

*“Imprimée de
différentes manières”*

*The Gallican Confession and its First
Printed Editions (1559?–1561)¹*

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Introduction

The ministers assembled at the so-called first national synod of the French Reformed church, held in Paris in May 1559, promulgated the Gallican Confession and the Ecclesiastical Discipline. These are considered the key documents of the French Reformation. As Henri II harshly persecuted heretics, the pastors serving in Paris did everything they could to keep the meeting out of the civil authorities' sight. Both François Morel – senior minister of the congregation of Paris and moderator of the synod – and John Calvin advised the brethren assembled to exercise extreme caution and discouraged any form of disclosure of the Confession to a wider audience. A few days before the meeting, Calvin wrote to Morel and urged the participants not to make such an imprudent move.² After the synod, Morel feared that some among the delegates, in

¹ I am thankful to Dr Christian Moser and to Dr Gergely Csukás for their kind assistance during the publication process and to Dr Taraneh Wilkinson for proofreading a final version of this paper. Translations, unless otherwise stated, are all mine.

² John Calvin to François Morel (17 May 1559), in: Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia [CO], vol. 17 (1877), 525f.

spite of his clear admonition not to do so, could incautiously disseminate or print the Confession on their return home.³ As I have recently argued, Morel's and Calvin's instructions were taken seriously, as there is indeed no evidence that the Gallican Confession was printed and/or circulated to a wider audience in the second half of 1559.⁴ However, this begs the question of when exactly the leading French Reformed ministers – in concert with Calvin and the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva – decided to print the Gallican Confession to make it available to a less restricted audience. In this article I will articulate a hypothesis about the timing and strategy that prompted the decision to print and disseminate the Confession.

The results of my research hypothesis and the investigation I conducted suggest that the first editions of the Confession – which include only 35 articles out of 40 and bear the date 1559 on their frontispieces – were abridged versions of the 'full' Confession as promulgated by the synod of Paris of 1559 (i.e. in 40 articles). The 'full' Confession was carefully revised for polemical purposes and reasons of sheer political expediency. The decision to publish the Confession in this particular fashion had a pragmatic and political character, as opposed to purely religious or theological motives. In the aftermath of the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise (March 1560), leading French Reformed ministers and lay activists – including Antoine de Chandieu, Nicolas des Gallars, Jean le Maçon, and François Hotman – decided to make a shrewd political attempt to rally popular support against the Guise family. The expunction of some articles from the text of the full Gallican Confession and, crucially, the incorporation of an astute polemical preface authored by Chandieu were carefully-planned devices which made the Confession intelligible to the broadest possible audience. This strategy – entailing the dissemination of an articulate 'polyptych' of political and religious pamphlets printed simultaneously – was put into place in an effort to counterbalance the influence that François, duke of Guise and his younger brother Charles, car-

³ François Morel to John Calvin (5 June 1559), in: CO 17, 540.

⁴ Gianmarco Braghi, *Between Paris and Geneva: Some Remarks on the Approval of the Gallican Confession (May 1559)*, in: *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 5/2 (2018), 218f.

dinal of Lorraine had managed to attain at court after the sudden death of Henri II. In particular one abridged edition of the Gallican Confession in the vernacular, printed in Strasbourg in spring 1560, was probably conceived as the pivot around which all the other contemporary anti-Guise treatises turned and as the finest piece of this ‘polyptych’. We will also comment upon a 1561 edition of the Confession – apparently the first dated edition to feature 40 articles – which was ostensibly prepared with a view to the colloquy of Poissy.

The state of the art and the sources under scrutiny

Every single Reformed congregation in France was supposed to abide by the Gallican Confession’s articles of faith. The preservation of the French Reformed church’s doctrinal uniformity demanded prompt availability of a consistent and reliable version of this quintessential document. Unlike the Ecclesiastical Discipline, the Confession had to be *adopted*, not *adapted*, and its publication “implied a degree of permanence”.⁵ Any amendment to the Confession had to be sanctioned by the central governing body of the Reformed church of France, i.e. the national synod. However, this document circulated in different forms. Two in particular are well known to scholars: one featuring 40 articles – i.e. the full Gallican Confession – and one including only 35.

This ‘double circulation’ was increasingly perceived as an issue by the leading Reformed ministers. In 1565, during the national synod of Paris, the brethren assembled admonished printers – including Genevan printers – to attach the full Gallican Confession, as opposed to the 35-article version, to their editions of the Psalms and catechisms, “even though they are both suitable enough in [terms of] doctrine”.⁶ This synodal decision failed to resolve the

⁵ Sara K. Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest: The Vernacular Writings of Antoine de Chandieu (c.1534–1591)*, Aldershot 2009 (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History), 66.

⁶ Jean Aymon, *Tous les synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France...* [Aymon], vol. 1, The Hague 1710, 69. John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata...* [Quick], vol. 1, London 1692, 66.

issue and it was eventually decided to take remedial action. In 1571 in La Rochelle it was decided to officialise one of the two commonly-used versions of the Confession, “given that our Confession of Faith is printed in different fashions”. The Gallican Confession as promulgated in Paris in 1559 (i.e. in 40 articles) had to be adopted by every single French Reformed congregation.⁷

Scholars in this field are well aware of the existence of these two versions of the Confession. Hannelore Jahr’s *Habilitationschrift* – an outstanding and regrettably under-used bibliographical study of the various editions of the Confession in the sixteenth century – is the obvious starting point of our discussion.⁸ Jahr’s work lists countless editions of this document, including known copies in 35 articles, and provides detailed information on their archival location. Nonetheless, it fails to answer a fundamental question: when was the Gallican Confession first printed and what was the context of this decision? Other scholars have prepared transcriptions and critical editions of the Confession’s text, such as the editors of the *Calvini opera*, Philip Schaff, Olivier Fatio, and Emidio Campi.⁹ However, none of these authors has tackled the issue of the Confession’s first appearance in print. Experts in political history and pamphleteering during the wars of religion, commenting upon the French Reformed movement’s growing involvement in the public sphere during these crucial years, have mainly focused on the building of a coherent narrative of key political events from a broad national perspective and have not offered any significant insight on the use of the Gallican Confession in the wider Reformed political strategy.¹⁰ Herman A. Spielman has speculated that Calvin himself

⁷ *Aymon*, vol. 1, 98; *Quick*, vol. 1, 91.

⁸ Hannelore Jahr, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Confession de foi von 1559*, Neukirchen 1964 (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der Reformierten Kirche 16).

⁹ CO, vol. 9 (1870), 741–752; La confession de foi des églises réformées de France, dite Confession de La Rochelle, in: *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio, Geneva 2005 (Publications de la Faculté de théologie de l’Université de Genève 11), 111–127; Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes*, vol. 3, New York 1877, 356–382; Emidio Campi, *Confessio Gallicana, 1559/1571, mit dem Bekenntnis der Waldenser, 1560*, in: *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften*, eds. Andreas Mühling and Peter Opitz, vol. 2/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2009, 1–56.

¹⁰ See among others Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629*, Cam-

might have been behind the printing of the Confession in the wake of Henri II's sudden death and Catherine de Medici's 'emergency regency'. However, this argument – although very much reasonable – is mostly based on his analysis of the prefaces to the Confession and on the political conjuncture of 1559.¹¹ Speelman has correctly remarked that external evidence on the exact timing of the printing of the Gallican Confession has “not yet been found”.¹²

On the other hand, experts in the early French Reformed church have obliquely engaged the problem of the existence of copies of the Gallican Confession in 35 articles. The consensus seems to be that the issue of the Confession's 'double circulation' is connected to its approval during the 1559 synod of Paris. In particular, Bernard Roussel and Jean-Robert Armogathe have hypothesised that the version in 35 articles could embody the draft confession that Calvin allegedly sent to the Parisian synod for approval in May 1559, while the Gallican Confession in 40 articles might be the product of the modifications implemented by the pastors assembled in Paris.¹³ However, as I have recently suggested, there is no solid evidence that the existence of variants in the printed editions of the Gallican Confession could be traced back to the process leading to the adoption of this document in 1559 by the synod of Paris.¹⁴

bridge ²⁰⁰⁵ (New Approaches to European History 36); *Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion*, eds. Arlette Jouanna et al., Paris 1998; Robert J. *Knecht*, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559–1598*, Harlow ²⁰¹⁰ (Seminar Studies in History); Pierre *Miquel*, *Les guerres de religion*, Paris 1980; Hugues *Daussy*, *Le parti huguenot. Chronique d'une désillusion*, Geneva 2014 (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 527); Luc *Racaut*, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion*, Aldershot 2002 (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History); Tatiana *Debbagi Baranova*, *À coups de libelles. Une culture politique au temps des guerres de religion (1562–1598)*, Geneva 2012 (Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance 104).

¹¹ Herman A. *Speelman*, *Calvin and the Independence of the Church*, Göttingen 2014 (Reformed Historical Theology 25), 143–207.

¹² *Speelman*, *Calvin and the Independence*, 176.

¹³ Bernard *Roussel*, *Le texte et les usages de la Confession de foi des Églises réformées de France d'après les Actes des Synodes nationaux*, in: *Catéchismes et Confessions de foi. Actes du XIIIe colloque du Centre d'histoire des réformes et du protestantisme de l'Université de Montpellier*, eds. Marie-Madeleine Fragonard and Michel Péronnet, Montpellier 1995, 31–60, esp. 31f.; Jean-Robert *Armogathe*, *Quelques réflexions sur la Confession de foi de La Rochelle*, in: *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français [BSHPF]* 111/2 (1971), 201–213, esp. 202f.

¹⁴ *Braghi*, *Between Paris and Geneva*, 199f.

Before commenting in detail upon the four copies of the Gallican Confession which represent the core sources of this paper, it is crucial to offer a methodological caveat to the reader. According to the results of Jahr's *Studien* – and my archival experience confirms her findings – no surviving printed copy of the full Gallican Confession (i.e. in 40 articles) bears the date 1559 or 1560 on its frontispiece. Several copies are in fact undated. Various French and Genevan printers who published copies of the full Gallican Confession throughout the 1560s seem to have started including the publication date on the frontispiece from 1561 onwards. However, it has often been implicitly assumed that several undated copies of the Gallican Confession could have been printed in 1559 or 1560. The main reason for this assumption is that these copies are included in *mélanges* and *recueils* composed of various political and religious pamphlets from 1559 and 1560, often bound in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the completely arbitrary ordering of the single items of those *recueils* does not reflect the historical and chronological coherence of the documents included: rather, it largely depends on the taste of those erudites and collectors who used to own these sources and decided upon the order in which they were bound together. In methodological terms, there is no rationale to assume that any specific undated copy of the Gallican Confession could have been printed in 1559 or 1560, unless solid evidence for such a claim can be provided – entailing painstaking work on fonts and blocks to trace out the printer.

Among the copies of the Gallican Confession in 35 articles, Jahr's study mentions four surviving copies dated 1559. Three are in French and one is in Latin. Of the copies in French, one is held in Zurich and one in Paris; the third one, once held in Grenoble, is now lost.¹⁵ The copy in Latin is also held in Zurich. These copies are believed to have been published by Genevan printer Conrad Badius.¹⁶ Although Badius did print the Zurich copy in Latin and

¹⁵ I contacted the Bibliothèque Municipale de Grenoble and it appears that shelfmark D. 7561, corresponding to *Jahr*, *Studien*, 94, item no. 49, is nowhere to be found. There is also a copy of the Confession in 35 articles not included in Jahr's list. It was held in the former Prussian State Library, Berlin (shelfmark DF 9348), which was evacuated during the Second World War. This is now in the Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka, Moscow. I would like to thank Eva Rothkirch (Abteilung Historische Drucke, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) for this piece of information.

the Paris copy in French, I will show that the Zurich copy in French was published in Strasbourg, not in Geneva. I will also avail of a third source, i.e. the earliest edition of the full Gallican Confession (i.e. in 40 articles) bearing a date on its frontispiece, which was printed in 1561.

For the sake of brevity and clarity, I will henceforth use short titles as shown below:

Confession par les Eglises (Strasbourg)

CONFESSION | de foy, faicte d'vn com-mun accord par les Eglises qui | sont dispersees en France, & | sabstienēt des idolatries Papales. | [fleuron] | AVEC VNE PREFACE CONTENANT | responce & defence contre les | calumnies dont on | les charge | [fleuron] | M. D. LIX. | Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms S 95, 24 (Dr 8).

Online at (<http://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-1899>). *Jahr, Studien*, 94, item no. 50. In 35 articles.

Confession par les Eglises (Geneva)

CONFESSION DE | FOY, FAITE D'VN COMMVN AC-cord par les Eglises qui sont dis-persees en France, & s'abstie-ñent des idolatries Papales. 3 | AVEC VNE PREFACE CONTENANT | response & defense contre les calomnies | dont on les charge. | [fleuron] | M. D. LIX. |

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve D. 6766. *Jahr, Studien*, 94, item no. 48. In 35 articles.

Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum

CONFESSIO FIDEI | COMMVNI ECCLESJARVM, QVAE | sparsae sunt in Gallia, consensu façta, quaequidem ab idololatria | Papistica se abstinent. | CVM PRAEFATIONE QVAE CONTI-ñet Apologiam aduersus calumnias quibus | impetuntur. | [fleuron] | M. D. LIX. | Zentralbibliothek Zürich, III Q 380, 2.

Online at (<http://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-1255>). *Jahr, Studien*, 95, item no. 51. In 35 articles.

¹⁶ According to the bibliographical information provided by the host website (www.e-rara.ch) in the permalinks of these digitalisations (last accessed 21 June 2019).

Confession par les François

CONFESSION | DE FOY, | FAITTE D'VN COMMVN | ACCORD PAR
 LES | FRANCOIS, | [fleuron] | Qui desirent viure selon la puřteté de l'Eu-
 angile de nostre | Seigneur IESUS CHRIST. | I. PIERRE III. | *Soyez tousiours*
appareillez à respondre à | chacun qui vous demande raison de | l'esperance
qui est en vous. | M D LXI. |

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve D2. 4234 (2).

Online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5477765t>. *Jahr*, Studien, 95, item no. 53 (various other copies). In 40 articles.

It is important to underline that all known copies in 35 articles bear the title of *Confession de foy, faicte d'un commun accord par les Eglises qui sont dispersees en France, & sabstiennent des idolatries Papales*. The Latin copy has the same title translated into Latin. On the other hand, the full Gallican Confession was printed under the title of *Confession de foy, faitte d'un commun accord par les François qui desirent vivre selon la pureté de l'Evangile*.

As stated above, the copy of the Confession in 35 articles in Latin presently held in Zurich was printed in Conrad Badius' workshop in Geneva. The ornate letters *E* and *Q* in the *Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum* are also found in a Genevan work printed by Conrad Badius and Artus Chauvin. Likewise, the copy of the *Confession par les Eglises (Geneva)* in the vernacular was also printed in Badius' workshop: its ornate letters *C* and *P* belonged to this successful Genevan printer.

These two Genevan editions of the Gallican Confession did not leave any traces in the town records. As Théophile Dufour's research suggests, there is no reference to any edition of the Gallican Confession in the records of the Small Council of Geneva for the years 1559–1572.¹⁷ Genevan printers often exchanged blocks between themselves in order to fool censors when it came to editions that could cause issues with the civil authorities.¹⁸ However, this

¹⁷ Théophile Dufour, *Extraits des Registres du Conseil et Registres du Consistoire relatifs aux imprimeurs, 1542–1600*, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms Fr 3817. However, several editions of Psalms and of Bibles printed in Geneva include the Gallican Confession at the beginning or at the end of the volumes.

¹⁸ Theodore G. van Raalte, "Noster Theophilus": The Fictitious "Printer" whose Anti-Jesuit Volumes Issued from Various Presses in Geneva between 1580 and 1589, in: *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 74/3 (2012), 569–591.



Block in *Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum*, 3. Cf. L'histoire ecclesiastique, proposant l'entiere et vraye forme de l'eglise de nostre Seigneur Iesus..., Geneva: [Conrad Badius] Imprimé pour Artus Chauvin, 1560, 141.



Block in *Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum*, 26. Cf. L'histoire ecclesiastique, proposant l'entiere et vraye forme, 119.



Block in *Confession par les Eglises (Geneva)*, 3. Cf. Michel Cop, Sur les proverbes de Salomon exposition familiere en forme de briefves Homilies, contenant plusieurs saintes exhortations convenables au temps present..., [Geneva]: Imprimé par Conrad Badius, 1559, fol. A2r.



Block in *Confession par les Eglises (Geneva)*, 29. Cf. Jean Calvin, Sermons de Iean Calvin sur les deux Epistres S. Paul a Timothee, & sur l'Epistre a Tite, Imprimé à Genève par Conrad Badius, 1559, fol. A1r.

was not the case of Badius' editions of the Confession, as he decided to use his own ornate letters. His books were well known in town and it would have been rather unwise to put detectable blocks in editions not previously submitted to the Genevan authorities' inspection. By printing an unauthorised edition of such a

document – potentially very dangerous for the Genevan magistrates in diplomatic terms – Badius risked seeing his advantageous contract terminated.¹⁹ It is likely that Badius had the Small Council's tacit endorsement and that the Venerable Company of Pastors itself hired Badius, upon informal approval from the Small Council, to print these abridged editions of the Gallican Confession. However, I am persuaded that these Genevan copies did not circulate immediately and remained safely stored in Badius' workshop while waiting for the best moment to disseminate them. I will expand on my point of view below.

Before addressing the context in which the Confession was circulated, it is worthwhile to offer some remarks on the last 35-articles copy under scrutiny. This copy was not printed in Geneva but in Strasbourg, in the workshop of Christian Müller (Mylius). Mylius – not by chance – also printed François Hotman's *Epistre au Tigre de la France* in the very same months.²⁰

The chronological proximity of Valentinus Erythraeus' edition dispels any doubts that Mylius could have sold his blocks C and P in the meantime. Analysis will show that Mylius' Strasbourg edition was most probably a reprise of the Genevan editions and appeared around spring 1560.

¹⁹ Badius was imprisoned in January 1560 for failing to ask permission to publish a satirical pamphlet authored by Beza but printed anonymously. Cf. Theodore Beza, *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale*, ed. Charles-Antoine Chamay, Geneva 2005 (Textes littéraires français 576), lvi.

²⁰ Rodolphe Peter, *Les premiers ouvrages français imprimés à Strasbourg*, in: *Annuaire de la Société des Amis du Vieux-Strasbourg* 8 (1978), 30–31. Christian Mylius, active in Strasbourg between 1555 and 1568, had probably inherited both the workshop of Crato Mylius (ostensibly a relative) and of his father-in-law Jacob Frölich. Crato studied at the University of Wittenberg and knew Philip Melancthon personally. He was a fervent Protestant and was in close contact with several Alsatian and German Protestant circles. After Crato's death, printer Blaise Fabricius married his widow. Christian Mylius, who in turn kept good relationships with the local Protestant milieu, later inherited Fabricius' workshop. Christian Mylius I, in: *Histoire de l'imprimerie alsacienne aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, ed. François Ritter, Strasbourg and Paris 1955, 251–258; *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet / Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing*, ed. Christoph Reske, Wiesbaden 2007 (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 51), 891.



Block in *Confession par les Eglises (Strasbourg)*, 3. Cf. Valentinus Erythraeus, *Tabulae partitionum oratoriarum Ciceronis: & quatuor dialogorum Ioan. Sturmii in easdem: recognitae, & alicubi auctae...*, Argentorati apud Christianum Mylium, 1560, fol. H3v.



Block in *Confession par les Eglises (Strasbourg)*, 29. Cf. Erythraeus, *Tabulae partitionum*, fol. A2r.

Context: the Guise family, the failed coup at Amboise, and the Strasbourg connection

In the introduction we have seen how, notwithstanding all the surprise and hope that the sudden death of Henri II may have triggered in the hearts of the French Reformed believers in July 1559, the leading ministers and activists were wise enough not to immediately embark on the risky adventure of printing the Gallican Confession. Although the policy of pleading with Henri II through handwritten apologies had ultimately failed, it was not taken for granted that the very same conduct could not win over Henri's adolescent successor François II and the queen mother Catherine de Medici. Nevertheless, the leading Reformed ministers' hopes were rapidly frustrated by the position of power that the Guise family had managed to attain at court and by their decision to keep up persecution against heretics, in continuity with the policy put in place in the late years of Henri II's reign.²¹

²¹ On the Guises, see Stuart *Carroll*, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe*, Oxford 2009; Silvia *Castro Shannon*, *The Political Activity of François de Lorraine, duc de Guise (1559–1563): From Military Hero to Catholic Leader*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1988.

The context of the late-1559 persecution wave in Paris – which led the Parisian pastors to a desperate search for refuge abroad – is still obscure, also due to the fragmentary nature of surviving sources. Plans for transferring the whole Parisian congregation to Strasbourg and for organising a full-fledged exodus from the kingdom of France were made between late 1559 and early 1560.²² I have engaged elsewhere with the minutiae of persecution in Paris and with the Reformed response to it.²³ For the purpose of this paper, it will be sufficient to say that there were intense triangular contacts between Paris, Geneva, and Strasbourg, which were key to the organisation of political opposition to the Guises as well as to the coordination of informal networks of relief from persecution. The intermittent presence in Strasbourg of Jean le Maçon, Antoine de Chandieu, Nicolas des Gallars, François Hotman, and Theodore Beza between the second half of 1559 and the first half of 1560 helps explain how several Reformed political and religious pamphlets – disseminated after the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise (March 1560) – were printed simultaneously in Strasbourg: that is, safely outside the borders of the kingdom of France.

The anti-Guise plot leading to the attempted seizure of the castle of Amboise has attracted a considerable deal of scholarly attention and is well researched.²⁴ It is key to underline here that the conspiracy's short-term result was not to unseat the Guises from their position of power at court. On the contrary, François II appointed the duke of Guise lieutenant-general of the kingdom for his success in defending the castle of Amboise. Not only did the king confirm François de Guise in the same position of power as before: crucial-

²² *Barker*, Protestantism, 22; Auguste *Bernus*, Le ministre Antoine de Chandieu d'après son journal autographe inédit, 1534–1591, in: BSHPF 37/1 (1888), 67.

²³ *Braghi*, The Evolving Character of the French Reformed Movement, c.1555–c.1572, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin 2016, Chapter III. I plan to publish a monograph based on my thesis before the end of 2020.

²⁴ On Amboise, see Henri *Naef*, La conjuration d'Amboise et Genève, Geneva and Paris 1922; Lucien *Romier*, La conjuration d'Amboise; l'aurore sanglante de la liberté de conscience; le règne et la mort de François II, Paris 1923; Robert M. *Kingdon*, Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, Geneva 2007 (Études de Philologie et d'Histoire 82), 68–76; Corrado *Vivanti*, La congiura d'Amboise, in: *Complots et conjurations dans l'Europe moderne. Actes du colloque international organisé à Rome, 30 septembre – 2 octobre 1993*, eds. Yves-Marie Bercé and Elena Fasano Guarini, Rome 1996 (Publications de l'École Française de Rome 220), 439–450.

ly, he also authorised him to prosecute as he pleased those among the conspirators who had managed to escape the slaughter.²⁵ As a result, the climate of renewed persecution in the months between March and May 1560 ended up triggering a stiff reaction by the French Reformed leading pastors and lay activists. From their provisional ‘headquarters’ in Strasbourg and in close contact with Geneva, they produced a ‘polyptych’ of political and religious anti-Guise propaganda between spring and summer 1560.

Some anti-Guise pamphlets printed in Strasbourg in 1560 are well known, such as François Hotman’s *Epistre au Tigre de la France* and the *Histoire du tumulte d’Amboyse*.²⁶ Many others are still obscure and need to be put in the context of the failed coup, such as a short consolatory tract titled *Traicté de la croix et affliction des enfans de Dieu*, now surviving in a unique copy held in Archbishop Marsh’s Library, Dublin.²⁷ As we have seen above, an abridged edition of the Gallican Confession in the vernacular, including a long polemical preface authored by Antoine de Chandieu, was among the pamphlets printed in Strasbourg.²⁸ Such a central and significant piece was certainly designed as the pivot around which all the other polemical pamphlets – not by chance printed in more than one workshop – revolved.²⁹ According to Charles Read, François Hotman’s *Epistre au Tigre* was published

²⁵ Shannon, *The Political Activity*, 140f. The lieutenant-general had full command of the royal army.

²⁶ *Le Tigre* de 1560 reproduit pour la première fois en fac-simile d’après l’unique exemplaire connu (qui a échappé à l’incendie de l’Hôtel de Ville en 1871) et publié avec des notes historiques, littéraires et bibliographiques, ed. Charles Read, Paris 1875; [François Hotman], *L’histoire du tumulte d’Amboyse advenu au mois de Mars, M.D.LX. Ensemble, Un avertissement & une complainte au peuple François*, s.l. [Strasbourg]: s.n. [Jean Nesle] 1560, Bibliothèque nationale de France, LB32.15.

²⁷ *Traicté de la croix et affliction des enfans de Dieu, utile à tous, pour le temps de persecution...*, Strasbourg: s.n., 1560, Archbishop Marsh’s Library, Class. R. 4, Tab. 7, 16 (5). A 1563 edition is held in the Bibliothèque de Rennes-Métropole (85180/10). I am currently writing a paper focusing on this rare publication.

²⁸ The title itself, describing the French Reformed churches as ‘dispersed’, also alluded to times of persecution. In fact, one of the meanings of ‘dispers’ and ‘dispersé’ can be ‘in trouble’, ‘disbanded’. See Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du XVIIe siècle*, vol. 3, Paris 1946, 210 (entry ‘Dispars’, ‘Disperser’), 213f. (entries ‘Disperdre 1’, ‘Disperdre 2’), 214 (entries ‘Dispers’, ‘Disperser’).

²⁹ The fact that more than one printer in Strasbourg was hired to publish these pamphlets shows that these tracts were meant to appear simultaneously and to be read as a body of work rather than a collection of isolated pieces.

around the end of May or the beginning of June.³⁰ The key piece of correspondence analysed below was written shortly before the *Epistre au Tigre* was published, and this makes the chronological proximity of the *Tigre* and the abridged Confession not accidental.

A secret laid bare

On 16 May 1560 Nicolas des Gallars, while en route to the French refugee church of London,³¹ wrote a dispatch to Calvin. Here des Gallars informed Calvin of a conversation he had had with Chandieu and others not long before in Strasbourg. This letter's oblique expressions suggest that it was deliberately written in coded language. Even the nineteenth-century editors of the *Calvini opera*, customarily prolific and precise when it came to providing references, did not offer any information on the broader context of this message or any clues about its possible meaning. Let us now analyse closely an excerpt from this letter.

“As soon as I arrived in Strasbourg, I discussed with Chandieu about what we had pondered [in Geneva]. He appeared to be ready for anything you command. He only objected that it would not have been licit for him to take up such a task without the church of Paris' explicit instruction. We had already anticipated [his objection]: I answered that you will ask the Parisians to do this. In fact, [Chandieu] said, ‘I gave them my word that, unless I had written proof of their endorsement – in case somebody wanted to calumniate me – I would not entrust this labour to others’. For this reason, it is convenient that you warn the Parisians. And I do not doubt that they will easily grant their approval if they understand how beneficial [Chandieu's plan] would be for them. After this conversation, [Jean Le Maçon] arrived on cue in this town [from Paris]. He said he had expected [Chandieu's objection]. [...] Le Maçon easily acquiesced and brought forth no reason why Chandieu should forsake this undertaking. He said that this must be pointed out to the church of Paris. Then I asked that [Le Maçon] wrote and pointed this out, which he will do. Nonetheless, it is [the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva and yourself] who should write to

³⁰ See the introduction of *Read, Le Tigre de 1560*.

³¹ On the French refugee church of London, see above all Fernand *de Schickler*, *Les églises du refuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols., Paris 1892. See also Andrew *Pettegree*, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, Oxford 1986.

further persuade the Parisians with your authority. I told this to [Guillaume] Houbraque: he incited [Chandieu], who was ever so self-motivated.”³²

This dispatch includes at least three vital pieces of information which must be considered separately to fully grasp their meaning and allusions in context.

First, Chandieu was supposed to take upon himself a task of such importance that des Gallars refrained from being any more specific in his letter to Calvin. Perhaps des Gallars feared that this dispatch would be too incriminating had it been seized by French civil authorities. Thus, he decided to conceal what he was writing about. Besides, Calvin, Chandieu, and des Gallars had already discussed the affair face to face in Geneva.³³ Thus, there was no need to be any more explicit than des Gallars was, as Calvin knew exactly what the coded language of this dispatch referred to.

Second, according to his biographer Jacques Lect, Chandieu had written his preface to the Gallican Confession in or even before 1559.³⁴ In the light of this crucial detail, the support that des Gallars, Le Maçon, Houbraque, and others offered to Chandieu is remarkable. Insofar as known sources are concerned, this document had remained unpublished until the abridged editions in 35 articles were printed in Strasbourg and Geneva. However, the lea-

³² Nicolas des Gallars to John Calvin (16 May 1560), in: CO, vol. 18 (1878), 91f.: “Simul atque Argentinam veni egi cum Rochio de eo quod inter nos deliberatum erat. Is se ad omnia quae iuberetis promptum ac paratum esse ostendit. Tantum excepit quod iam satis a nobis praevisum erat sibi ecclesiae Parisiensis iniussu munus ullum suscipere non licere. Respondi vos de ea re Parisiensibus satisfacturos. Sic vero, inquit, fidem illis meam obstrinxi, ut nisi assentiantur ac scripto eorum assensum probare possim, iis qui me calumniari vellent, aliis operam daturus non sim. Quamobrem opus est ut ipsi a vobis moneantur. Nec dubito quin, si intellexerint quantum profuturus sit iis quibus designatur, facile assensum praebeant. Postquam ita colloquuti sumus, accessit ad hanc urbem peropportune Rivierius, quem se exspectare dicebat. [...] Is facile assensus est, nec ullam attulit causam cur Rochius hoc munus detrectare deberet. Tantum id ecclesiae Parisiensi significandum esse dixit. Rogavi igitur ut scriberet ipse ac quam primum significaret. Quod se facturum recepit. Sed nihilominus a vobis scribendum erit ut Parisienses magis autoritate vestra moveantur. Hoc ipsum cum Holbracho communicavi, qui hominem, quamvis per se incitatum, adhuc impellebat.”

³³ Chandieu visited Geneva early in 1560. *Naef*, La conjuration d’Amboise et Genève, *passim*.

³⁴ De vita Anton. Sadeelis et scriptis, in: Jacques *Lect*, Antonii Sadeelis Chandei nobilissimi viri opera theologica, Geneva 1599, fol. ¶¶¶. 2r.

ding Reformed pastors and activists were certainly aware of Chandieu's authorship of this polemical piece, as it was probably circulated to a very restricted audience. Chandieu's anxieties can be fully explained if we assume that this dispatch is about the printing and dissemination of Mylius' edition of the Confession.

Third, des Gallars' dispatch mentions Chandieu's fear of calumnies, had he accomplished his task without securing the Parisian congregation's written approval. After all, not only did Paris host the most significant Reformed congregation across the kingdom of France: crucially, it was the venue of the first national synod, celebrated less than a year before. Moreover, the 1557 letter-confession *Au Roy* had served as the confession of faith of the church of Paris before it became the full Gallican Confession.³⁵ There is no evidence that the Parisians saw the Gallican Confession as their 'private property'. However, this dispatch glows with the leading ministers' perception of the Parisian church as a body whose endorsement had to be sought when it came to such important matters for the Reformed movement of France as a whole. As other Reformed ministers and activists were aware that Chandieu's hand was behind the preface, the choice of expunging or condensing some articles would have been his own responsibility had he failed to seek written approval from Paris and Geneva. The removal of crucial articles without both Geneva's and Paris' sanction could possibly lead to accusations of doctrinal deviance or of disobedience. Chandieu's uncertainties were certainly connected to the Parisian Reformed notables' awareness of their increasingly important role in the larger French Reformed movement, as well as to the weight of the first national synod's decision not to disseminate the Confession. In May 1560, Chandieu was unwilling to take upon himself the full responsibility for such a crucial choice before obtaining the broadest possible approval. However, Geneva support had already been secured, and pastor Jean Le Maçon, who had arrived – in des Gallars' words, "on cue" – in Strasbourg from the congregation of Paris which he served, agreed that time had eventually come for a major, unconcealed debut in the political arena of France.³⁶

³⁵ Glenn S. *Sunshine*, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions*, Kirksville 2003 (*Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* 66), 16.

1559: a false date?

The frontispiece of the Strasbourg edition of the Gallican Confession in 35 articles technically bears a false date. However, it is possible that the motives behind this deliberate choice by the French Reformed pastors and lay activists who promoted this editorial effort were mostly practical, and that this is ultimately a reprise of the frontispiece of the Genevan editions, ostensibly printed slightly earlier.

A letter sent by Calvin to Peter Martyr Vermigli on 11 May 1560 mentions a printed confession of faith. After providing an account of the failed conspiracy of Amboise, Calvin stated that Louis de Condé had planned to offer François II the Gallican Confession himself: Condé had “[...] decided that he would offer the king the Confession that was printed here [in Geneva]. If the Guises imprisoned or incriminated him for this, many would have been ready to defend him”.³⁷ The Latin wording “apud nos” suggests that Calvin referred either to the *Confession par les Eglises (Geneva)* or to the *Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum*, both printed in Geneva.³⁸ This implies that these Genevan copies were completed in good time for Condé to offer one to the king during the (attempted) seizure of the castle of Amboise on 17 March 1560.³⁹ According to the modern calendar, these Genevan editions were most probably achieved between the final months of 1559 and February 1560 – still in 1559 in the *ab incarnatione* dating style.⁴⁰ However,

³⁶ Late in May 1560, printed copies of the Confession were sent to the *parlements* of Rouen and Rennes and to the seneschal of Rennes. However, it is unclear whether these printed copies featured 35 articles. See Philip *Benedict* and Nicolas *Fornerod*, *Les députés des églises réformées à la cour en 1561–1562*, in: *Revue historique* 315/2 (2013), 289–332, here 293 and the sources and literature cited therein.

³⁷ John Calvin to Peter Martyr Vermigli (11 May 1560), in: CO 18, 82: “Sic enim convenerat: ut confessionem quae edita est apud nos Regi offerret: si Guisiani vim afferent vel eius factum traherent in crimen, parati essent ad eius defensionem quam plurimi.”

³⁸ The verb *ēdō-ere* in this context may have several meanings, as I have discussed in *Braghi*, *Between Paris and Geneva*, 207, note 38. Contextual evidence suggests that Calvin was using this verb in its ‘technical’ meaning, i.e. related to the printing press.

³⁹ Condé’s plan ultimately failed as none of the conspirators managed to get as close to the king as to offer him the Confession.

⁴⁰ This holds true also for the Easter dating style, as Easter 1560 was celebrated on 14 April. Cf. Adriano *Cappelli*, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo. Dal principio dell’era cristiana fino ai nostri giorni*, ed. Marino Viganò, Milan 72012, 82f.

as stated above, they remained safely stored in Badius' workshop, ready to be disseminated.

The 1559 date on the frontispiece of the *Confession par les Eglises (Strasbourg)* is most probably a reprise of the frontispiece of the *Confession par les Eglises (Geneva)*, as the wording of the title and the preface are identical. This choice ought to be read both as a tribute to the authority of the 1559 synod of Paris – which promulgated the Gallican Confession – and as a guarantee for the readers that the printing of the Confession stemmed directly from that same authority – especially because it was not the 'full' Gallican Confession (i.e. in 40 articles), even if only the movers and shakers of the Reformed movement knew this. In the first 'official' printed edition of such a key document for the French Reformed church as a whole, it was far more important to refer to the date of its promulgation than to the date of its printing – also because a year had elapsed between the synod of Paris and the broad dissemination of the first printed copies of the Confession.

Secondly, but no less importantly, the pastors and lay activists who took care of the printing of the Strasbourg edition had the machinery of censorship of the kingdom of France very much in mind. If the French authorities intercepted copies of Mylius' edition, the 1559 date on the frontispiece would have conveyed the impression that this document had been circulating for months, unbeknown to them. In other words, censors might be fooled into thinking that it was too late to forestall the dissemination of the Confession. It was crucial not to worsen persecution in such testing times, and even the smallest detail – such as a false date on a frontispiece – could help. On 23 June, a printer named Martin Lhomme was arrested in Paris and executed under suspicion of being the publisher of the *Tigre*. Apparently, he had some copies of this pamphlet stored in his workshop. However, according to the edict of Romorantin (7 May 1560), affirming one's faith without any obvious seditious intentions (as in the abridged Confession) could not be punished as harshly as stirring political sedition (as in the *Tigre*).⁴¹ The promulgation of the edict of Romorantin could be one of the triggers of this sudden shift in the Reformed political

⁴¹ Shannon, *The Political Activity*, 171–174.

strategy and of the decision to disseminate the Confession with Chandieu's preface.⁴²

Sources suggest that Mylius' edition of the Gallican Confession circulated immediately and that its publication was not concealed. For example, in the *Histoire du tumulte d'Amboise*, also printed in Strasbourg in 1560, the anonymous author explicitly mentioned a "printed Confession of faith".⁴³ A copy of the Confession was also offered to the king at the so-called Assembly of Notables of Fontainebleau in August 1560.⁴⁴ At the provincial synod of Guyenne, held in Clairac on 19 November 1560, the delegates (*députés*) representing the Reformed movement at the upcoming estates-general of Orléans were asked to "[...] offer our king the Confession of faith agreed upon by the churches scattered in France that abstain from papal idolatries, including an apology and defense against the calumnies they are charged with [...]".⁴⁵ Comparison of the Clairac synodal records with the frontispieces of both the *Confession par les églises (Geneva)* and the *Confession par les églises (Strasbourg)* shows that the wording is exactly the same. The delegates to the synod of Clairac could have either of

⁴² Romorantin was promulgated on 7 May and des Gallars' letter to Calvin (analysed above) was written on 16 May.

⁴³ [*Hotman*], *L'histoire du tumulte d'Amboise*, 11: "[...] ils ont declairé ouvertement ce qu'ils sentent de l'obeissance deuë aux Roys, & autres Principautez, par le dernier article de leur confession de foy imprimee, ou il est contenu qu'on doit franchement & de bonne volonté porter le ioug des Roys & Princes, encores qu'ils fussent infideles." It is evident that this reference to the printed Confession was carefully placed in the text of this pamphlet to advertise the Strasbourg edition to the interested reader.

⁴⁴ Deux requestes de la part des fideles de France, qui desirent vivre selon la reformation de l'Evangile, donnees pour presenter au Conseil tenu à Fontainebleau au mois d'Aoust, M.D.L.X., s.l.: s.n. [but 1560], Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, Fonds André 663, fol. A1v: "[...] la Foy que nous tenons est celle mesme qui est comprinse au Symbole des Apostres, comme il appert assez clairement par nostre Confession qui vous a esté par cy devant presentee."

⁴⁵ Actes du Sinode de Clairac celebré l'an MV^eLX et le XIX^e jour de novembre par trente ministres, outre les diacres et anciens et plusieurs autres des Eglizes, in: *L'organisation et l'action des églises réformées de France (1557-1563)*. Synodes provinciaux et autres documents, eds. Philip *Benedict* and Nicolas *Fornerod*, Geneva 2012 (*Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 504), 12: "[...] presenter à nostre Roy la Confession de foy faite d'un commun accord par les Eglises qui sont dispersées en France et s'abstiennent des idolatries papalles, ensamble une apologie et deffence contre les calumnies dont on les charge [...]". On the Reformed *députés* at court, see *Benedict* and *Fornerod*, *Les députés des églises*.

the two editions under their eyes: after all, it is safe to assume that by November 1560 the Genevan edition in 35 articles (Badius') had also been widely disseminated.

A sophisticated and shape-shifting political manifesto

The abridgment and publication of 35-article editions of the Gallican Confession leaves several questions unanswered. Why did Chandieu, des Gallars, and other leading Reformed pastors deliberately choose to abridge this document by expunging elements from, or condensing some articles of, the full Gallican Confession *they themselves* had agreed upon and officialised in Paris in 1559? Their choice hints at the broader political implications of the careful editing of these publications, with a view to both the vernacular and the Latin editions' intended audiences.

The contents of the abridged editions did not diverge significantly from the full Gallican Confession.⁴⁶ Articles I and VI of the full Confession were condensed in Article II of the abridged editions; likewise, articles XXXIX and XL of the former became the final Article XXXV in the latter. Three articles were completely left out in the abridged editions, i.e. articles II, III and IV of the full Confession. At a closer look, these are the articles most characterised by theological subtleties.⁴⁷ In the abridged editions' text we can also find remarkable alterations in tone. The relatively neutral reference to the "assemblies of the Papacy" found in the full Confession became a more judgmental "synagogues of the Papacy" in the abridged editions,⁴⁸ while the theologically-connoted word

⁴⁶ The delegates to the synod of Paris (1565) declared that both versions were suitable in doctrinal terms. See note 5.

⁴⁷ In the full Gallican Confession, Article II describes the manifestation of God through works and through revelation; Article III lists the Biblical books included in the Reformed canon; Article IV states that the choice of the books included in the Biblical canon is not founded on human agreement or on tradition, but on the authority of the Holy Ghost, which provides the discernment needed to distinguish canonical from non-canonical books.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Campi*, *Confessio Gallicana*, 25: "Pourtant nous condamnons les assemblées de la Papauté [...]" and *Confession par les églises (Strasbourg)*, 51: "Sur tout nous

“reprouvéz” (“those who are reprobate”) found in the full Confession, was changed into the more nuanced expression “hypocrites, blasphemers of God, and criminals”, perhaps to show their French audience – high and lesser nobles as well as unpaid soldiers and exhausted taxpayers of the kingdom – that the Reformed movement did care about civil order and was not into political sedition as the much-detested Anabaptists were.⁴⁹ At the same time, this hushed but decisive toning down of double-decree predestination was mirrored in the Latin edition, probably aimed at aggregating and maximising intra-Protestant support at an international level.⁵⁰ The expunction of the word “sacramentaires” – a derogative term for Zwinglians – from the text of the abridged editions also spoke to these concerns.⁵¹

Broadly speaking, the audience of the abridged editions of the Gallican Confession could virtually extend to all those in the kingdom who could read French, or at least understand a relatively simple political argument – i.e. Chandieu’s preface – had they needed somebody else to read a text out loud. This mostly non-erudite audience certainly did not care much about subtleties for educated humanists and theologians. Keeping long and complicated articles in the text – such as Article III, expanding on the books included in the Reformed Biblical canon – would have overloaded this pam-

detestons les synagogues de la Papauté [...]”. See also *Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum*, 46: “In primis Papisticas synagogas abominamur [...]”

⁴⁹ Cf. *Campi*, *Confessio Gallicana*, 25: “Néanmoins nous ne nions point que parmi les fidèles il n’y ait des hypocrites et réprouvéz [...]” and *Confession par les églises (Strasbourg)*, 51: “Neanmoins nous ne nions point que parmi les fideles il n’y ait des hypocrites ou des contempteurs de Dieu, ou gens mal-vivans [...]”. See also *Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum*, 45: “[...] non inficiamur quin piis admixti sint hypocritae, profani, flagitiosique homines [...]”. The Guises were not responsible for the financial disarray of the kingdom in the aftermath of the Habsburg-Valois wars, but the financial measures they took caused widespread discontent. The intended audience of the abridged versions of the Gallican Confession was not necessarily sympathetic to the Reformation, but certainly had its reasons to object to the Guises’ rule.

⁵⁰ I.e. the German-speaking cantons of the Swiss Confederation – especially Bern and Zurich – as well as the German Lutheran princes who had supported the Reformed cause in the aftermath of the *rue Saint-Jacques* affair in late 1557.

⁵¹ Cf. *Campi*, *Confessio Gallicana*, 28 f.: “Et reiettons les fantastiques et sacramentaires qui ne veulent recevoir telz signes et marques [...]” and *Confession par les églises (Strasbourg)*, 60: “Et reiettons les fantastiques, qui ne veulent recevoir tels signes & marques [...]”. See also *Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum*, 54: “Quo nomine fanaticos reciimus, qui eiusmodi signa notásque aspernantur [...]”.

phlet with politically indifferent and lacklustre details. On top of this, these complex articles appeared at the very beginning of the Confession. Readers might as well have stopped reading altogether, thus nullifying the immediate purpose of this publication. May 1560 was not the time for theological subtleties, but an occasion to put an end to what was widely perceived as the ‘tyranny’ of the Guises.

The removal or condensation of some articles, as well as the scrupulous and astute changes in the tone of some expressions corroborates the hypothesis that this edition of the Confession was conceived as a pivot for the ‘polyptych’ of pamphlets printed in spring and summer 1560 in Strasbourg and elsewhere, such as the *Epistre au Tigre*, the *Histoire du tumulte d’Amboyse*, and others. This operation reveals the polemical (as opposed to strictly religious) need to print a compact version of the Gallican Confession in the vernacular at this crucial political stage. I have analysed elsewhere Chandieu’s complex preface to these editions:⁵² however, its clear anti-Guise features are further signs of the sheer political expediency behind this crucial editorial choice.

The printing of the ‘full’ Gallican Confession

The first appearance of a reference to the full Gallican Confession in the proceedings of the synods of the French Reformed churches is found in the decisions of the provincial synod of Berry, held in Sancerre from 21 to 23 April 1561. Here the delegates raised doubts about the clarity of the Confession’s definition of the Biblical canon, and proposed to specify which chapters of the book of Esther and of the book of Daniel were deemed canonical:

“On the third article of the Confession, which has been read, it is advised that it would be good to specify what is [deemed canonical] of Esther: that is, the first ten chapters of Esther instead of the words ‘book of Esther’, and the first twelve chapters of Daniel excluding the Canticle of the Children instead of the word ‘Daniel’.”⁵³

⁵² Braghi, *The Evolving Character*, Chapter 3.

⁵³ Synode premier provincial de la province de Berry tenu à Sancerre, in: *Benedict and Formerod*, *L’organisation*, 48: “Sur le troisieme article de la Confession leu, est

As the abridged editions of the Gallican Confession did not include the Reformed canon of the Bible, it is clear that the participants in the synod of Berry had the full Gallican Confession under their eyes. This might have been a handwritten copy: however, we are aware that the earliest dated edition of the Gallican Confession in 40 articles (i.e. the *Confession par les François*) appeared in 1561. But when exactly in 1561 did this edition appear? In other words, what were the dealings of the leading Reformed pastors and activists between November 1560 (synod of Guyenne) and April 1561 (synod of Berry)? Why did they discard the abridged editions – as we will see, along with Chandieu’s preface – and decide to produce and disseminate copies of the full Gallican Confession?

The national synod of Poitiers was held on 10 March 1561.⁵⁴ Although the proceedings do not include any official decision to print the full Gallican Confession, the synod might have entrusted this task to a group of pastors and activists in a more informal way. The ministers assembled in Poitiers asked the congregations of Paris, Orléans, and Rouen to write a declaration against the decrees of the “Papist council” of Trent to proclaim the nullity of its decisions. This declaration could assume the form either of a printed book or of a speech in the presence of the king. It could be prepared “in the manner that [the congregations] will find [most] suitable”. Article XXX commanded that the Gallican Confession be offered to the king as soon as the provincial delegates (the *députés*) of the Reformed churches arrived at court in the following weeks.⁵⁵ Other sources suggest that the general synod’s deliberation was executed by provincial synods.⁵⁶

advisé qu’il sera bon mectre et speciffier ce qui est receu de Ester, sçavoir les dix premiers chapitres de Ester au lieu de au motz livres d’Esther, les douze premiers chappitres de Danyel, horsmis le Canticque des enffans, au lieu de au motz Danyel”. The Canticle of the Three Children, also known as the Song of the Three Youths and the Song of the Three Holy Children, is found in Daniel 3, 22–90 in Roman Catholic Bibles as well as in the Orthodox and in the Septuagint versions of the Scriptures. This passage is considered non-canonical by the Anglican church and the Reformed churches.

⁵⁴ *Aymon*, vol. 1, 13: “Tenu [...] le 10. de Mars 1560. avant Pâques”; *Quick*, vol. 1, 12: “Articles of the Second Synod held at Poitiers, the tenth Day of March, in the Year of our Lord One thousand five hundred and sixty, a little before Easter, and in the first Year of the Reign of Charles the Ninth”. The synod took place in 1561 according to the modern calendar.

⁵⁵ *Aymon*, vol. 1, 22; *Quick*, vol. 1, 20 (Article XXIX).

As an early-1561 *Instruction pour le fait de la religion* reported, a “general council” of the Gallican church was one of the official Reformed requests forwarded to the crown by its *députés* at court. François II promised to summon one, even if he died shortly afterwards.⁵⁷ The chronological proximity of this request and the decision by the Poitiers national synod to produce a declaration against the decisions of Trent is not accidental. The proceedings of the Poitiers synod suggest that an edition of the full Gallican Confession, including especially the Reformed Biblical canon, could have been prepared with a view to the upcoming colloquy of Poissy (September 1561) – in which delegates of the French Reformed churches were invited to participate – as well as to the *états de Pontoise* (August 1561).⁵⁸

Unlikely as it may have been, a settlement between the two sides of the confessional divide reached within the Gallican church would cause a total break with Rome and the creation of a ‘patriarchate of Gaul’, following the model that had been inaugurated by Henry VIII of England a few years before. The memory of the 1551 ‘Gallican crisis’ was still burning in the papal chambers,⁵⁹

⁵⁶ As found for example in the proceedings of the provincial synod of Haut-Languedoc, Quercy, and Rouergue held from 8 to 11 April 1561. Cf. *Sinode tenu a Montauban les huitiesme, neufiesme, dixiesme et unziesme jours d’april an mil cinq cens soixante ung...*, in: *Benedict and Fornerod, L’organisation*, 33 f.: “1. En premier, sur l’article du Sinode general de Poytiers pour envoyer aux Estatz, a esté ordonné que deux seront deputez [...], la charge desquels sera de porter la Confession de foy, procuracion et requeste, signees tant du presidant au nom du Sinode que de tous les acistans [sic] en icelluy au nom de leurs Eglises, pour le tout presenter ausdicts Estatz devant la majesté du Roy avec tous les autres depputez, selon l’article dudict Sinode de Poytiers.”

⁵⁷ *Instruction pour le fait de la religion*, in: *Benedict and Fornerod, L’organisation*, 31, esp. articles XXXIV, XXXV, and XXXVI.

⁵⁸ On the colloquy of Poissy, Alain *Dufour*, *Le colloque de Poissy*, in: *Mélanges d’histoire du XVIe siècle offerts à Henri Meylan*, Geneva 1970, 127–137; Donald G. *Nugent*, *Ecumenism in the Age of the Reformation: The Colloquy of Poissy*, Cambridge (MA) 1974; Noël *Valois*, *Les états de Pontoise* (août 1561), in: *Revue de l’histoire de l’Église de France* 116 (1943), 237–256.

⁵⁹ *Jouanna et al.*, *Histoire et dictionnaire*, 85. On Rome’s stance towards the calling of the colloquy, Joseph *Roserot de Melin*, *Études sur les relations du Saint-Siège et l’Église de France dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle*. I: *Rome et Poissy*, in: *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’École française de Rome* 39 (1921), 47–151; *Nugent*, *Ecumenism, passim*; Alain *Tallon*, *La France et le concile de Trente* (1518–1563), Rome 2000 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 295), Chapter 9; Henry O. *Evennett*, *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent: A Study in the Coun-*

and Pius IV's decision to resume the works of the Council of Trent had a strong political significance in the light of Catherine de Medici's and chancellor Michel de L'Hospital's provisional conciliatory stance towards heresy.⁶⁰ From the point of view of the Reformed pastorate, no theological reconciliation with the Gallican bishops was possible, and Poissy was merely seen as a public occasion to convince the king and court of the orthodoxy of their doctrine.

The publication of the full Gallican Confession in 1561 responded again to political rather than religious imperatives. Restoring the list of the canonical books of the Bible in the printed Confession was another key move through which the Reformed leading pastors implicitly declared their lack of willingness to compromise on doctrine. At the same time as they narrowed down the likelihood of a doctrinal arrangement with Rome, these leading pastors also distanced themselves as clearly as possible from the transversal party of the so-called *moyenneurs*, a loose coalition of irenicists who sought reconciliation between the Gallican church and the Reformed church.⁶¹

ter-Reformation, Cambridge 1930. The studies by Lucien Romier, *La crise gallicane de 1551*, in: *Revue Historique* 108/2 (1911), 225–250; *La crise gallicane de 1551 (Suite et fin)*, in: *Revue Historique* 109/1 (1912), 27–55 are still very useful.

⁶⁰ On de L'Hospital, see among others Marie *Seong-Hak Kim*, 'Dieu nous garde de la messe du chancelier': The Religious Belief and Political Opinion of Michel de L'Hôpital, in: *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24/3 (1993), 595–620; Denis *Crouzet*, *La sagesse et le malheur. Michel de L'Hospital, chancelier de France*, Seyssel 1998; *Crouzet*, Michel de l'Hospital et l'idée de paix, in: *Krieg und Frieden im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Theorie – Praxis – Bilder / Guerre et paix du Moyen Âge aux temps modernes. – Théorie – Pratiques – Représentations*, eds. Heinz Duchhardt and Patrice Veit, Mainz 2000 (*Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz = Beihefte Universalgeschichte* 52), 103–118; Loris *Petris*, *La plume et la tribune. Michel de L'Hospital et ses discours*, 1559–1562, Geneva 2002 (*Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 360).

⁶¹ On the *moyenneurs*, see Mario *Turchetti*, *Concordia o tolleranza? François Bauduin (1520–1573) e i 'Moyenneurs'*, Milan 1984; Mario *Turchetti*, Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France, in: *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22/1 (1991), 15–25. On the moderate stance of the cardinal of Lorraine at Poissy, see Stuart *Carroll*, The Compromise of Charles Cardinal de Lorraine: New Evidence, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 54/3 (2003), 469–483. Donald G. *Nugent*, The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Colloquy of Poissy, in: *Historical Journal* 12/4 (1969), 596–605. Nugent's ideas were criticised by Nicola M. *Sutherland*, The Cardinal of Lorraine and the *Colloque* of Poissy, 1561: A Reassessment, in: Nicola M. *Sutherland*, *Princes, Politics and Religion 1547–1589*, London 1984, 113–137.

Conclusion

It is hardly surprising that in the 1561 edition of the full Confession Chandieu's quarrelsome preface was replaced by a short, well-mannered supplication addressed to the king. This piece of writing closely recalled the style of the short preamble of the epistle-like confession *Au Roy*, the Gallican Confession's 1557 archetype.⁶² Nevertheless, it is key to underline that this preface to the 1561 edition of the full Confession – curiously, also titled *Au Roy* – was written early in 1560. This succinct foreword had remained unpublished before this 1561 edition of the Confession was printed.⁶³ This is a further sign of the shape-shifting nature of this twofold and complex document, composed of a preface that was promptly adapted to rapidly-fluctuating circumstances and of a list of articles of faith that was also offered to its shifting intended audiences in slightly different forms which were fine-tuned to the rhetorical and theological needs of precise political conjunctures. For example, an edition of the Confession in 40 articles but with Chandieu's preface – a combination unseen before – was published in 1565.⁶⁴

As we have seen, the tone of both the preface and the Confession was also carefully cherry-picked depending on its audience. The preface of the 1561 full Confession – addressed to the person of the king – was short, concise, and its tenor was ultimately apologetical and supplicatory; on the other hand, Chandieu's preface – addressed to “all those who would listen to the poor faithful who are unfairly defamed and persecuted in the kingdom of France”⁶⁵ –

⁶² *Confession par les François*, fols. A2r–A4r. On *Au Roy*, see Braghi, *Between Paris and Geneva*, *passim*.

⁶³ *Confession par les François*, fol. A2r: “[...] maintenant il nous fait cet heur de veoir qu'avez la volonté de connoitre le merite de nostre cause, suyvant l'Edit dernier donné à Amboise au moys de Mars, l'An present 1559 [but 1560; emphasis mine] qu'il a pleu à vostre Maiesté faire publier. Qui est la cause qu'à present nous osons ouvrir la bouche: laquelle nous a esté parcedevant fermee par l'iniustice & violence de plusieurs voz officiers, estans plustost incitez de haine contre nous, que de bonne affection à vostre service.”

⁶⁴ *Jabr*, Studien, 97, item no. 63. This copy is a *par les François* (as opposed to *par les Eglises*) but includes Chandieu's preface.

⁶⁵ *Confession par les Eglises*, 3: “[...] pauvres fideles qui sont iniustement diffamez & affligez par le royaume de France [...] a tous ceux qui leur voudront prester audience.”

was dripping with pugnacious rhetoric and anti-Guise *tópoi*. Copies of the Confession with Chandieu's preface were also reprinted in subsequent years when need arose.⁶⁶

The shift in the intended audience of the leading pastors and lay activists of the French Reformed movement from a very restricted and 'internal' one to the kingdom of France as a whole took place in a dense and tense phase demanding clear political goals and coherent steps to pursue them. Key political measures were put into place in order to achieve support from the crown, the princes of the royal blood, and in general from broad segments of the French population possibly sympathetic to the Reformed cause. Thanks to their clever attempts to influence the political situation of the kingdom, the clerical and lay leaders of the movement eventually managed to obtain a policy of provisional tolerance from the crown – encapsulated by the so-called *édit de janvier* in 1562 – and made their voice heard in the highest political assemblies in the kingdom. The adaptation of the Gallican Confession in different printed editions was crucial to their endeavours and their pamphleteering campaigns of these years, but ended up engendering confusion in the long term as to whether both versions were acceptable in terms of doctrine as well as practical use. The national synod of La Rochelle (1571) put an end to these ambiguities by officialising the version in 40 articles as promulgated in Paris in 1559.

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Abstract: This paper analyses the first printed editions of the Gallican Confession (agreed upon at the synod of Paris in May 1559) and formulates a hypothesis on the context in which they were published and disseminated. Analysis is based on abridged editions of the Confession in Latin and in French, printed in Geneva and Strasbourg, and featuring a preface authored by pastor Antoine de Chandieu. Although the ministers assembled in Paris in 1559 promulgated a confession in 40 articles, only 35 articles were included in these editions (which are dated 1559, but were ostensibly printed in

See also *Confessio fidei communi ecclesiarum*, 3: "Calamitosi fideles, qui praeter meritum in regno Galliae contumeliis iniuriisque afficiuntur [...] omnibus qui patientes aures accommodare voluerint."

⁶⁶ Cf. *Jahr*, Studien, 95, item no. 54 (1562); 96, items no. 57–59 (1563); 97, item no. 62 (1564).

the first half of 1560). These editions in 35 articles were abridged versions of the 'full' Gallican Confession, and this abridgment responded to polemical purposes and political expediency connected to the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise. This paper also offers some remarks upon the decision to abandon these 35-articles editions in 1561, probably with a view to the calling of the *états de Pontoise* and the colloquy of Poissy.

Keywords: Gallican Confession; French Reformation; Calvinism; Huguenots; Strasbourg; Geneva; Antoine de Chandieu; John Calvin; Nicolas des Gallars; François Hotman