogismes: pource qu'ils sont clairs & intelligibles: tellement qu'il nous a semblé que ce seroit assez, si nous monstrions comme au doigt le nerf de l'argument. Et combien que nous n'ayons esté curieux de suyure vn ordre exacte en l'allegation des passages, à cause de la liaison des matieres: neantmoins nous auons principalement regardé à l'ordre des parties de nostre demonstation: comme il sera aisé aux lecteurs de le remarquer.²⁸

Having listed these biblical passages, Chandieu condenses them into what he calls a 'Demonstration', a summation of Calvinist belief from his sources which states that Christ is the sole source of mediation with God and purgation of sins.

Chapter three moves onto combating the opinions of the Catholic adversaries, and as such is far longer. It begins with Chandieu explaining his reasons for doing this, which are based on the principles of logic and of the tradition of debate:

Ayant fondé & montré la verité de nostre croyance, il faut maintenant renuerser l'opinion des aduersaires. Or combien que, si nous suyons la façon d'enseigner & de discourir comme il conuient, la proposition Affirmatiue soit la reigle de la Negatiue: toutsefois puis qu'en toute exacte dispute, apres auoir mis en auant ce que l'on pretend maintenir, on adioust ordinairement vne refutation de l'erreur contraire, nous ferons le mesme presentement, afin que la verité, dont est question, paroisse tant mieux, suyante la methode de nos autres traitez.²⁹

Chandieu will continue to use the method that works for him. The first error he identifies in Catholic belief is the distinction between venial and mortal sins, before turning to the voluntary absolution of sins, retained sin, human satisfaction and Purgatory. Chandieu has a number of techniques which he employs. Firstly, he hits out with a barrage of biblical references, before proceeding through seven numbered points which look at Catholic doctrine and apply scholastic method as a test. Two examples are enough to present this extremely methodical approach:

1. *Nulle distinction contredisant aux passages expres de l'Ecriture S. ne doit estre receue.
Ceste distinction des Papistes contredit aux passages expres de l'Ecriture S.
Elle ne doit donc point estre receue....*

²⁸ *Remission*, A8v.

²⁹ *Remission*, B3v.

*2. S'il y a si grande affinité entre la coulpe & la peine de peché, que les Hebreux dōnent vn mesme nom à l'une & à l'autre : on void assez par cela que l'Ecriture monstre les peines des pechez estre ezigees, quand la coulpe d'iceux n'est pas remise.
L'antecedent est vrai.
Aussi donc le Consequent est vrai.³⁰*

Chandieu manages to squeeze in a few disparaging remarks towards Catholics, for example in discussion of Christ's death and its effect on the remission of mortal sins but not venial ones: 'Quels blasphemateurs sont les docteurs Papistes, s'ils maintiennent vne telle heresie!'³¹ Obviously, there is no time when invective is not appropriate for Chandieu.

He then proceeds through further numbered refutations, the first section containing six points against human satisfaction for sins, the second twelve points that reject Purgatory. Having proved the Catholics' interpretations are incorrect, Chandieu's fourth chapter deals with Catholic criticism of Protestant doctrine. This is by far the longest section, stretching for over 110 pages. Chandieu knew Calvinist doctrine inside out and thus can go into great detail to defend it. Although maintaining truth necessarily meant attacking Catholic teaching, these sections in which Chandieu proves his familiarity with the intricacies of Calvinist belief show how much he relished being an accomplished theologian in his own field. He looks at objections raised by Catholics about Calvinist doctrine, and refutes them one by one, by recourse to biblical proof and patristic writers. Again, the process is achieved by recourse to scholastic method, proving phrase by phrase how Calvinist doctrine all fits together, and most importantly, fits with the Bible. The first part includes a section on civil and ecclesiastical punishments which is worth looking at, the role of the Magistrate being so hotly contested in Reformed tradition. The Catholic position seems to be that earthly punishments do not count for much, which Chandieu refutes:

L'erreur gist en vne fausse imagination d'impossibilité. Or ne faut-il pas confondre le siege iudicial de Dieu avec l'administration des Magistrats. Nous reconoissons qu'il faut satisfaire aux loix enfraintes, & à la societé

³⁰ *Remission*, C1v-2r.

³¹ *Remission*, C3v.

humaine qui aura interessee: partant que les supplices ont esté droitement establis contre ceux qui auront violé les loix & la tranquillité publique: mais nous adioustons aussi qu'il y a grande voire tresgrande difference entre *Satisfaire à Dieu*, &, *Satisfaire aux hommes*. Estant donc pour le present question de la satisfaction à Dieu, ceste objection papistique est du tout impertinente.³²

With Chandieu's legal training, we might expect some sympathy for the rule of law, but it is held in tension with the rule of God, suggesting that whilst Calvinist Geneva might be able to reconcile its magistrate with its religious duties, the ongoing situation in France made such ambitions very difficult.

Chapter five looks specifically at the idea of Purgatory in the patristic writings, and Catholic protestations that the ancient doctors of the church maintained that Purgatory existed, again splitting the argument between the idea of human satisfaction for sins, and then the existence of Purgatory itself.

The final chapter looks at the relationship between the ideas of the ancient doctors and modern interpretations of the doctrine of Purgatory. This is achieved by a long list of citations from multiple patristic writers which Chandieu maintains have written 'non point par coniectures probables, mais vrayement & Theologiquement, c'est à dire par raisons fondees en la parole de Dieu.'³³ But this is not enough, as when dealing with questions that are in fact concerned with articles of faith, the authority of the ancients is not sufficient on its own, but has to be maintained in accordance with Scripture. Having assembled a formidable selection of quotations, Chandieu makes his conclusions about the doctrine of Purgatory clear:

La Consequence est manifeste. Car ceste opinion du Purgatoire n'est confirmee par tesmoignages quelconques de l'Ecriture S. Quant à ceux qu'on allegue, ils sont obscurs, tirez par force, & diuersement exposez pa les Anciens, no ne peuuent estre acommodez au Purgatoire, attendu qu'ils repugnent à plusieurs autres passages de l'Ecriture S. qui attribuent manifestement toute la purgation de nos pechez à vn seul Iesus Christ, selon le denombrement qu'en auons dait en nostre demonstration precedente. Il nous sera donc loisible, selon l'auis des Anciens, en adherant totalement à

³² *Remission*, E8v.

³³ *Remission*, N5v.

l'expresse parole de Dieu, de nous arrester à ce que les Anciens ont fit conforme à la parole de Dieu: reiettant les opinions d'icelle. Ainsi nous tirant arriere des Anciens nous en aprocherons, demeruant rousiours es limites de l'Ecriture.³⁴

He then sums up the errors of the Papists, before his final conclusion:

Ces choses estans ainsi, puis que nostre croyance est apuyee sur tesmoignages expres de l'Ecriture sainte: & l'erreur Papistique touchant les Satisfactions humaines & le Purgatoire contredit manifestement à la parole de Dieu, & obscurcit (tant que faire le peut) la splendeur des benefices de Christ: puis aussi que nous auons monstré que les argumens que les Papistes ont tirez de quelques passages de l'Ecriture S. & des Anciens lam entendus & pirement accommodez, ne font aucun poids:³⁵

This full treatment of the question of Purgatory is celebrated by Goulart in his preface to the church in Amsterdam. Goulart spends the majority of this letter making his own observations on the doctrine of Purgatory: how it is maintained by the Catholic church to keep the ordinary people subjected to their rule, and how it has no biblical foundation, apart from the one they have invented. Goulart turns to his reasons for translating Chandieu's work:

Mais pource que la pluspart de toutes ces choses sont traitees par nostre auteur, ie me contenterai de vous dire, Treschers & treshonorez freres, qui m'a meu de publier ce discours en nostre langue vulgaire, & de le vous dedier. Au mois de Mars en l'an present, ie mis en lumiere le traité de nostre excellente Theologien (ainsi ai-ie acoustumé d'appeller feu M. de Chandieu, noble & docte personnage, suscit   par la grace de Dieu en ces derniers annees pour brider l'insolence des Iesuites & autres tels desperez ennemis du merite de Iesus Christ) touchant la Sacrificature & le sacrifice vnique de nostre Sauueur conte le controuu   sacrifice de la Messe. En la presface ie promis la dispute du mesme Theologien pour la remission des pechez contre les Satisfactions humaines & le Purgatoire du Pape. Ie m'acquite de ceste promesse: & me souuenant de vostre bienvueillance fraternele enuers moy.³⁶

The Dutch church is encouraged to take heart from the work to keep their faith strong in the face of opposition. Goulart states his hopes that the Catholic church will eventually realise its mistakes and peace will reign once more, although he spends rather more time

³⁴ *Remission*, N7v.

³⁵ *Remission*, N8v.

³⁶ *Remission*, ¶5v-6r.

describing his convictions that the Catholic church is on a road to failure. This introduction has a different tone to the previous one, and is much less concerned about why this was an important book to translate than Goulart's own opinions on the question of Purgatory. There is respect for Chandieu, but far less of a laudatory recommendation for his work than in the earlier prefaces.

These three treatises were obviously considered together. Chandieu refers within works to the other parts he has written, expecting his reader to be aware of these and presumably to have read them. It is as if he is trading on the expectation that his name is well-enough known that people who are interested in his works will make the effort to have collected them all. What is more intriguing is the idea behind the publications. Much of Chandieu's theological work was in some way reactive to circumstance: he wrote *La confirmation de la discipline ecclesiastique* in response to Morély, his Latin treatises in response to the Jesuits and Claude Aubéry. These three treatises were not prompted in the same way. Large proportions of the works refute Catholic thinking and the essential feeling of combat is continually present. However, whilst the theology becomes dense and concerned with minutiae for long stretches, the overall ambition is never lost. The three works cover the basic areas in which Reformed theology, as opposed to practice, differed from Catholicism: the primacy of the Word as expressed in Scripture, the theological basis for the Lord's Supper and how mankind's sinful nature relates to his salvation. In these three works one finds a guide to being a Reformed Christian, albeit one written for those already fully integrated into the processes of the church: Goulart does after all refer to the works being used as study books for trainee pastors.

Polemical Theology: Chandieu's debate with the Jesuits

In 1577, Chandieu engaged Jesuit polemicists for the first time in his *Sophismata F. Turriani*. Earlier works, such as the *Histoire*, had masqueraded as having an intended audience amongst Catholics, or had been written with a view to presenting Calvinist policy to royal and hence Catholic eyes, for instance the letter which accompanied the *Confession*. But this was Chandieu's first engagement with Catholic theologians.

Although composed in Latin, and thus not strictly part of this study, this work and its successors are interesting to consider for several reasons. Primarily, their composition and continual reissue give an impression of Chandieu's standing as an author and theologian in the eyes of others, and of their comparative interest for fellow intellectuals at the time. The audience for Latin works was considerable. It was still the language of scholarship, and thus the international language of the intellectual. By engaging in this international dialogue, Chandieu was in some way demonstrating the validation of his intellectual credentials. These must be affirmed if the true value of his work in France and abroad is to be appreciated. From the point where he was appointed as spokesman for the refugee community after the Massacres, Chandieu was cast as a leader of the French spiritual community, and thus one of the prominent leaders of international Calvinism. His works reflected this change in his status. As a spiritual leader, he was bound to defend his church's ideology to the utmost. He had done this before, against internal dissenters like Morély, and to external critics like Ronsard. But his spirited poetic attacks were no longer appropriate. As valid a part of the Protestant arsenal as they had been in the 1560s, the international religious situation of the late 1570s needed a more measured response, that of a serious and respected theologian. The spurs Chandieu had earned defending the church against Morély were to be rewarded by his recognition as an established theological voice amongst the international intelligentsia.

The debate with the Jesuits started in 1577, when Chandieu published *Sophismata F. Turriani*. He contributed his next piece in 1580, with *Ad repetita F. Turriani monachi Iesuitae Sophismata*, followed by *Responsionis ad repetita F. Turriani monachi Iesuitae* (1581), the second edition of *Ad repetita F. Turriani monachi Iesuitae Sophismata* (1583), *Posnaniensium assertionum de Christi in terris Ecclesia* (1583), and *Ant. Sadeelis de rebus gravissimis controversis disputationes* (1584). These works were reprinted throughout Chandieu's life and were incorporated into the collected works put together after his death in 1591. The main topic was the succession of pastors and they followed the same point by point development as the treatises. This approach had been seen in Chandieu's treatment of Morély, but here it was far more systematic, numbering the errors in his opponent's logic one by one. This was, to a certain extent, Chandieu

writing to order to protect the Calvinist cause from external opposition, as he had done before, and a systematic step by step approach was by far the most suitable at this juncture. It was to be a style which came to dominate his theological writing. This scholastic approach has been well documented and investigated by Donald Sinnema.³⁷

Redirecting theology: the *Response à la confession de foy*

From August 1585, Chandieu was in France. After a brief stop at the family estates in Pôle, he continued on to Aquitaine, where he served as Navarre's army chaplain. During this period he renewed his friendship with Duplessis-Mornay, with whom he spent at least two periods of time in Montauban of significant enough note to be included in his diary, in 1586 and 1588. The first of these stays was about the time he wrote his last major theological tome. The *Response à la confession de foy* first appeared anonymously in 1586, from Pierre Haultin in La Rochelle, and expanded editions appeared in 1588 (Geneva, Antoine Blanc), and 1590 (Geneva, Le Preux), with further reprints in 1593 and 1595 (both La Rochelle). The occasion of the book's conception was the need to respond to Antoine de Sansac's *Confession* published in 1585 in Bordeaux by Simon Millanges. No copies of this remain, but the work seems to have been produced at the behest of Henri III, as a means of spreading Catholic awareness.³⁸ Chandieu, possibly whilst in the company of Duplessis-Mornay, set out to refute this work point by point, and reiterate the contents of the French *Confession* which he had helped compile over a quarter of a century before. He took this opportunity to engage other Catholics with whom he disagreed, notably a lawyer from Cahors, Antoine de Peyrusse, who had published a pamphlet the previous year entitled *Discours Sur l'Edict du Roy, contenant la reünion de ses subjects à la Religion Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine, Et reuocation de l'exercice de la nouuelle pretendue religion* (Cahors, Jacques Rousseau, 1585).

The preface to this work is relatively short, some 23 sides in the first edition, but nonetheless is dynamic in its setting out of Chandieu's theological stall. It opens with a

³⁷ Sinnema, 'Antoine de Chandieu'.

³⁸ Antoine de Sansac, *Profession de la foy* (Bordeaux, Millanges, 1585). Records of the book's appearance found at FVB Sn 62329 and RB Vol. 1 p. 44, no. 102.

ringing statement, summarising Chandieu's basic premise: 'Il n'y a rien si foible que le mensonge', taken from John Chrysostome. Ancient history shows the truth has always won over evil in the attempt to establish false religions. Chandieu goes on:

Or quand le mensonge est descouuert il est vaincu: & cest vaincre à la verité, que d'estre cognue. La foiblesse de l'un monstre asses quand toutes les forces du monde sont employes pour le soustenir, & ne peuuent. La force de l'autre se void manifestement veu que toutes les forces du Monde ne l'ont peu vaincre. Qui plus est: ceux qui veulent autoriser le mensonge sont contrains de le colorer du tiltre & pretexte de verité: & pour combatre la verité ils luy donnent le nom de mensonge: tesmoignans par cela que le propre de la verité, c'est de vaincre: & le propre de mensonge, c'est d'estre vaincu. Ainsi l'erreur, l'idolatrie & la supersition desrobent le nom de l'Eglise pour estre receues: & pour destourner les hommes de la vraye Eglise, on luy donne le nom d'heresie qui est propre à la fausseté & à l'erreur.³⁹

The battle between truth and lies is not so distant as one might imagine. Anyone who has lived in France over the last twenty five years has seen this battle raging. Here, the forces of Catholicism, behind the Pope, as Chandieu colourfully evokes, are blamed for the upheaval of civil war, not merely because they are Catholic, but essentially because they are foreign:

Ces choses ont esté verifiées de tout temps. Mais il ne nous en faut rechercher la preuue de plus loing que de nostre aage: & ne parlerons pour le present des choses auenues en plusieurs Royaumes Prouinces & estats de la Chrestienté depuis septante ans, puis que sans sortir de ce Royaume, la memoire de vingt cinq ans nous fournit assez d'exemples pour faire voir & cognoistre a ceux qui ont des yeux & de l'entendement combien ce que nous disons est veritable. Toutesfois l'experience des choses passés n'a peu empescher que la ligue & les factions du Pape, trop auant enracinées en ce Royaume ne nous ayent remis aux guerres ciuiles, dont le sage Conseil & la prudence de noz Rois nous a souuentefois deliurez par cy deuant. Et cest merueilles que tant de François ayent en ce temps trouué meilleur la maladie causée par les pratiques des Estrangers, que les remeddes domestiques, dont l'vsage nous a esté autant profitable, comme le mespris a desja commencé d'estre pernicieux a tout ce Royaume. Tant y a que les partizans du Pape & singulierement les Moynes ses principaux satelites (qui ne font point de conscience de brouiller & renuerser tous les Royaumes & Estats pour affermir le Siege de la Papauté) n'ont peu estre esmeuz, ou de compassion,

³⁹ *Profession* (1586), A1r.

pour la calamité publique: ou de crainte, pour les redoutables Iugements de Dieu dont nous auons senty les effets & les sentons tous les Iours.⁴⁰

Chandieu and his Protestant co-religionists are still being presented as loyal Frenchmen, persecuted by an outside force detrimental not only to them, but to the fabric of French society. This is the same argument Chandieu had advanced since the 1560s, but at this point, after two and a half decades of armed conflict, in which all parties had been forced to look outside France for assistance, it is all the more striking. The Catholic church is described as an entity which turns people against their native lands:

Voire tellement ingrates, qu'estans nourries en France, ne pensent qu'à flestrir & ruiner la France, pour honnorer & aggrandir l'Italie: & present l'espaule à l'Euesque de Rome, pour assujettir à son autorité & disposition tous les Royaumes & principautez.⁴¹

Chandieu at both points is talking not only of the Catholic church, but of the League, who are 'trop auant enracinées en ce Royaume ne nous ayent remis aux guerres ciuiles' as he puts it in the earlier passage. Clearly, the stakes of the battle have been raised. Turning to the immediate context of the work, Chandieu tells of the publication of the Bordeaux confession, and follows this with a statement of his intentions:

Quant a nous, tout ainsi qu'à la fureur des armes nous opposons nostre juste deffence, non seulement sous l'autorité des Edits de sa Majesté faits, luez, & publiez solennellement, mais principalement sous la protection de Dieu est le Dieu des Armées: a la justice duquel nous appellons d'une telle violence et oppression: Aussi aux calomnies des Moynes nous auons bien voulu opposer la presente Response, pour monstrier que nostre Religion est expressement fondée sur celui qui est le Dieu de verité: & que pourant elle ne peut estre esbranlee par les mengeries des hommes veu (comme nous auons dit ci dessus) que la foiblesse est au mensonge & la force est a la verité: & que les hommes ne peuuent rien contre celui qui peut tout.⁴²

This is the crux of the matter: the monks writing against the Protestant church are lying, but to convince people they are telling the truth, they have called the Protestants liars. Chandieu will prove how the monks have done this, and demonstrate the integrity of Protestant belief. This gives insight into the probable tone of the subsequent work:

⁴⁰ *Profession* (1586), A2v.

⁴¹ *Profession* (1586), A8r.

⁴² *Profession* (1586), A3r.

although heavily grounded in theology and Scripture, the work will also have at its heart the confrontation between Catholic and Protestant perceptions of what is true, and such emotive subjects will be bound to inspire insult and spite. Chandieu uses the Preface to reiterate the manifest dedication to the Protestant cause that made him such an ardent polemicist. Here it takes the form of an espousal of one of his earlier contributions to Reformed orthodoxy, the *Confession*:

Nostre Confession de foy, est publiée pieça, de laquelle les fondemens sont amplement declarez par plusieurs liures qui en ont esté faits, comme aussi on les a proposées de la bouche quand on en a esté requis & sommé tousjours prêts de le faire. Nostre Confession de foy rejete le luif, deteste le Turc, condamne tous les heretiques. Elle n'a rien qui soit contraire a la parole de Dieu: rien qui repugne aux anciens Symboles de l'Eglise Chrestienne : rien qui s'accorde avec les heresies condamnées tant par les anciens Conciles que par les ancienes loix Imperialles sur ce faictes. Nostre confession de foy reconnoît vn seul Dieu, assauoir le Pere, le Fils & le S. Esprit, reçoit vn seul Iesus Christ pour nostre Sauueur, Mediateur & redempteur, Auouë vne vraye & Catholique Eglise de laquelle Iesus Christ est le Chef: retient les saints Sacremens d'Icelle Iustituez[sic] par Iesus Christ publiez & administrez par les Apostres. En somme nostre Confession de foy n'oste pas l'Eglise mais oste les Erreurs & corruptions ennemies de la pureté de l'Eglise. Ou est donc ceste heresie dont les Moynes nous tiennent pour conuaincus? A quel tiltre s'appellent ils l'Eglise, & nous donnent le nom d'heretiques, si ce n'est qu'ila se veulent parer des ornemens qui nous sont propres & nous deshonorer de leur deformité & laideur?⁴³

These monks who condemned the Protestants did not even call a council, something the ancient church always did when condemning opponents as heretics. The Protestant reply is just that, a reply, a refutation, and thus the necessity of a council is removed. Moreover, this is not theology confined to the study of an academic, but rather it is active theology, produced in response to current events, that will take people through the continuing confusion of civil war. Instead of a proper church council, the Protestants have been condemned by a bogus body, the League, whose illegal meeting has caused great losses for the country:

La Ligue, qui au commencement de l'an passé commença à paroistre en armes contre le Roy et les Princes de son sang, a esté leur Concile. Les Chefs de leurs Regimens, & les Capitaines de leur armee, ont esté les legats. Les premiers sessions ont esté tenues en Champagne & Bourgogne, & la

⁴³ *Profession* (1586), A3v-A4r.

Conclusion faite aupres de Paris, par l'autorité d'une armee de vingt mil hommes assemblés pour forcer le Roy, & le contraindre à renuerser son Edict de Paix. Volià le Concile qui nous a condamnez, duquel la publication dure encores. Leurs descisions se font à coups d'espees, Leurs Canons sont non de Concile, mais de Batterie. La demolition des villes, le reuage du païs, le degast & ruïne de tout ce pource Royaume, ce sont leurs Syllogismes et arguments. Le banissement, la prison, le rauissement des biens, ce sont leurs Catechismes et instructions. La reuocation de l'Edict de paix, est le texte de leur Escriture. Et parce que l'ancien Concile de Nice fit vne Confession de foy, les Moynes l'ont voulu surmonter en cest endroit. Car pour vne ils en ont fait plusieurs, qui toutes sont nées de ce beau Concile militaire, si solonnellement celeberé. Ils nous souloient reprocher par ci deuant, que les Protestants auoyent beaucoup de Confessions de foy: & maintenant il se treuue[sic] en ce Royaume que ceux de l'Eglise Reformee n'ont qu'une Confession de foy, & ceux de l'Eglise Romaine en ont plusieurs: & est à presumer, qu'en fin chacune Parroisse aura la sienne, à fin que ce soyent plustost confusions de foy, que confessions.⁴⁴

This passage is especially striking, casting the League as an anti-Christian body. They have followed similar procedures and have comparable elements to true Christianity, but these have been subverted in the pursuit of their evil aims: the Bible has been replaced as Holy Word by the revocation of the peace, catechism by banishment and imprisonment. And in this topsy-turvy world where all that is true is undermined, their *Confession* was put together by the monks of Bordeaux, with the result that it too runs contrary to true Christian doctrine, and indeed condemns the truth as lies. Circumstances allow Chandieu to take the moral high ground, on the subject of multiple confessions. This had of course arisen after the 1559 synod, but with the work of the synod of La Rochelle, and the coming together of political factions with religious leaders to condemn Morély, Protestant France had achieved a single *Confession* that all could live by. This was mirrored by the work in Germany of Salvard, bringing together the *Harmony of Confessions*, which further presented Reformed Protestantism as a united block, albeit in the early stages of compromise.⁴⁵ On the Catholic side, division still remained in the wake of Trent, which had not been universally accepted. Chandieu is not concerned that he and his co-religionists have been attacked: this after all is something that has occurred throughout the history of the church, but he is not able to ignore untruths.

⁴⁴ *Profession* (1586), A4v-A5r.

⁴⁵ On the debate over the Harmony of Confessions, see RCP Vol 4, 1575-1582.

The Preface also contains an attack on Antoine de Peyrusse, a lawyer from Cahors. Peyrusse apparently wrote a pamphlet thanking Henri III for reversing the peace edicts, and this has enraged Chandieu to the point of him reaching for his pen and spilling the kind of invective that recalls his most virulent attacks against Ronsard. The man's professional acumen is called into question: 'Mais s'il est autant mauuais juge en ses causes ordinaires, qu'il est en ceste ci, de laquelle il s'est meslé extraordinairement: & s'il est aussi insuffisant luriconsulte, que nouveau Theologien', as is his patriotism:

ce Iuge Mage se met en auant, & de gayeté de coeur fait vne harangue Panegirique, pour tesmoigner le joye qu'il a, de voir toutes choses en confusion & ruine, qui est en vn Iuge Mage vn trespetit jugement. Car c'est vne chose tresindigne de rire au milieu des cendres de son peuple, & de dancer sur le tombeau de sa patrie.⁴⁶

The preface ends with a long exhortation to beware imposters and to remain true to the church of God, which is of course that which Chandieu will present by his reasoning in the main text.

The main body of the work takes Sansac's *Confession* point by point, including the text of the original work so that Chandieu can refer clearly to what he is refuting. It is not necessary to go into the deeper theology behind what Chandieu writes. Suffice it to say much of the argumentation hinges on points of Scripture and doctrine rarely heard outside a seminary. This was not a work to illuminate Protestant doctrine for those adherents less versed in theology than Chandieu. Rather, most readily it brings to mind his Latin works against Jesuit opponents.

This is a defence of Protestant belief that is consistently castigatory towards its Catholic opponents. A glance at the chapters gives a clear indication as to the conventionality of this debate: the topics under discussion here are those which continually promoted enmity between Catholic and Protestant. Transubstantiation, justification by faith, predestination, the apostolic succession: this work deals with the

⁴⁶ *Profession* (1586), A8r-v.

touch paper issues in the interconfessional debate. Chandieu was well-placed to expound on them, as he had written serious scholarly works on many of these subjects. This work seems almost to be a compendium, a summary theology that one could reach for to clarify one's position on any given point of dispute, be it the status of marriage or the nature of Christ's humanity. Its continual reissue would imply that it did indeed enjoy this status. But it is never less than an inflammatory engagement with Catholics.

Chandieu follows the same pattern throughout, beginning with derogatory observations on the monks and their reasoning. Rather than focus on the author himself, Chandieu prefers to castigate all monks for their erroneous beliefs. In discussion of article 2 on God's omnipotence, Chandieu remarks: 'Il semble que les Moynes Abjureurs commencent a auoir quelque honte de leur Transsubstantiation'⁴⁷ whilst article 6 on the Old and New Testaments, and the extent to which the Old Testament is to be followed as God's Law, he observes:

Nous voyons icy la raison pourquoy les Moynes appellent ordinairement nostre Religion nouvelle, assauoir d'autant que l'Euangile leur est vne nouvelle Loy. Voire si nouvelle, qu'ils monstrent de plus en plus par cest Escrit qu'ils ne l'ont encor saluee que de bien loin.⁴⁸

The next article discusses Christ's death and the role of Pontius Pilate: 'Nous ne nous amuserons point à amplifier l'effrontée & plus que Monachalle impudence de ces Moynes, qui nous accusent des blasphemes qu'eux mesmes ont inunetez: & nous souilleroient volontiers de leurs ordures.'⁴⁹ Clearly, Chandieu has no time for his opponents. Next he gives a brief explanation of how the monks are wrong: they have not understood Protestant theology, or they have wilfully ignored the writings of the church fathers. If it is something for which there is no evidence in either Scripture or theology of the fathers, this will be seized upon gleefully as evidence of the monks' scholarly unsuitability. This is usually only a few lines, before the main theological endeavour is launched. These passages follow Chandieu's typical approach: a long section of quotations from the Bible, providing the solid evidence on which he builds, followed by

⁴⁷ *Profession* (1586), D3v.

⁴⁸ *Profession* (1586), H5v.

⁴⁹ *Profession* (1586), 11r-v.

patristic writers, usually Augustine, John Chrysostome or St Hilary, supporting his interpretation. Other church fathers are consulted, as are medieval Scholastics, mainly Peter Lombard and Doctor Thomas (Aquinas), whom Chandieu repeatedly refers to as ‘their’ doctor, underlining Protestant skepticism towards medieval theology. With his point expounded and proved, Chandieu generally includes a final derogatory remark, and dismisses the monks as inept and inaccurate, and often frequently malicious.

The image Chandieu paints of the monks deserves closer examination. He frequently casts doubt on their academic credentials. Turning again to the discussion of article 6, he ridicules their understanding of their theological predecessors: ‘Partant nous sommes contraints de les renvoyer encores à l’Eschole, pour ouyr là ce que leur Maistre Pierre Lombard en approuue vsant ces mots en parlant des fidelles qui ont esté sous le vieil Testament.’⁵⁰ The implication is that the monks are so inadequate in their understanding of theology that they need to be re-educated. It equates them with children, and makes Chandieu into a knowing schoolmaster, whose word is to be trusted over and above that of these disreputable schoolboys. This image is made all the stronger when addressing articles 43-44, and the ideas of justification: ‘Cest argument des Moynes est si cornu qu’ils meritent d’estre renuoyez à l’alphabet de leur Eschole.’⁵¹ Now the monks are even less educated: they should be sent back to study the very basic subjects, and by implication leave the theology to proper men who have the education and the ability, men like Chandieu.

The monks are not merely presented as ignorant but also as malicious. When talking about the Catholic reluctance to administer communion in both kinds, Chandieu is at his most rhetorically persuasive. Having illustrated the biblical precedent for this, and eloquently defended the Protestant insistence that the communal nature of the Eucharist is integral to its being a sacrament, he turns to why the Catholics have disallowed this obviously biblical sacrament to take its proper form. He begins by a sly dig at the monks:

Au reste ces Moynes qui anathematisent à pleine bouche les gens du bien,
n’osent parler qu’au demy bouche de ceste matiere. Car pourquoy disent ils

⁵⁰ *Profession* (1586), H7v.

⁵¹ *Profession* (1586), Dd3r.

seulement que la communion n'est par necessaire à vn chacun sous les deux especes? Il falloit parler franchement & dire, que l'Eglise Romaine à defendu aux laics (qu'ils appellent) la communion sous les deux especes & qu'elle à voulu priuer les pures consciences de cest consolation.⁵²

The monks are quick to criticise the practices of others that come into conflict with their beliefs, but unwilling to explain their own decisions. Chandieu presents himself as the polar opposite. His plea to 'parler franchement' underlines this difference between Protestant and Catholic, and reminds the reader the extent to which the two sides diverge, not just when it comes to theological doctrine, but concerning their whole approach to the explanation of theology. The monks, representing the entire Catholic edifice, are secretive, manipulative and cannot be trusted. Chandieu, standing for Protestantism, is grounded in Scripture, careful and can be taken at his word, because it is the Word of God. This is underscored in the subsequent lines, with their striking use of the personal pronoun, used rarely by Chandieu in his theological writings (theology being the elucidation of God's word, not the individual):

Il falloit, di-je, descourrir hardiment cest attentat intolerable contre la parolle de Dieu si expresse, contre la nature du Sacrement, contre l'usage de toute l'Ancienne Eglise & mesmes contre leurs propres decrets & canons, voire contre la teneur de leur,[sic] propre Messe laquelle en cest endroit ils desaduouent & ne la reconnoissent plus ne pour Sacrifice, ne pour Sacrement.⁵³

Further on, the monks are portrayed even more threateningly. Chandieu turns in article 32 to Catholic prohibitions on reading non-authorised theological works. This, he declares, is primarily enforced to ensure that people do not become aware of the lies that the monks pass off as the truth, and his defence of Protestant scholarship is at its most robust:

Finablement quand ils veulent qu'on jure de ne voir les liures qu'ils appellent censurez: nous confessions voirement que cest ci l'article le plus important pour la manutention de leurs erreurs: & leur conseillons de le comter pour vne caustelle de leur Messe, voire la principale. Car puis qu'ils sont du nombre de ceuz qui aiment plus les tenebres que la lumiere (comme disoit Iesus Christ) & que la lumiere est celle qui manifeste tout (ainsi que dit S. Paul). Il ne faut trouuer estrange s'ils condamnent les liures par lesquels leurs

⁵² *Profession* (1586), Q2r.

⁵³ *Profession* (1586), Q2r-v.

erreurs sont descouuers & condamnez. Partant il ne faloit accomparer les liures de l'Eglise Reformée aux liures des Payens contenans choses curieuses dont il est parlé aux Actes des Apostres au passage qu'ils ont cotté. Car tels liures sont bannis de nostre Eglise & sont logez en la leur: voire au Conuent des Moynes qui les gardent aussi diligemment, comme malheureusement ils ont fait brusler & font tous les jours, non seulement de bons liures pleins de saintes instructions pour connoistre Dieu & le servir, mais aussi la Bible mesme qui contient la pure & sacrée parolle de Dieu. Ce pendant ces bons abjureurs se donnent d'autant plus de licence de mentir & de calomnier, imposans à lean Caluin, à Theodore de Beze & generally à l'Eglise reformée des choses ou ils ne penserent jamais: & sont si estourdis qu'ils ne penserent jamais qu'ils cottent les passages de leurs liures, lesquels pourtant ils ne veulent pas qu'on voye. Car nous saurions volontiers pourquoy donc & à quelle fin ils les ont cottés. Or quant à nous, nous sommes de contraire aduis. Car nous desirons que tout le monde voye l'escrit de ces Moynes: & exhortans vn chacun de le bien pezer, pour mieux connoistre la legerté & peu de valleur de tout ce qui y est contenu: estans tresayes que la publication de leurs Liures publie l'ignorance de leurs personnes & la fauceté de leur Doctrine.⁵⁴

This passage distills the endeavour Chandieu set himself in this work: it lambastes the monks in their practices, it presents favourably the work of his co-religionists, rejects any potential links between them and heretical sects both ancient and modern, and validates his stated quest to bring the truth to bear out over the lies he rejected in the preface.

The *Response à la confession de foy* also served an ideological purpose suggested by its contents and its tone. The excerpts included from the original Catholic *Confession* comprise not only what Catholics are to believe, but also make reference to what they are not to believe. To use article 5 on the incarnation as an example:

Je croy en nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ Fils vnique de Dieu (coessentiel au Pere & au Saint Esprit). Incarné de la substance de la perpetuelle Vierge marie par l'ouurage du Saint Esprit. Et pource je deteste Caluin qui met l'oeuvre du Saint Esprit, pour sanctifier icelle conception: & toutesfois l'Ecriture l'assigne à la vertu d'incarner. Aussi jabhorre Beze qui met vne vnion du verbe diuin à l'ame & autre au corps. Et detesre aussi ceux, qui introduisent avec Nestore vne vnion à la personne humaine, auant que le verbe ait esté vni à nature humaine: lequel filz de Dieu je croy vni inseparablement a nature humaine. Et pource je croy, & adore deux natures qui subsistent en vne personne. Et par consequent que l'humanité de nostre Seigneur est vrayement viuifiante en soy, a cause de l'existence diuine, dont

⁵⁴ *Profession* (1586), X4r-5r.

elle existe ineffablement, au verbe diuin. Et pource j'abjure Nestore Caluin & Beze, & les pretendans qui la font precisement viuifiante à cause de l'vñion au verbe & non premierement & proprement à cause de l'existence diuine, dont ell'est enrichie par le Diuin verbe en l'vñion personelle avec ladite nature humaine.⁵⁵

This long article not only sets out Catholic belief, but rejects the opposing Protestant belief, mentioning Calvin and de Bèze by name. Out of the 63 articles in the *Confession*, only three are straightforward proclamations of what Catholics believe: the other 60 all include a statement of anathematization towards other groups. Thus the original *Confession* is not so much a statement of faith as a statement of opposition. This can be seen in table 7.1, which gives a breakdown of the articles of the *Profession* and their targets. These groups fall into three main categories: those of other faiths, namely Jews and Muslims, who are designated Turks as by the parlance of the day; ancient heretical sects, such as Arians, Pelagians and Nestorians; and modern heretics. This last group further subdivides. The largest proportion of directives are against 'Protestans' and 'Pretandans', with a few references to distinct groups, the 'Anabaptistes' (for example articles 11 and 12 on Baptism) and the 'Religion Pretendue Reformée' (article 48 on Tradition). The term 'Pretandans' is not clearly defined. In article 1 it is used in the construction 'Pretandans Reformez', which fits the common designation of the Reformed church as 'la religion pretendue reformée', but in the concluding article, it is used in a different context. This declares its opposition to 'la Religion pretendue Reformée entre les Protestans, Alemans & entre les Sacramentaires Pretendans & entre les Registres, & puritans Anglois' which implies that 'Pretandans' has been employed as a useful catch-all term for non-Catholic sects. Chandieu's reply to this is seen below, and he certainly understands it as all Protestants being considered together. A large proportion of the references name individuals: Calvin, de Bèze, Peter Vermigli, Bucer and Luther. Necessarily, Chandieu has to address these allegations. He is duty bound to refute the links made between Protestants and heretical sects. This is amply demonstrated in article 4, when he rejects the comparison of Calvin's works to the Manichean Heresy: 'Quant à

⁵⁵ *Profession* (1586), G4r-v.

Table 7.1 The Articles of the *Response à la confession de foy*

Article	Subject	Non Christians	Calvin	Ancients	Reformed	Other
1	Trinity	y	y	y	y	Jews, Turks, Manicheans, Sabellins, Arriens, Euominens, Macedonians and other Trinitarians, pretendans reformez, Calvin (Luther)
2	God's omnipotence		y	y	y	ancient and modern heretics, Nestor, Pierre vermigli, Calvin and Bèze
3	God can do things he does not want to					
4	Where sins come from		y	y		Maniche and Calvin
5	Incarnation		y	y	y	Calvin, Beze, Nestor, pretendans
6	Scripture compared to Old Testament	y			y	Jews, false apostles and pretenders
7	Nature of Christ's death			y	y	pretendans
8	Whose sins are forgiven by Christ's death			y	y	orgienistes and pretendans
9	Number of Sacraments		y		y	pretendans and protestants
10	Baptism	y		y	y	Jews, donatists, Anabaptists and pretenders
11	Baptism of children			y	y	Manicheans, Pelagians, Anas and pretenders
12	Order of Sacraments		y			Bèze
13	Entry of grace into person			y	y	Novatiens and pretendans
14	Eucharist & Transubstantiation		y	y	y	Valentin, Marcion Manichean, AErius, Berengare, Calvin and pretendans and protestans
15	Eucharist for ill people				y	pretendans
16	Communion in both kinds				y	Hus & pretendans
17	God's untouchability			y	y	Anthropomorphites and Pretendans
18	Concomitance		y	y		Calvin and Nestor
19	Entry of Holy Spirit into person			y	y	Novatiens, Donatiens and pretendans
20	Sacrament of Holy orders		y		y	Pretendans and Calvin
21	Marriage					general - those who deny this
22	Extreme Unction				y	Pretendans

23	Imperfection of penitence, marriage and Extreme Unction		y	y	y	Donatists, Anas and Calvin
24	Duration of Purity of Baptism		y	y		Iovian and Calvin
25	Singular occasion of Baptism, Confirmation and Ordination					
26	Christ descends to Hell to save souls		y			
27	Resurrection		y	y		Calvin and Iovian, Eutriche
28	Further discussion of Resurrection					Brench, Eutriche pretendans and Nestor
29	Ignorance of Christ at Incarnation		y	y		Guenotz, Arriens, Ignoittes, Bucer, Calvin, Pretendans
30	Canonical books	y		y	y	Jews, Marconites, Manicheans, Severiens, Arriens, Protestans and Pretendans
31	List of books					
32	Prohibits reading censured books					
33	Rejection of election				y	pretendans
34	Permanence of faith		y			
35	Faith follows God's works, does not precede		y	y		Hymnée, Philet and Calvin
36	Mortal and Venial Sins				y	pretendans
37	Retention of some of Adam's glory		y			Calvin
38	Born into original sin			y		Pelagians
39	Concupiscence is wrong				y	pretendans
40	Divine justice				y	Protestans, Pretendans and Anabaptists
41	Ten commandments not in nature	y		y		Jews, pagans and pelagians
42	Following ten commandments by Free Will			y	y	Plegaians, Protestans and Pretenders
43	Justification in Image of Christ				y	Bucer and Pretendans
44	Efficacy of Grace and Holy Spirit			y	y	Pelagians, pretendans
45	Justification vs. Free Will			y	y	Manichée, Pretendans, Pelagians, Actius, Origenistes
46	Purgatory			y	y	Origensires, Pelagians, Arriens, Pretendans
47	Acting with Holy Spirit to achieve			y	y	Jouiniens and Pretendans

	wishes					
48	Traditions conform with Word of God				r	Religion Pretendue Reformée
49	Dates of Sabbath, 'Jeusnes' & Marriages set by God			y	y	Manicheans, Montanistes, Encratistes, AEriens, Pretendans
50	Service in Latin			y	y	Arriens, Pretendans, autres anciens and modernes sectaires
51	Priestly succession			y	y	Manicheans, protestans, Pretendans
52	Indulgences			y	y	Nouatiens, Protestans and Pretendans
53	Consanguinity and clerical marriage			y	y	Taciens, Eucratites, Epicureans, Nicolates, Jouiniens, Pretendans
54	Councils to be called by Roman church			y	y	rejects council of Carthage, Arinino, any called by Arrians and others non-Catholics
55	Authority of council's decisions				y	pretendans
56	Rejection of Greek church		y		y	Calvin and Reformed church
57	Intercession of saints	y		y	y	Saduceans, Epicuriens, Manicheans, Euoniens, Vigilantiens, Ariens, AEriens, Turks, Pretendans
58	Pilgrimages & relics	y		y	y	Jews, Payens, Vigilantiens, pretensans
59	Images	y		y	y	Jews, Macionistes, Manicheans, Xenas, Pretensans and others Bris-Images
60	Visible apostolic church					everything that is against this
61	Visible church of pastors			y	y	Guenotz, Manicheans, Montanistes, Donatistes, Pretendans
62	Schismes are about people, not office, authority or faith				y	Pretendans
63	Pope keeping church together			y	y	Novatiens and pretendans
Conc.	against all errors of Prot church					
Total		8	18	37	44	

ce qu'ilz objectent à I. Caluin (lequel ils conjoignent avec les Manichéens, selon leur impudence accoustimée) cela procede de l'enuie qu'ilz ont de calomnier.⁵⁶ It is hardly surprising that hatred of Calvin is so prevalent in the monks' confession. His works and theology are chastised by name seventeen times. Chandieu is dogged in his defence, using a range of tactics. In the extract above, he cites jealousy as the monks' motivation in maligning Calvin. In article 5, he accuses them again of misunderstanding:

Enquoy ces Moynes Proffesseurs de calomnie n'ayans rien trouué à mordre[sic], se sont contentez d'abbayer de loin les escrits de lean Caluin, & encores avec telle ambiguité de langage qu'il est malasié d'entendre ce qu'ils veulent dire. Il semble de prime face, qu'ils accusent Caluin, ou d'auoir nié que Iesus Christ ait esté incarné de la substance de la Vierge Marie par l'oeuvre du Saint Esprit, ou d'auoir voulu dire, qu'il y air eu quelque impureté en cest conception, pour le regard de Iesus Christ, qui ait eu besoin d'estre ostée puis apres, par la sanctification du Saint Esprit. Mais ces opinions prodigieuses sont tant esloignées des Escrits de Caluin, que personne ne l'en peur accuser, que par mesme moyen il ne se condamne soy mesme d'estre prize de tout jugement & raison.⁵⁷

At other points he lets Calvin's work speak for itself. Article 34, which discusses the nature of man's faith, provokes the comment: 'Parce que lean Caluin n'a besoin d'autre deffence que celle de ses propres secrets (comme nous auons desja dit asses de fois) nous nous contenterons de reciter ici fidellement ses parolles, afin que chacun voye la malice Monachale de ces calomniateurs.' He then reproduces an extract from Calvin's *Institutes*, Book 3, Chapter 2 section 7, which Chandieu concludes by saying 'Voila ce que dit Caluin: qui expose assés clairement son intention & conuainc maniefestement ces Moynes de calomnie & mensonge'.⁵⁸ Chandieu refers to the *Institutes* throughout in his defence, frequently including extended citations as well as general references. By including the text of Calvin's work verbatim, the point is made that what the monks have reported as Calvinist doctrine, and what Calvin actually wrote, are two very different things. This juxtaposition of interpretation and the source material has the cumulative effect of undermining all that the monks have to say, to the point where the reader is subconsciously skeptical of all the 'orthodox' doctrine the monks put forward. Perhaps

⁵⁶ *Profession* (1586), G3v.

⁵⁷ *Profession* (1586), G4v-G5r.

⁵⁸ *Profession* (1586), Y6v-7r.

the most engaging example of this process comes early on in the work, during Chandieu's refutation of the first article. In defending Calvin's position on the respective essences of God the Father and God the Son, he seizes on an error in the monks' arguments with perceptible glee:

Or afin que nous decourions deuant les yeux de tous l'impudence de ces Moynes Abjureurs, nous reciterons icy les parolles de Caluin de mot a mot. Ilz cottent le cinquiesme liure de son Institution Chestienne, combien qu'il n'y en ait que quatre, & croyons bien que cest par erreur, car l'erreur est familier en trop de sortes. Voici donc ce que Caluin (refusant les nouveau Arriens qui n'atribuent, l'Escence Diuine qu'au seul Pere) en dit au premier liure, Chapitre. 13. sect. 23...⁵⁹

The article in question (given as Book 5, Chapter 13, Section 23 by the monks) is so close to the passage that Chandieu cites that it suggests a simple typographical error in the composition of the original work, rather than an ignorant citation, or a fabricated reference. In correcting the monks' misnumbering of the passage, Chandieu willfully interprets a common mistake in the printing process as evidence of theological unreliability, and consequently warns his readers.

The most striking defence Chandieu undertakes is on behalf of theologians outside the Reformed tradition. Clearly, he does not defend them on points that see them in disagreement with Reformed practice and thought, but nonetheless, there is a tangible conciliatory thread in the *Response à la confession de foy* that is not obvious in other works. In the Preface, he includes a list of people about whom the Monks have lied:

A ceste cause leur Abjuaration de foy (qu'ils appellent profession) est non seulement remplie des erreurs qui sont communes à eux tous: mais aussie farcie de calomnies tres impudentes contre plusieurs doctes & excellens personnages: comme Luther, Caluin, Pierre Martyr, Theodore de Beze: desquels ils corrompent les escrits, changent les sentences, falsifient les parolles: & font jurer que ces docteurs ont dit ce qu'ils n'ont pas dit: ou qu'ils ont mal dit, ce qui a esté bien & saintement dit par eux. En somme ils veulent qu'on jure d'estre aussi malin & calomniateur qu'ils sont.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *Profession* (1586), C7v-8r.

⁶⁰ *Profession* (1586), A5r-v.

This broadly Protestant church is again referred to in the preface, as Chandieu refutes the idea that Protestants follow the word of men, when in fact it is the monks who reject the teachings of God for worldly teachings. Again, the prohibition of reading these men's books is rejected. Chandieu includes a defence of Luther in his discussion of the first article. This is itself interesting. Luther is not included in the list of those the Catholics anathematise, but Chandieu includes him in his defence. That he does so, but only once, suggests that he does not consider Luther's theology to have the same resonance as Calvin's, logical given his beliefs and career. So why then include Luther at all? The exact context is in discussion of the nature of the Trinity: the monks have apparently implied that Luther denied the use of the word 'Coessential' in this context. Chandieu remarks this is not the sense of most of the man's works, and furthermore cites his correct observation that Faith does not depend on words, but on the thing those words represent. Having discussed the Arian use of the Greek term 'homoousin', this passage is rounded off by a brief 'ilz n'eussent pas ainsi parlé de Luther', before Calvin's non-existent fifth volume is addressed.⁶¹ This inclusion of Luther when the man himself had not been discussed by the Catholic original strikes one as somewhat engineered. Chandieu possibly expected this book to achieve international attention as his others had, and included a mention of Luther to please potential allies from other Protestant groups. This would fit with his other occupations at this time. He was still heavily involved with the negotiations with the German Princes for the King of Navarre, and would travel to them in 1588. Perhaps more tellingly, this work was composed during 1586, when he spent much time with Duplessis-Mornay in Montauban. With Chandieu as his guest, it is only to be expected that ideas passed between the two of them. Indeed, there was even potential for collaboration between these two intellectuals. By making overtures that included Luther amongst the canon of Protestant greats, was Chandieu attempting to take this further, and promote even greater unity between disparate Protestant groups?⁶²

⁶¹ *Profession* (1586), C7r-v.

⁶² My thanks to Amy Graves for her stimulating interest in the relationship between Duplessis-Mornay, Chandieu and Simon Goulart. On Duplessis-Mornay, see Hughes Daussy, *Les Huguenots et le Roi: Le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1572-1600)* (Geneva, 2002), especially pp. 203 ff.

Thus the *Response à la confession de foy* achieved its stated aims, through a number of rhetorical devices that show Chandieu's theological writing to have been as carefully constructed as his poetry. The subsequent editions and its Latin translation saw it tidied up and revised, mainly in spelling and phraseology.

Interestingly, the publication history proves how successful Chandieu was in reaching out beyond the boundaries of his French audience. The first 'Collected Works of Chandieu' was published in Latin in 1584. It prefigured the later posthumous editions in its contents: the *Meditations*, the three treatises on the Word, the Sacrifice of Christ and the Remission of Sins, and five works written against Turrianus and the Jesuits, the *Sophismata*, the *Index Eclenticos Repetitionum Turriani*, the *Centum Flosculi Turrianicae*, the *De Legitima Vocatione Pastorum* and the *Posnaniensium Assertionum de Christi*. Only three of these Latin works, the *Sophismata*, the *De Legitima Vocatione Pastorum* and the *Posnaniensium Assertionum de Christi* had been previously published, in 1577, 1580 and 1583 respectively. Of the others, the *Index* would be published in 1590, and the *Centum* does not appear to have survived separately. What is interesting is that this collected edition appeared from a British press, that of Thomas Thomas in Cambridge. This is striking, that it was not a continental printer, and that it was from England that the first effort at consolidation of Chandieu's works came. Chandieu's works were read and studied in England at this time, as can be seen from their being mentioned in the Martin Marprelate Controversy, citing Chandieu as one of those engaging with the Jesuits.⁶³ And Chandieu's works would continue to be read and cited by English theologians into the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Chandieu and his works were referred to over sixty times through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, establishing his publications amongst the standards of Calvinist theology in his native France and throughout Protestant Europe.

By the end of Chandieu's writing career, French Protestantism was almost unrecognisable from the vibrant movement he had led at its height. Years of war had

⁶³ See Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, (Oxford, 1990).

⁶⁴ See Appendix B.

taken their toll on the number of adherents and on the attitude of those who remained within the fold. Nowhere is this transformation more evident than in Chandieu's work. But whilst his poetry had become more reflective and introspective over time, his theology had become possibly more stringent in its demands on Christian life. These final theological treatises show that Chandieu was as firm in his Calvinist beliefs as ever. They also show how he had lost none of his vigour in defending the religion to which he had dedicated his life. But his targets have changed. Instead of an audience of interested amateurs, by the 1580s Chandieu's main readers, for his theology at least, appear to have been theology students and clerics. For Chandieu, this did not present a problem, as it gave him the opportunity to immerse himself completely in the religion that dominated his outlook. In his theological treatises, we perhaps come as close to hearing Chandieu the preacher as is possible for a modern audience. The counterpoint they provide to his poetry is inestimable.

Conclusion

This study used the life of a 'secondary' figure of the French Reformation, Antoine de Chandieu, as a template for understanding the movement's development. By concentrating on Chandieu's writings, the underlying emotions in the development of French Protestant identity throughout the period of the Religious wars are seen to have evolved from the drive and optimism of the early years, through a period of dogged attempts to consolidate, before the final aspects (at least for Chandieu) of resignation and movement towards more interior contemplation. Chandieu is in a small group of men for whom such a study could be undertaken, alongside de Bèze, Simon Goulart and Duplessis-Mornay. These men were instrumental in the processes by which the French church built up its organisational structure and consolidated its belief system, and published on these subjects over several decades. So much has been inferred from single works or publications from a short period of time that has then been assumed to be emblematic of the French Protestant movement that the idea of an evolving Protestant identity has been somewhat ignored. As Chandieu's writings demonstrate, such an assumption is incorrect, because the events of the wars forced Protestants to constantly redefine their identities, if not through their theological writings then assuredly in their meditative and personal works. By surveying Chandieu's works chronologically, it has been possible to demonstrate how ideas of identity shifted.

Chandieu and the Calvinist Family Ideal

Chandieu's career was obviously dangerous, making him a target from his early twenties until his death for those who disagreed with the Reformed religion. As the wars went through their successive phases, Chandieu was forced to take flight from his own lands and find refuge in friendly communities, an unsettling existence at best. But he was not alone through all of this. He married in 1563, and had thirteen children, eight of whom survived into adulthood. Little is known about this side of his life, because it was not something readily talked about in his surviving works, and the source that would most likely illuminate this significant section of his life, the journal, has been lost. Instead, to understand Chandieu's attitude to the family, his other works must be

compared with the traditional view of the Calvinist family: solid father figure dominating events, mother as helper.

Chandieu's own childhood imparts few clues, as all that is known is that his father died when he was young, his brother died not long after Chandieu's own marriage, and his mother was from a good family. Apart from speculating about the links between the Chandieu brothers and their effect on the Conspiracy of Amboise, there is really little to go on. When Chandieu himself married, it was to a woman of similar social background, whose family was similarly dedicated to reform.¹ Françoise de Félin thereafter made little impact on the known details of Chandieu's life, apart from as mother to his children. The solid facts about her are that in 1569, she stayed in France when her husband left, attempting to recover their property, she then rejoined her husband in Switzerland, returning to France sometime before 1572, because she travelled to join Chandieu after the massacres. The next mention of her is in 1587, when Hotman noted that Madame de Chandieu was ill, whilst her husband was in Nérac.² All in all, this is not much information. But Chandieu's marriage would appear to be a contented one. Quite apart from their thirteen children, his references to marriage in his work suggest that for him the bond between husband and wife was immensely important. He talks respectfully and admiringly of marriage in the *Response à la confession de foy*, the synods in which he was so active continually debated the exact standards to which the institution should be held accountable, with the vast majority of extraneous questions relating to both general and specific cases of marital regulation. And in the *Ode sur les miseres des Églises François*, the image he sees under threat is that of the man, wife and their children.

We have slightly more information on Chandieu's sons than on their mother and sisters, because their movements were relayed in correspondence between their father and his friends. They first had a tutor, Gaspard Laurent, then were educated locally, in Lausanne and then Geneva. We are not told what institution they attended in Geneva, but

¹ Bernus, p. 170.

² Bernus, p. 570.

they would appear to have been slightly young to attend the Academy.³ In the summer of 1582, Jean, Jacques and Daniel de Chandieu went to Basle, where they were supervised by Chandieu's correspondent Grynaeus. Chandieu continued to correspond with Grynaeus throughout the 1580s until his death (see Appendix C).

The boys moved on to Zurich and then to Heidelberg, where they matriculated at the University on 23 November 1584. Why were Chandieu's sons educated here and not in one of the institutions where he himself worked? This was a period of growing instability within the Genevan Academy: Maag's study shows how difficult it was for the Genevan authorities to keep good professors in long-term posts.⁴ Chandieu's position meant he would have been totally aware of the problems the Academy faced. Sending his sons away would have removed them from this tricky situation. Of course, Heidelberg was a centre of Reformed Protestantism by this period. Chandieu himself had been sent away at a young age with his tutor, and thus he possibly saw this as the best form of education. But could the choice of educational establishment have been influenced by Chandieu's wider political aims and his efforts to bring about closer unity between German, French and Swiss Protestantism? There is no evidence to confirm this, although Chandieu was admired as a religious thinker in the Palatinate: he had been sought by Jean Casimir as personal chaplain for the newly converted Elector of Cologne in 1583 and the French churches chose him to represent them at proposed conferences several times. In June 1585, Daniel de Chandieu was taken on as the companion of Jean Casimir's son, the future Frederick IV, and stayed another three years in Heidelberg. From these facts alone, it would appear that Chandieu was indeed respected by the German Protestants, and his earlier confidence in them seen the *Epitaphe* was fully repaid. The French churches recognised this and were prepared to exploit this link for their own purposes. Yet, apart from what Bernus hints at in his diary, there is little to learn here about Chandieu's relationship with his children.

³ Bernus, pp. 454 ff.

⁴ Karin Maag, *Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620* (Aldershot, 1995), especially chapter 2.

His writings do furnish evidence. Two pieces of Chandieu's corpus demonstrate how attached he was to his children. The first is the *Cantique à la Mémoire de sa fille*. As seen, this work prefigured many of the issues dominant in Chandieu's spiritual thinking over his final years. Also to be recognised is the real pain and loss this poem vocalises: the man who has lost his young daughter is openly grieving for her, and he is thankful that his faith can help him through this difficult time. The fact that Chandieu was so moved to put pen to paper and leave this legacy of his paternal turmoil indicates a close relationship with his child that we might not otherwise have found.⁵ As the surviving information we have about his other children mainly concerns their education, it tells us little of the sentiments involved in the relationships. The *Cantique à la Mémoire de sa fille* is Chandieu at his most human.

The other clue is in a passage from the *Response à la confession de foy* dealing with the baptism of children, where Chandieu's feelings about the death of young children are openly displayed:

Car quel torment de conscience sera ce aux peres & meres de ces enfans, & singulierement aux meres, si par quelque cheute ou autre inconuenient, les enfans sont preuenuz de la mort auant que pouuoir estre presentez au Baptesme? Combien de fois cela leur reuiendra deuant les yeux, qu'elles ont des enfans damnez? Voire que souuent elles les auront damnez par leur mesgarde ou par leur faute? Dauantage pourquoy sera puni l'enfant pour la faute d'autrui?⁶

This passage comes in an article discussing the baptism of children, and it strikes as being extremely heartfelt. His own son Pierre died the year after his birth in 1571, thus he was aware of the pain of losing an infant. Perhaps the best summation of Chandieu's warm attitude to the family comes in his *Ode sur les miseres des Églises François*, where the destruction of the family unit is depicted as the worst thing that can befall a person.

The traditional view of Calvinism's social implications is that the nuclear family unit became the focal point, as opposed to medieval 'kin' networks. If accepted, then

⁵ This poem also challenges the views expressed by Lawrence Stone that parents kept their distance from their children in this era because they were so used to their offspring predeceasing them. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London, 1977). p. 105.

⁶ Response, Article 11.

Chandieu's case poses something of a problem: he clearly loved his family and respected the institutions that went with it greatly, but his life did not allow for the physical proximity that the traditional model demanded. Quite simply, he was away in the service of the faith far too frequently to be able to fulfil the paternal director role with anything approaching seriousness. There were extended periods where he was in another country, either seeing to his estates or working for Navarre, and his wife was left to bring up the children alone. Does this constitute a fundamental contradiction, or can it be explained as a modern misinterpretation of what the Calvinist ideal actually was?

Chandieu's final years and legacy

Chandieu's passing in February 1591 was much lamented.⁷ He had been attended in his final days by de Bèze and other ministers, and in the end was too weak even to complete his journal, which was finished by his son Daniel. The *Compagnie des Pasteurs* and the City Council both mourned his loss, and his body was carried by eight theology students. Perhaps the most fitting tribute came from Pierre Poupo:

Cest illustre Champdieu, ceste clarté si rare,
Ne devoit point mourir non plus que le Soleil,
Ou bien, en nous laissant, nous laisser son pareil,
Comme l'unique oiseau qui mourant se repare.

Qui etonnera plus ceste trompe argentine,
Qui mettoit en effroy tout le camp de Babel?
Et consolait le cœur du fidele Israël
Aux festes du Seigneur, par sa chanson divine?

Mais quoy? c'est le malheur du vice de nature,
Les astres les plus beaux ont plustost faict leurs cours.
La roze, honneur des fleurs, ne peut vivre deux jours,
Et le juste sur tout au monde bien oeu dure.

Il n'est pas mort pourtant; mais, ainsi qu'une estoile
Approchant du soleil fait eclipse à nos yeux,
Il reluit pleinement dans le sein glorieux
Du Pere de lumiere, en la joye eternelle.

Ayant par ses escrits desconfit l'adversaire,
Et le champ du combat luy estant demeuré,

⁷ Bernus, pp. 633 ff.

Pourquoy l'agonothete eust-il plus différé
D'en donner à son chef le triofant salaire?

Ne le pleurons donc point; mais, dressant la visée
Sur le trac par lequel il est monsté là haut,
Prions Dieu qu'il luy plais alléger son défaut,
Faisant choir son manteau és mains d'un Elizée.

Et, au lieu des vain bruits d'une funebre plainte,
Et du pompeux apprest d'un deuil ambitieux,
Mettant sa modestie en parade à nos yeux,
Sacron ce peu de mots à sa memoire sainte.

Comme, quand le Soleil vers l'Occident s'encline,
L'ombre se fait plus grande allant apres le corps,
Ainsi l'âge suyvant, Champdieu, tirera hors
De tes petits livrets un grand fruit de doctrine.⁸

His life was celebrated by Jacques Lect and was included in the collected editions of his works which went on to be published throughout the century. His family remained in Switzerland, establishing themselves north of Lausanne at L'Isle. The death of Chandieu did not end the family's links to the Reformed movement. One son published a poem on the occasion of de Bèze's passing, and the others continued to play a role in the life of the Genevan church, although none achieved the international renown of their father.⁹

This survey has demonstrated the differences between those works written to defend Protestantism against religious critics and those written for private consumption. From Chandieu's pamphlets written as Protestantism became more militant in the late 1550s, through the establishment of the synodical structure in the 1560s and the works defending Calvinist orthodoxy against Jesuit criticism in the 1570s and 1580s, right up to his final works clarifying doctrine in the face of Catholic opposition, the tone was strident and inflexible. At no point was there any doubt that Chandieu's party was entirely correct in its approach and endeavours. At points of overlap with other denominations' doctrines, this was always depicted as the other group having a rare moment of clarity. The only opportunity for closer co-operation was that which focused on the German

⁸ Pierre Poupo, *La Muse Chrestienne*, Anne Mantero (ed.) (Paris, 1997), pp. 453-4.

⁹ 'Stances sur la mort de Monsieur de Beze, par le Sieur de Chandieu', Geneva BPU BSM 2057.

Protestants. Conviction of the soundness of one's own beliefs necessarily condemned all alternative paths as wrong. This is evident from the pamphlets Chandieu wrote in the 1550s. Mainly written to encourage the continued growth of Protestant strength, the early pieces were confident and unwavering in their resolution. The overwhelming tone was something akin to a school book explaining things in simple terms for children, although the explaining in this case was to those in authority, even the monarch. This pedagogical lecturing to those in need of instruction came to define Chandieu's style. Eventually it was refined to the point by point refutations of opponents that characterised his later theological works.

Chandieu was not only a polymath, but he was also something of a literary radical. Often his works have been overlooked when the great surveys of literary genres have been conducted, primarily because his style does not always fit the expectations of modern scholars. For example, his martyrology is also a history, and his meditations are far longer and more theologically orientated than those of his fellow authors. This means his contributions have often been missed or dismissed. Explaining this literary rebellion illuminates Chandieu's character. The most probable explanation is that finding the most appropriate vehicle for his message was more important than complying to literary rules, and thus he was prepared to adapt in order to serve his aims, much as he would write in French or Latin as his audience dictated.

In his recent enquiry into the nature of Reformation identity as manifested through the media, Andrew Pettegree offers several insightful comments on how media, especially books, served the people of the sixteenth century. He is especially clear on how books supplemented other forms of communication that have been lost to modern researchers, such as sermons, and sees them as having an almost comforting role in Christian life:

Books could be particularly important in helping to sustain the faith of those who had committed themselves to a group, who met together for mutual support (usually Bible reading) and sometimes worship. These conventicles

were a particular concern to the authorities, not least because they functioned very effectively as distribution points for heretical literature.¹⁰

This is particularly clear in France, where such meetings formed the bedrock of what would grow to become churches. Recognising the role of the book in sustaining faith, Chandieu's prodigious output is understandable. By committing himself to the written word, he exercised another function of his role as pastor, especially when events and circumstances prevented him from being physically present. It also explains the variety of genres in which he engaged: maintaining the faith of a disparate group of people needed engagement on multiple fronts, and by contributing to the worlds of martyrology, poetry, devotional literature, and practical and theoretical theology, Chandieu exploited all possible avenues open to him to bring about the Reformation message.

Emerging Protestant identities and the processes by which these developed has interested specialists in all localities of sixteenth century history. Using Chandieu's writings as a barometer for this process, the long duration of the identity-formation period is obvious, as is the pain involved. Indeed, it was often the most painful episodes that provoked the most introspection, and consequently were the most written about. Each of these steps in Chandieu's work, mirroring those of his professional and personal life, brought about a modification in his self-identification as a Protestant believer. To summarise these steps briefly, the opening works saw a rather dry preoccupation with practicalities, a need to establish rules and regulations by which one could live, as the churches established themselves. This was supplanted by a period of bitter invective when these first steps were threatened both by insiders and external critics, Ronsard and Morély. This was counterbalanced by works designed to encourage those already part of the faith, with the *Histoire* being the most obvious. As put by Pettegree:

One could not be angry, and urgent, for ever. Now, as the rubble of the old was swept away, a mood of sober reflection filled the leaders of the new churches as they recognized the scale of the task that faced them. Now began the work of creating new loyalties and invoking new solidarities.¹¹

¹⁰ Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, p. 176.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 213.

The third stage in the Protestant identity was that of doubt, as evinced by the poems of grief written in response to losses both personal and strategic, before a final dual identity emerged in the 1580s, one which had resigned itself to the loss of France as a Protestant nation, and which had turned for comfort to devotional self-expression, whilst maintaining a high-level of theological engagement that served to shore up the rather muted vestiges of the once all-powerful faction.

Although the final stage was an internalisation of the individual's quest towards salvation, there was nonetheless a communal aspect to this identity that had two main parts as presented in Chandieu's writings. Firstly, this was primarily a French experience, rather than an experience of the Genevan Church in France, as previously assumed. And secondly, the ongoing sapping of confidence by the physical setbacks of the wars had a profound impact not just on Protestantism's political fortunes, but also on the way in which its innermost ideas were expressed by the individual believer.

One thing that never changed in the emotional cycle identified above was the 'patriotism' of the author. From the works establishing the Church, through the debate with Ronsard and the persecution of the Paris church, right up to the aftermath of St Bartholomew and the despondent self-appraisal which characterised the *Méditations* and the *Octonaires*, Chandieu and his co-religionists were never less than fully aware of their status as Frenchmen and women, the inheritors of a rich history and loathe to abandon their native land until given absolutely no alternative for survival. It was only when practicalities intervened, and in essence St Bartholomew was the ultimate symbol of this loss of hope, that the French churches accepted they could no longer act independently and they recognised Geneva as a 'Mother Church'. Chandieu personified this shift, as he was there both at the inauguration of the independent French church system, at the Paris synod of 1559, and in Geneva speaking for the French refugees when they contented themselves to being a part of the city's system. It might be true that this statement, recorded in the Genevan registers but not frequently mentioned when discussing the post-St Bartholomew French church, was little more than stating the painfully obvious. But it

recognised how French Protestant independence had been beaten, and it was with this independence that Chandieu's earliest works resounded.

To refer to Calvinism as an 'International' movement can be a misleading statement.¹² The 'Calvinist International' was not an universal spectre that encouraged its members to renounce their personal national allegiances, it rather recognised the border-blindness of the True Church, which nonetheless functioned independently in its constituent national contexts. Acknowledging those of a like-minded religious conviction abroad and giving up one's nationalistic loyalties for this abstract understanding was a leap that has not been proved satisfactorily to have taken place. Of course, international boundaries held no bar to aid and support for those in need but before it is accepted that Geneva sat at the centre of an official international Protestant movement, greater attention must be given to the outcries of national loyalties that these groups continually espoused, even after their hopes of converting their entire countries had been lost.

The interconnected nature of violence and religious sentiment have been long recognised and debated through the works of Natalie Zemon Davis and latterly Denis Crouzet.¹³ Those arguments are well known enough and do not need to be reiterated here. What does need to be acknowledged, however, is how the everyday experience of interpersonal violence provoked a crisis in the French Protestant consciousness, most evident in the years after 1572. Although Chandieu's works show an awareness and engagement with themes of violence and loss before 1572, it was after this date that he and many of his fellow poets began to concentrate primarily on verses which explored the processes of death, and encouraged inner contemplation. This is not something that one readily identifies with Calvinism, especially the use of literature to achieve this end, and the similarities with Catholic practice need further examination.

¹² This is not to deny that much impressive work has been completed under this banner, such as the volume edited by Menna Prestwich, *International Calvinism 1541 – 1715* (Oxford, 1985). But the French experience as seen in Chandieu's works needs to be taken into account when considering this model.

¹³ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in early modern France: eight essays* (Stanford, 1975) and Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525 - vers 1610* (Paris, 1990).

One aspect that this study was unable to fully engage with, due to a profound lack of evidence amongst Chandieu's surviving works is the question of how far Chandieu and his co-ministers used their noble status to achieve religious aims. The fact that Chandieu enjoyed close relationships with Antoine de Bourbon, Condé and Henri de Navarre makes this all the more intriguing and ultimately frustrating. Chandieu simply does not mention this fact at all in his writings, and it must be assumed that whatever clues there might have been as to how the religious aspect affected what must be termed 'Protestant clientage relationships' probably disappeared with the journal.¹⁴ Perhaps Chandieu was so comfortable with his noble status that there was never any need for him to discuss it. It is clear that work remains to be done on fully understanding the relationship between the Reformed religion and the French nobility. Nowhere has this been better put than by Kristen B. Neuschel: 'The interconnection of religious life with social and political life has not been so successfully investigated where the nobility are concerned. Most discussions about the religious life of the nobility locate it not in the realm of community life but of private conscience.'¹⁵ Although Chandieu's works have not been able to illuminate this important subject, it is to be hoped that the lives and works of his contemporaries might shed more light on this precarious affiliation, as well as further enquiry into Chandieu's own family.

The other main effect of the massacre period on this nebulous identity was one of coalescence. Whilst French Protestants tried hard through their structures and literature to establish their independence from Geneva in the early years of the wars, this had in

¹⁴ Of the many works on French Nobles and their 'Crisis' the following have been the most illuminating, both in introducing the subject and looking at some specific examples. N. M. Sutherland, *Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion 1572 – 1596* (2 Vols) (Bristol & Portland, 2002); Arlette Jouanna, 'L'Idée de Race en France au XVI^e siècle et au début du XVII^e siècle (1498-1614)' (PhD Thesis 3 vols., Lille & Paris, 1976); Nicolas Formerod, 'L'édit de Nantes et le problème de la coexistence confessionnelle dans la pensée de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay' in Michel Grandjean & Bernard Roussel (eds.), *Coexister dans l'intolérance: l'édit de Nantes (1598)* (Paris, 1998), pp. 225-252; Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility 1400 – 1800* (Cambridge, 1996); Davis Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640* (Stanford, 1969); Frederic J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1995); Joachim Aubert, *Duplessis Mornay ou Études historiques et politiques sur la situation de la France de 1549 à 1623* (Geneva, 1970) and Christopher Allmand (Ed.), *Power, Culture and Religion in France, c. 1350-c1550* (Woodbridge, 1989).

¹⁵ Kristen B. Neuschel, *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), p. 31.

fact been largely artificially constructed through innovations like the synods. One demonstration of how fragile this system was is how quickly the churches turned to Geneva for aid, and then gradually functioned more and more in the way traditionally ascribed to them, with Geneva as Mother Church. This was partly because Geneva was a safe haven at this point, as well as being the leading light of practical Calvinism, but it was also largely to do with the fact that most of the French Protestant leadership were based there from this point. The early years, when it has previously been assumed that Geneva played this role, were actually the years when the French Churches experienced their greatest independence.

To move from this period of booming independence to quiet reflection and reliance on Geneva might seem to be very disheartening, and could cast a pall over Chandieu's career. But although the word 'Confessionalisation' has been somewhat purposefully avoided, essentially Chandieu's later years saw him engaged in this process, redefining and essentially solidifying the structures and doctrines he had laid out earlier in his career. The next stage in Chandieu studies is to turn from his role as a spokesman for French Protestantism and its concerns and to consider his other calling as an international statesman for the Reformed churches.

Appendix A: Antoine de Chandieu – Life and Times.

1534	Chandieu is born in Chabottes near Maçon
1538/9	In Paris as a student
1540s/50s	In Toulouse for law studies
mid 1550s	Chandieu living and studying in Geneva
c. 1555	returns to Paris, probably for a family legal dispute
end 1556/start '57	made second regular pastor of Paris Church
4 Sept 1557	Rue Saint Jacques incident
September 1557	Chandieu in Geneva to finish studies
Autumn 1557	Chandieu writes <i>Remonstrance au Roi</i>
Winter 1557/8	In Poitiers
25 March 1558	Meeting with Antoine de Bourbon
June 1558	Chandieu jailed in Paris
July/Aug 1558	Returns to Poitiers
August 1558	Talks with Condé. Enters Navarre's Service
1559	Visits Chartres
May 1559	1 st National Synod held in Paris
late July 1559	Chandieu sent by Paris church to meet Condé & Bourbon
23 Aug 1559	Saint Denis meeting with Bourbon & Throckmorton
11 September 1559	Chandieu to meet with Catherine de Medici at Villers-Cottret but cancelled
Sept/Oct 1559	Chandieu in Geneva to see Calvin
October 1559	Writes against Guise responded to by du Tillet
November 1559	Paris pastors visit Strasbourg
December 1559	Chandieu preaching around Chartres
1560	Composition of <i>Épître au roi</i>
Feb/March 1560	Conspiracy of Amboise
May 1560	In Strasbourg with colleagues after Paris church dispersed
1560	Writing of <i>Confession</i>
end 1560	Chandieu in Orléans with Condé
1561	Starts to read Bible in Greek. Writes <i>L'Advertissement aux fidèles épars parmi le royaume de France</i>
September 1561	Paris provincial synod
end 1561	Chandieu at peace negotiations with Condé again
January 1562	Edict of January
1 March 1562	Massacre of Vassy
April 1562	Chandieu moderator at third national synod in Orléans, based there for a year
December 1562	Death of Bertrand at Dreux
1563	<i>Apologie ou deffense de bons Chrestiens contre les ennemis de l'Eglise catholique:</i> <i>Histoire des persecutions et martyrs de l'eglise de Paris, depuis l'an 1557 iusques au temps du Roy Charles neufiesme :</i>

	<i>Response aux Calmonies Contenves av discours & suyte du discours sur les Miseres de ce temps Faits par Messire Pierre Ronsard, iadis Poete, & maintenant prebstre :</i> <i>Palinodies de Pierre de Ronsard, sur les discours des misères de ce temps</i>
30 May 1563	Marriage contract to Françoise de Félin
20 June 1563	Marriage celebrated
August 1563	4 th National Synod
April 1564	Provincial Synod at La-Ferté-sous-Jouarre
May 1564	Death of Calvin
21 May 1564	Birth of Marie at Banthelu
26 Nov 1564	At Vinzelles
15 Oct 1565	Chandieu made temporary pastor in Lyon
December 1565	5 th National Synod
1566	<i>La confirmation de la discipline ecclésiastique observée es eglises réformées du royaume de France, avec la reponse aux obiections proposées alencontre</i>
1567	<i>Refutation libelli quem Claudius de Saintes, monachus, edidit cum hac inscriptione</i>
June 1567	Chandieu in Paris for 3 months
June 1568	Chandieu in Burgundy: murder of Pierre d'Amanze
29 August 1568	Crosses Saône at midnight
6 Sept – 1 Dec 1569	Chandieu in Lausanne <i>Epitaphe de la mort de très illustre prince Wolfgang, comte palatin du Rhin...avec un ode sur les misères des églises françois</i> Property sequestered, wife stays in France to retrieve it
Dec 68 – May 70	Chandieu in Geneva
4 May 1570	Moves to Lausanne
25 Feb 1570	Family at risk when Chateau occupied
12 June 1570	Baptism of Suzanne de Chandieu
August 1570	Ramus lectures on logic in Lausanne
4 Sept 1570	Nyon meeting of pastors under de Bèze to reorganise French Church
22 Sept 1570	Chandieu leaves Lausanne
3 Oct 1570	Arrives home, attends provincial synods for Lyonnais and Burgundy
1571	Reprint of <i>La confirmation de la discipline ecclesiastique</i>
April 1571	Synod of La Rochelle
5 Oct 1571	Death of Marie, Chandieu writes <i>Cantique à la mémoire de sa fille</i>
12 Nov 1571	Chandieu goes to Lyon to restart worship there
May 1572	Synod of Nîmes
24 August 1572	Massacre: <i>Vers sur la mort de Coligny</i> sometime after this
5 Sept 1572	Chandieu reaches Geneva
7 Sept 1572	Chandieu and Alizet register as "habitans"
15 Sept 1572	Chandieu represents French Pastors in Genevan Company
April/May 1573	Family moves to Lausanne

8 March 1574	Baptism of Daniel de Chandieu
1576	Manuscript version of <i>Octonaires</i>
20 June 1576	Chandieu speaks for French Pastors in Genevan Council
23 Sept 1576	Esaïe de Chandieu baptised
1577	Debate starts with Turrianus: <i>Sophismata F. Turriani</i>
17 June 1577	Chandieu asked to be professor of theology in Lausanne
1578	<i>Mediationes in psalmum xxxii</i>
18 Aug 1578	Synod of Sainte-Foy chooses Chandieu to go to German conference
1579	English translation of <i>Mediationes</i>
16 July 1579	Family goes to Aubonne
1580	<i>Ad repetita F. Turriani monachi Iesuitae Sophismata : Locus de verbo Dei scripto</i> Delaune version of <i>Octonaires</i>
1581	<i>Locus de unico Christi sacerdotio et sacrificio : Responsionis ad repetita F. Turrani monachi Iesuitae</i>
1582	<i>De vera peccatorum remissione adversus humanas satisfactiones: Locus de verbo Dei scripto adversus humanas traditiones</i>
2 June 1582	Jean, Jacques and Daniel go to Bâle
6 July 1582	Pierre de Chandieu baptised
1583	Jean-Casimir asks de Bèze to let Chandieu go to Cologne as chaplain to newly converted Elector: <i>Méditations sur le psalme XXXII, traduites du latin...Ont aussi esté adjoutez 50 octonaires sur la vanité du monde : A Treatise touching the word of God: Ad repetita F. Turriani monachi Iesuitae Sophismata..Editio secunda.</i> <i>Locus de unico Christi sacerdotio et sacrificio</i> <i>De vera peccatorum remissionae, Edition secunda.</i> <i>Posnaniensium assertionum de Christi in terris Ecclesia,</i>
May 1583	Synod of Vitré chooses Chandieu to go to Germany, but replaced by Ségur
July 1583	Chandieu leaves Aubonne
August-Sept 1583	Chandieu visits properties of Pole, Chandieu and Chabottes
25 Oct 1583	de Bèze mentions Chandieu gone home with books
1584	<i>Ant. Sadeelis de rebus gravissimis controversis disputationes</i> 2 nd Eds: <i>Locus de verbo Dei scripto: Meditationes in psalmum xxxii: Posaninsium assertionum de Christi in teris Ecclesia: Responsionis ad repetita F. Turrani Sophismata</i>
18 May 1584	Chandieu leaves Pôle for Geneva
11 June 1584	Back to Pôle
15 Aug-8 Sept 1584	Represents Lyonnais and Burgundy at Montauban
23 Nov 1584	Chandieu's sons matriculate at Heidelberg University
1585	<i>De veritate humanae naturae Iesu Christi</i>
Feb 1585	Chandieu returns to Geneva

June 1585	Daniel leaves to be companion to future Frederick IV of Palatinate. Family goes back to Geneva
1585	Henri de Navarre chooses four chaplains for coming year, Chandieu to serve July-December
August 1585	Chandieu returns to Pole alone
11 August 1585	Chandieu goes to Aquitaine
20 September 1585	Chandieu leads public prayers in Castres
1586	In Montauban with Duplessis-Mornay: <i>Ode sacré de l'Eglise</i> <i>La Response a la Profession de foy publiée conte ceux de l'Eglise Reformée</i>
19 June 1586	Baptism of daughter: Chandieu not able to return from Rouergue
8 May 1587	Hotman notes wife and girls ill, Chandieu in Nérac
1587	In La Rochelle with Navarre's Army
July 1587	Chandieu writes letter to James VI of Scotland
20 Oct 1587	Battle of Coutras, Chandieu present as army chaplain
3 Nov 1587	Chandieu ill in Nérac
24 Nov 1587	Chandieu in Nîmes
1588	<i>Response a la profession de foy, publiée par les moynes de Bordeaux</i> <i>De vera peccatorum remissione, ...Editio 3a: De veritate humanae nature Iesu Christi: Locus de unico Christi sacerdotio et sacrificio</i>
Jan 1588	Chandieu with Navarre in Montauban, sees Duplessis Mornay
Spring 1588	returns to wife and family for two weeks
19 March 1588	Chandieu leaves Geneva via Berne, Basle, Strasbourg
15 May 1588	Arrives back in Geneva via Lausanne
Sept 1588	Daniel returns to family
1589	Geneva threatened by Savoy <i>De sacramentali manducatione corporis Christi:</i> <i>De spiritali manducatione corporis Christi</i>
12 June 1589	Chandieu at battle of Plan-les-Ouates
17 Oct 1589	Chandieu asked to give Sunday evening sermons in Geneva
8 Dec 1589	Contribution noted by Council and given wine as reward
1590	Chandieu noted as active for Navarre by de Bèze sons Jean and Jacques both in Army <i>Response a la profession de foi publié par les moynes de Bordeaux</i> Second editions of <i>De sacramentali manducatione corporis Christi et sacramentali: De spiritali manducatione corporis Christi et Spiritali: De veritate humanae naturae Iesu Christi</i> <i>Index errorum Gregorii de Valentia</i>
14 March 1590	Jean at battle of Ivry
end 1590	Jean in Pithiviers
14 January 1591	Chandieu's last journal entry, finished by Daniel
23 February 1591	Chandieu dies in Geneva

- 1591 *Posnaniensium assertionum de Christi in terris ecclesia*
De vera peccatorum remissione
Responson ad fidei ... professionem a monachis Burdelensibus
De legitima vocatione pastorum ecclesiae reformatae
- 1592 *Ad tres libros Laurentii Arturi*
De unico Christi sacerdotio et sacrificio
De verbo Dei scripto
Opera theologica. Nunc primum in unum volumen collecta
Refutatio linelli quem Claudius de Sanctes
Ad omnia repetita F. Turriani
De veritate humanae naturae Iesu Christi
Meditationes in psalmum xxii
- 1593 *Response a la profession de foy pybliée en Guyenne par les Moines*
de Bordeaux
Opera theologica. Volumine uno...Jacobi Lectii de vita Ant.
Sadeelis,...Editio secunda.
- 1595 *Résponse à la profession de foi publiée par les moines de*
Bordeaux
Traité Theologic et Scholastique De l'unique Sacrificature &
sacrifice de IESUS CHRIST
Traité Theologic et scholastique de la vraye Remission des pechez.
- 1596 *Traité theologic et scholastique de la parole de Dieu,*
De sacramentali manducatione corporis Christi et spirituali
Opera theologica, quatuor tomis comprehensa
De spirituali manducatione corporis Christi et spirituali potu
sanguinis
Christliche und gantz bescheidentliche Kurtze Vergleichung dess
langwirigen Streits vom h. Abendmal zwischen den... Lutheranern
und Calvinianern Durch...Antonium Sadeelen...auss dem Latein ins
Teutsch ubersetzt
- 1597 *Pia et perquem erudita conciliatio pugna sacramentaria, quae est*
inter lutheranos et calvinianos. Auctore Antonio Sadeele ...Huic
accessere tabulae ...de s. coena... (et carmen de cana domini)
- 1598 *Antonii Sadeelis Chandeï, ...Opera theologica volumine uno*
comprehensa
- 1599 *A. Saeelis Chandeï, ...Opera theologica volumine uno*
comprehensa
Meditations sur le psalme xxxii.

Appendix B

Name of Author	Title of Work	Number of Chandieu References
Ames, William (1576-1633)	A fresh suit against human ceremonies in God's vvorship	6
Ames, William (1576-1633)	A reply to Dr. Mortons generall Defence of three nocent [sic] ceremonies	3
Bancroft, Richard (1544-1610)	A suruay of the pretended holy discipline.	1
Barclay, Robert	Quakerism confirmed, or, A vindication of the chief doctrines and principles of the people called	1
Barrow, Henry (1550?-1593)	A petition directed to Her Most Excellent Maiestie	1
Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)	Against the revolt to a foreign jurisdiction	2
Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)	An answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlocke	1
Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)	Catholick communion defended against both extreams	1
Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)	Certain disputations of right to sacraments	1
Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)	A Christian directory, or, A summ of practical theologic and cases of conscience directing Christians how to use their knowledge and faith	1
Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)	A defence of the principles of love, which are necessary to the unity and concord of Christians and are delivered in a book called The cure of church-divisions	1
Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)	The English nonconformity as under King Charles II and King James II truly stated and argued by Richard Baxter	2
Baxter, Richard (1615-1691)	The saints everlasting rest, or, A treatise of the blessed state of the saints in their enjoyment of God in glory	3
Church of Scotland.	General Assembly. . Commission.	1
Downname, George (d. 1634)	A defence of the sermon preached at the consecration of the L. Bishop of Bath and VVelles against a confutation thereof by a namelesse author.	2
Edwards, Thomas (1599-1647)	Antapologia, or, A full answer to the Apologeticall narration of Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sympson, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Bridge, members of the Assembly of Divines wherein is handled many of the controversies of these times	2
Gillespie, George (1613-1648)	An assertion of the government of the Church of Scotland in the points of ruling-elders and of the authority of presbyteries and synods with a postscript in answer to a treatise lately published against presbyteriall government.	2
Gillespie, George (1613-1648)	A dispute against the English-popish ceremonies, obtruded vpon the Church of Scotland	2

Hakewill, George (1578-1649)	An ansvere to a treatise vvritten by Dr. Carier	1
Hall, Thomas (1610-1665)	The pulpit guarded with XVII arguments proving the unlawfulness, sinfulness and danger of suffering private persons to take upon them publike preaching, and expounding the Scriptures without a call	1
Jameson, William (1689-1720)	Nazianzeni querela et votum justum. The fundamentals of the hierarchy examin'd and disprov'd wherein the choicest arguments and defences of ... A.M. ... the author of An enquiry into the new opinions (chiefly) propagated by the Presbyterians in Scotland.	1
Keith, George (1639?-1716)	Quakerism no popery, or, A particular answer to that part of Iohn Menzeis, professor of divinity in Aberdeen, (as he is called) his book, intituled Roma mendax	1
Leigh, Edward (1602-1671)	Foelix consortium, or, A fit conjuncture of religion and learning in one entire volume, consisting of six books	4
Leigh, Edward, 1602-1671.	A systeme or body of divinity consisting of ten books	3
Leigh, Edward, 1602-1671.	A treatise of religion & learning and of religious and learned men consisting of six books	3
Lewis, John (b. 1595 or 6)	The vnmasking of the masse-priest vvith a due and diligent examination of their holy sacrifice.	2
Lindsay, David, (d. 1641?)	A true narration of all the passages of the proceedings in the generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, holden at Perth the 25. of August, anno Dom. 1618	1
London	Provincial Assembly	1
Owen, James (1654-1706)	A plea for Scripture ordination, or, Ten arguments from Scripture and antiquity proving ordination by presbyters without bishops to be valid by J.O.	3
Perkins, William (1558-1602)	A godlie and learned exposition upon the whole epistle of Iude, containing threescore and sixe sermons preached in Cambridge by that reverend and faithfull man of God, Master William Perkins,	1
Prynne, William (1600-1669)	The antipathie of the English lordly prelacie, both to regall monarchy, and civill unity:	1
Rainolds, John (1549-1607)	The summe of the conference betwene Iohn Rainoldes and Iohn Hart touching the head and the faith of the Church	1
Robinson, John (1575?-1625)	A iustification of separation from the Church of England Against Mr Richard Bernard his invective, intituled; The separatists schisme	1
Rutherford, Samuel (1600?-1661)	The due right of presbyteries, or, A peaceable plea for the government of the Church of Scotland	1
Rutherford, Samuel, 1600?-1661.	A peaceable and temperate plea for Pauls presbyterie in Scotland,	2
Rutherford, Samuel, 1600?-1661.	A survey of the Survey of that summe of church-discipline penned by Mr. Thomas Hooker ... wherein the way of the churches of N. England is now re-examined	2

Simson. Patrick (1556-1618)	A short compend of the historie of the first ten persecutions moued against Christians divided into III. centuries	1
Stubbe. Henry (1632-1676)	A light shining out of darknes [sic]. or, Occasional queries submitted to the judgment of such as would enquire into the true state of things in our times	1
Willet. Andrew (1562-1621)	Loidoromastix: that is, A scourge for a rayler containing a full and sufficient answer vnto the vnchristian raylings, slaunders, vntruths, and other iniurious imputations, vented of late by one Richard Parkes master of Arts, against the author of Limbomastix	1

Appendix C: Chandieu's surviving correspondence

Although not included in this survey, in the course of my research I have made a record of Chandieu's surviving correspondence as it stands. In this I have been helped greatly by Dr Alexandra Kess, of the Bullinger-Briefwechsel-Edition in Zurich.

Basle University Library:

Chandieu to Grynaeus (all Latin)

Mscr G I 33:

ff. 19	7 October 1589
ff. 17	20 March 1590
ff. 15	10 Nov 1589
ff. 3	17 August 1590
ff. 7-8	15 October 1588
ff. 5	June 1588

Mscr G II 11:

ff. 237	16 August 1588
ff. 233	1589
ff. 235	2 Feb 1590

Zürich Staatsarchiv

E II 371, fol. 969r.-970r

Ministers of Lyon to Bullinger, Lyon 18 November 1564 (Latin)

(also signed by Jacques Aubert, David Chaillet, Christophe Fabri, Jacques l'Anglois, Jacques Ruffy, Jean-François Salvart, Pierre Viret,

E II 346, fol. 570r-571r. (Latin)

Synod of La Rochelle to Bullinger, La Rochelle April 1571

Ms F 58, fol. 588 (Latin)

Ministers of the Genevan stranger's church to ministers of Zurich, Geneva 4 December 1572.

Edinburgh University Library

Letter from Antoine de Chandieu to James VI, July 1587. Scottish Manuscripts from the Drummond Collection De.1.12/8

This piece is written in French and offers compliments to James as a pious Christian Monarch. It also hopes James will continue to purge his Kingdom of all non-Christian influences and reminds of one's duty to follow the word of God.

There is also a certain amount of documentation relating to Chandieu within the Correspondence of Théodore de Bèze, currently being edited by the team at the Institute d'Histoire de la Reformation in Geneva.

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Histoire des persecutions et martyrs de l'eglise de Paris, depuis l'an 1557 iusques au temps du Roy Charles neufiesme. Avec une Epistre contenant la remonstrance des proffits qui reuinedront aux fideles de la lecture de ceste histoire: & une exhortation à ceux qui nous ont persecutez, de reuoir nostre cause , & iuger derechef si ç'a esté à bon droit, qu'ilz ont fait mourir tant de seruiteurs de Dieu. (Lyon, 1563).

Response aux Calmonies Contenves av discours & suyte du discours sur les Miseres de ce temps Faits par Messire Pierre Ronsard, iadis Poete, & maintenant prebstre. Le premier par A.Zamariel: les deux autres par b de Mont-Dieux Ou est aussi contenue la Metamorphose dudict Ronsard en Prebstre (Orléans, 1563).

Response aux Calmonies Contenves av discours & suyte du discours sur les Miseres de ce temps Faits par Messire Pierre Ronsard, iadis Poete, & maintenant prebstre. Le premier par A.Zamariel: les deux autres par b de Mont-Dieux Ou est aussi contenue la Metamorphose dudict Ronsard en Prebstre (s.l., 1563).

Palinodies de Pierre de Ronsard, sur les discours des misères de ce temps (s.l., 1563).

La confirmation de la discipline ecclésiastique observée es eglises réformées du royaume de France, avec la reponse aux obiections proposées alencontre ([Geneva], [Estienne], 1566) .

La confirmation de la discipline ecclésiastique observée es eglises réformées du royaume de France, avec la reponse aux obiections proposées alencontre ([La Rochelle], [Barthélemy Berton], 1566).

La confirmation de la discipline ecclésiastique observée es eglises réformées du royaume de France, avec la reponse aux obiections proposées alencontre ([s.l.], [s.d.]).

Epitaphe de la mort de très illustre prince Wolfgang, comte palatin du Rhin...avec un ode sur les misères des églises françois (s.l., Jean Durant, 1569).

La confirmation de la discipline ecclesiastique, observée es eglises reformées du royaume de France. Avec la response aux objections proposées alencontre (s.l., s.n., 1571).

Mediationes in psalmum xxxii. Authore A.Sadeele (Lausanne, Fransiscus Le Preux, 1578).

Moste excellent meditations uppon the xxii Psalme, written in latin by...A.Sadel, and nowe newly translated into English...by W. W[atkinson] (London, T.Dawson, for T Cook & T Man, 1579).

Méditations sur le psalme XXXII, traduites du latin...Ont aussi esté adjoutez 50 octonaires sur la vanité du monde, par A. Zamariel (s.l. [Geneva?], J. Laimarie, 1583).

A Treatise touching the word of God, Tr J. Coxe (London, J Harrison, 1583).

Ode sacré de l'Eglise, (1586).

La Response a la Profession de foy publiée conte ceux de l'Eglise Reformée. Avec la refutation tant des calomnies qui y sont contenues, que generalmente des erreurs de l'Eglise Romaine pretendue Catholique, (La Rochelle, P Haultin, 1586).

Response a la profession de foy, publiée par les moynes de Bordeaux, contre ceux de l'Eglise reformée, pour leur fare abiurer la vraye religion. Avec la refutation, tant des calomnies qui y sont contenues, que generalmente des erreurs contenues, que generalmente des erreurs de l'Eglise romaine, pretendue catholique (s.l. [Geneva], s.n. [Ant. Blanc], 1588).

Response a la profession de foi publié par les moynes de Bordeaux, contre ceux de l'eglise reformee, pour leur faire abiurer la vraye religion. Avec la refutation, tant des calomnies qui y sont contenues, que generalmente des ereurs de l'eglise romaine, pretendue, catholique. Par A. de Sadell 2e ed., reueue & augmentee par l'auteur, (s.l., s.n. [Le Preux?], 1590).

Response a la profession de foi publié par les moynes de Bordeaux, contre ceux de l'eglise reformee, pour leur faire abiurer la vraye religion. Avec la refutation, tant des calomnies qui y sont contenues, que generalmente des ereurs de l'eglise romaine, pretendue, catholique. Par A. de Sadell 2e ed., reueue & augmentee par l'auteur, (s.l., s.n. [Le Preux?], 1590).

Response a la profession de foi publié par les moynes de Bordeaux, contre ceux de l'eglise reformee, pour leur faire abiurer la vraye religion. Avec la refutation, tant des calomnies qui y sont contenues, que generalmente des ereurs de l'eglise romaine, pretendue, catholique. Par A. de Sadell 2e ed., reueue & augmentee par l'auteur, (s.l., s.n. [Le Preux?], 1590).

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CHANDIEU excellent theologien, & nouvellement mis en François, par S.G.S. de l'imprimerie de Jean le Preux ([Geneva], Le Preux, 1595).

Traité Theologic et scholastique de la vraye Remission des pechez. Contre les satisfactions humaines & le controuvé Purgatoire de l'Eglise Romaine. Escrit en latin par Antoine de Chandieu, excellent theologien, et nouvellement mis en François, par S.G.S. De l'imprimerie de Jean le Preux ([Geneva], Le Preux, 1595).

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