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Vrais Chrestiens:
Strangers in the martyrologies of Jean Crespin

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Declaration

This thesis is entirely my own work. It has not been published before, nor has it been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

This thesis examines the portrayal of outsider, or ‘stranger’ groups in the series of Protestant martyrologies known as the *Livre des Martyrs*. The book’s compiler, editor, and publisher, Jean Crespin, placed the defence of religious doctrine as a mark of a true martyr, and a central theme of the book. He also, in the manner of his contemporaries John Foxe and Ludwig Rabus, wished to write a history of the true persecuted Church, which led him to search for martyrs from a wider range of groups who had come into conflict with the Catholic Church. These two impulses, towards theological purity and the inclusion of outsiders, respectively, came into conflict with the inclusion of ‘strangers’ who held views divergent from the French Reformed norm.

Comparison of the succeeding editions of the martyrology with each other and, where possible, with the original sources allows us to see that Crespin often altered the content of his narratives, especially by removing theological elements which conflicted with official Reformed doctrine to in effect render their content ‘safer’. The changes that he made to Lutheran and Hussite passages reveal a marked concern with the nature of the Eucharist, one of the primary disputes between Protestant denominations of that period, while omissions from his passages from the German Peasants’ War and the Vaudois reveal an uncertainty about the permissibility of resistance to the State. The *Livre des Martyrs*, by presenting an idealised vision of the wider Protestant movement allows us some insight into the self-definition of the French Reformed Church, and the ways in which they perceived their relationship to other groups.

Introduction

Writing about the execution of Henry Voez and Jean Esch in the second edition of his *Livre des Martyrs*, Jean Crespin explained that they died ‘pour la doctrine Evangelique, & pour les escrits Apostoliques, comme bons & vrais Chrestiens’.¹ It was dying for the Gospel and for correct doctrine that made these two men true Christians in Crespin’s eyes, and yet we know that he altered their confession of faith significantly, bringing their statements into line with those of his own French Reformed Church. His motivations for doing so stemmed from a contemporary controversy about sacramental issues, but also from Crespin’s essential understanding about the nature of his Church.

In the first lines of the sixth edition of the martyrology, Crespin expounded on the worthiness of the martyrs of his own age to be compared with those of the primitive Church:

‘Les Martyrs anciens, dira-on, estoient excellents en plusieurs sortes. Cela est vray, mais si ceux qui ont este jadis spectateurs, regardoyent aujourd’huy les tourments & afflictions de ces derniers temps, ils verroyent choses merueilleuses & nouvelles. Les nombre des anciens estoit grand: le nombre des nostres quel est-il ? Ceux-la ont apporté grand fruict & advancement à l’Evangile: la constance des nostres se fait si bien sentier aujourd’huy, qu’elle donne assez, à cognoistre que la fureur des tyrans n’avance pas de beaucoup ce qu’ils desirent: plustost fait croistre le nombre de ceux qu’ils veulent exterminer.’²

¹ Jean Crespin, *Recueil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment enduré la mort pour le nom de Nostre Seigneur*. [Geneva]: Jean Crespin. 1555, pp. 146-47. (For the doctrine of the Gospel, and for the Apostolic writings, as good and true Christians).

² Jean Crespin, *Actes des Martyrs*, ([Geneva], 1565), sig. a iii verso. (The ancient Martyrs, we say, were excellent in many ways. That is true, but if those who were spectators long ago, saw today the torment & afflictions of these last times, they would see new & marvellous things. The number of ancients was great: the number of ours, what is it? They have brought great profit & advancement to the Gospel: the constancy of ours is so well known today, that they give enough to know that the fury of tyrants does not achieve what they desire: rather it has increased the number of those they would exterminate).

This idea, as Frank Lestringant noted, was a touch-stone for works like Crespin's martyrology.³ The first edition began by explaining that: 'Entre les marques de la vraye Eglise de Dieu, ceste-cy a esté l'une des principales, à savoir, qu'elle a de tous temps soustenu les assauts des persecutions.'⁴ In 1570, the prefatory section was entitled 'Preface Monstrant une Conformité des Persecutions et martyrs de ces derniers temps à ceux de la premiere Eglise.'⁵ This section depicted the deaths of some of the biblical martyrs, including John the Baptist, St. Stephen, and Christ himself, before discussing the role of martyrdom throughout history, and God's intervention in human affairs.⁶ This was, however, only a short passage in comparison to Rabus' approach, which filled his entire first volume with primitive and ancient martyrs.⁷

If these men and women were the equals of the ancients, then they should be commemorated as were those early martyrs, their deaths and more importantly the beliefs for which they died recorded for wide distribution and for educating future generations. Inclusion in the martyrology was therefore an implicit sign of approval of the martyr and his message. The Vaudois of Provence had written that their conception of the church was one of a 'belle confrerie, en laquelle sont enregistrez tous les vrais Chrestiens.'⁸ Crespin took issue with many of the facets of the Vaudois congregation, but he shared their interest in collecting together all true Christians. If persecution was an inevitable companion to truth as Crespin

³ Frank Lestringant, *Lumière des Martyrs*. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2004), p. 194.

⁴ Jean Crespin, *Receuil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment endure la mort pour la nome de N. S. Jesus Christ*. ([Geneva], 1554). Sig. ii recto. (Among the marks of the true Church of God, this is one of the principal: to know that she at all times sustains the assaults of persecutions).

⁵ Jean Crespin, *Histoire des vrays tesmoins de la verité de l'Evangile*, ([Geneva], 1570), sig. a iiii recto. (Preface demonstrating the conformity of persecutions and martyrs of these latter times to those of the primitive Church).

⁶ Crespin, 1570, sig. a iiii verso to [vi] recto.

⁷ Ludwig Rabus, *Der Heiligen ausserwöhlten Gottes Zeugen, Bekennern und Martyrern*. (Strassburg, 1552).

⁸ Ibid. (A beautiful confraternity, in which are registered all the true Christians).

suggested, then to understand the reach of the martyrs would be to understand the limits of the true Church itself.

It is recognised that the content of the *Livre des Martyrs* was sometimes subject to editorial interference by Crespin, who is known to have altered the theological statements of some of his martyrs.⁹ This study hopes to illustrate some patterns and key points in this sort of behaviour: if Lutheran confessions of faith, for example, were to be altered, what other points might draw Crespin's editorial attention? What might cause the martyrologist to regard a group as worthy of inclusion in his book, but in need of doctrinal correction? What issues and questions were deemed in need of the strictest policing?

As the *Livre des Martyrs* was primarily composed of reprinted tracts and collected letters, with relatively little text penned by Crespin himself, it is in these editorial decisions that we may most easily see his own hand. Crespin's interest in doctrinal matters, and his willingness to intervene in the text of his martyrs, can perhaps best be examined by studying the portrayal of 'strangers' within *Livre des Martyrs*. Although small in proportion against the mainstream Reformed martyrs, these groups were central to his conception of the Church, and of the historical import of the Reformation. Almost every introduction to the martyrology stated: 'Il n'y a aujourd'hui ne region, ne pays, non pas mesmes les Turcs & autres peuples barbares, ou Dieu n'ait suscité quelque nombre de Martyrs, pour rendre a toutes nations tesmoignage de sa verité.'¹⁰ The *Livre des Martyrs* was founded on the idea that the Church was universal; there was no assumption that Reform was present in Geneva, or in France, alone.

⁹ For example, Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, (London: Harvard Historical Studies, 1999), p. 185.

¹⁰ Crespin, 1554, sig iii verso. (There is today no region, nor country, not even the Turks & other barbarous people, where God has not raised some number of Martyrs, to render to all nations witness of his truth).

Important though these stranger groups might be, they often held views critical of the Reformed consensus, or in conflict with it; including them without change could damage the martyrology's utility as a guide to doctrine, or reveal the kinds of tensions within the Protestant movement which were so attractive to Catholic controversialists. Including martyrs from outside of the Genevan or Reformed circles had its attractions, however. They provided a genealogy to reform, giving the movement a pedigree of resistance to papal power and Catholic doctrine, and they asserted a commonality of purpose and history with other Protestant denominations. The way in which Crespin balanced the competing imperatives of doctrinal orthodoxy and historical scope can tell us much about his conception of his Church. In many ways, this represents an early attempt to impose structure upon what Lucien Febvre called the magnificent anarchy of early sixteenth-century heterodoxy.¹¹ This study will investigate the relationship of the *Livre des Martyrs* with three of these groups: the Hussites, the Vaudois, and the Lutherans.

Of these groups, the Hussites represent nearly the earliest limit of the *Livre des Martyrs*. However, their presence in Crespin was largely limited to their two primary martyrs, Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, and a short passage detailing the Hussite Wars. Their accounts were full of doctrinal discussion and criticism, and presented challenges to Crespin primarily in their insufficient criticism of the Church as it stood in the early fifteenth century. In the rubric of the *Livre des Martyrs*, they and the Lollards still belonged to a period that imperfectly saw the light, which Crespin eventually identified with the coming of Luther.

The Lutherans presented in the *Livre des Martyrs* are primarily from 1520s Germany, and represent a period where Crespin considered that the Gospel had

¹¹ Lucien Febvre, *Au Coeur religieux du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1966).

begun to return, but for which there were no Reformed martyrs. The Genevan relationship with the Lutherans at the time of publication was ongoing and complex, with Crespin involved in both the publication of Lutheran works and polemical tracts attacking Lutheran positions. The treatment of the Lutherans, above all, was informed by the need for a balance between correct doctrine and a show of outward unity with a group over whom they could exercise no control, and who were themselves producing works of history and martyrology.

The Vaudois, although they had deep roots which were fleetingly referred to, were a contemporary group, which by Crespin's time had formally come under the leadership of the Reformed Church. When they first appeared in the *Livre des Martyrs*, they represented an early example of a congregation subjected to persecution and massacre; in later editions, the alpine Vaudois were exemplars of successful resistance to Catholic force. The Vaudois did, however, carry a negative reputation which Crespin worked alternately to downplay, and to rebuke them for.

Jean Crespin's life, and career in Geneva, have been extensively studied by Jean-Francois Gilmont, and so the details are well-established. Crespin was born into a wealthy family at Arras, trained for the law at the University of Louvain, and became a legal assistant in Paris.¹² Forced to leave France due to the Franco-Imperial war in 1542, he left the Low Countries for Geneva in stages, establishing himself there in 1548.¹³ His career as a publisher began in 1550 and seems to have been patronised from the beginning by Geneva's leading reformers: of the eleven texts he published that first year, one was by Theodore Beza, and seven by Jean Calvin. The next year's production was primarily Calvin's work and sections of

¹² Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, p. 32.

¹³ Ibid, pp. 32, 45.

Beza's French translation of the Bible.¹⁴ Crespin produced his first martyrology, and continued to revise and publish versions of it until 1570, two years before his death.

Thanks primarily to the work of Gilmont, we are beginning to understand more about Jean Crespin's martyrologies. The bibliographical and production aspects of the Crespin *atelier*, and many of the sources for the martyrology itself, have been covered in great detail. Gilmont's bibliography of Crespin's company, and his wider discussion of the man and his work were each released in 1981.¹⁵ Any discussion of the role of Crespin as editor, and of the changes made to the *Livre des Martyrs* must first have a firm grasp of the editions, their sequence, and their essential differences, and Gilmont provides these in depth. In addition, his work makes clear some of Crespin's working methods, and in some cases, such as the Piedmontese Vaudois, the changes he made to the content of the accounts themselves. This sort of information is essential if we are to attempt to analyse the changes made from one edition to the next, which can be significant in some cases. However, even in the fields where the *Livre des Martyrs* has been sensitively used, such as in the study of sixteenth-century Vaudois, the primary interest has been in his utility as a collector of documents, and a near-contemporary source. The question of his goals and methods has been, by comparison, under-studied.

The reliability of Crespin as an historical source has been the subject of a thesis by David Watson, and books by Halkin, Piaget and others for some time. Indeed, the scholarly debate on the question of the trustworthiness of Crespin is nearly a century old. Piaget and Berthoud, writing in 1930, were critical of Crespin's accuracy, noting a series of deviations from the source materials. More recently, Ray Mentzer and Euan Cameron have continued to warn about

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 246.

¹⁵ Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Crespin: Un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle* (Geneva : Droz, 1981). *Bibliographie des Éditions de Jean Crespin, 1550- 1572*. (Verviers: Gason, 1981).

inaccuracies in the martyrology. Moreau, writing in 1957, argued that Piaget and Berthoud had overstated their case, estimating that in the cases of executions near Arras, Crespín had correctly represented eight of ten verifiable facts.¹⁶ Using court records, William Monter has found another method of assessing Crespín's accuracy, by calculating what percentage of known heresy trials found their way into the *Livre des Martyrs*. He concludes that Crespín's information for periods before the reign of Henri II was 'grossly inadequate', but it became much more reliable, especially in the post-1555 period.¹⁷ For the period 1540- 1547, Monter calculates that Crespín included thirteen per cent of the executions recorded in parliamentary documents, a number which rose to seventy-seven per cent for the period 1555-1559.¹⁸ Watson's thesis, which argues for a great deal of caution when using Crespín as a historical source, takes advantage of Gilmont's bibliographical analysis to take into account the divergences between the successive editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*.

Much of the recent work on Crespín has come in the context of research on broader subjects, or on other publications entirely. Brad Gregory's *Salvation at Stake* places Crespín in context with martyrologies from other confessions, and especially with those of Foxe, Panteleone, de Haemestede, and Rabus, with which the *Livre des Martyrs* shares many aims and much material. This approach engages more fully with the purposes and content of the martyrology than many of the earlier studies, which treated Crespín primarily as a source, more concerned with its reliability and its production. The clarification of the extent of exchange of ideas and content amongst the sixteenth-century compilers has also resulted in an

¹⁶ Moreau, G. 'Contribution à l'Histoire de Livre des Martyrs' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Protestantisme Français* 103 (1957) p. 179. As it was Crespín's hometown, Arras might have been expected to be a particular area of strength.

¹⁷ William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (London: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 183.

¹⁸ Ibid.

increased understanding of Crespin's sources, not least through the work of the John Foxe Project.

This more recent, often comparative, work has also directed more attention to questions of the content of the martyrology: what its aims were, for whom it was written, and what techniques were used to achieve its ends. Andrew Pettegree's suggestion, writing about the Dutch martyrologist Adriaan van Haemstede, that the martyrologies could have functioned as a primarily pedagogic tool is one which has application to Crespin, as David Watson suggested in his thesis.¹⁹ This would require us to approach the contents of the *Livre des Martyrs* with a view not simply to their value as historical record, or work of Protestant propaganda, but also with an eye to their didactic content, especially on theological matters.

Watson's thesis argues for the importance of understanding the differences between the different editions, which Gilmont's bibliographical work has made possible. Importantly for this study, it also contains a chapter on 'Crespin's foreign martyrs', which examines some of the sources and information available to Crespin regarding contemporary martyrs from outside of France.²⁰ It echoes some of Monter's concerns, in attempting to discern how effectively Crespin received and relayed information, and in which areas he was particularly well-informed. For all of its awareness of the successive editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, Watson's thesis draws by default on the 1570 edition; the *Cinquieme Partie* of 1563-64 is not cited at all. Crespin's fidelity to his sources, and his particular strengths and weaknesses in gathering information from across Europe are outlined, []

The particular themes and interests to be found in the *Livre des Martyrs* have begun to be addressed, as well. Besides Brad Gregory's book, Charles Parker's

¹⁹ Andrew Pettegree, 'Van Haemstede: Heretic as Historian' in Gordon 1996, p. 69. Watson, *The Martyrology of Jean Crespin*, p. 163.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 135.

work has shown that the *Livre des Martyrs* showed an especial tendency to use Old Testament language, compared to other Protestant martyrologies.²¹ In addition, literary analysis has been brought to bear on Crespin in works such as Frank Lestringant's *Lumière des Martyrs*; he, too notes the identification amongst the Reformed congregations with the wandering tribes of Israel.²² The work of Catharine Randall Coats has studied the use of themes and ideas which recur throughout the *Livre des Martyrs*, though this approach demands an assumption of a great deal of authorial intent and editorial unity which runs counter to the somewhat magpie approach depicted by Gilmont and others.²³ Nikki Shepardson's *Burning Zeal* also professes the importance of post-modernist techniques of close reading, while wanting to retain the centrality of belief in the actions of the martyrs themselves.²⁴

The amount of work which has been done on John Foxe, much of it spurred by the work of the John Foxe Project, shows how much could still be done with the *Livre des Martyrs*. The differences and continuities between the editions, both French and Latin; the relationship of Crespin with his audience (indeed, the entire question of reception studies); and a truly complete evaluation of the sources and editorial interventions in the *Livre des Martyrs* still lie ahead.

The first edition of the *Livre des Martyrs* was published in 1554, the same year as Foxe's *Commentarii Rerum*, and two years after the first volume of Rabus' martyrology. Later editions were, it seems, compiled in full knowledge of the other

²¹ Charles Parker, 'French Calvinists As the Children of Israel: An Old Testament Self-Consciousness in Jean Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* before the Wars of Religion', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24 (1993).

²² Frank Lestringant, *Lumière des Martyrs*, (Paris : Honoré Champion, 2004).

²³ Catharine Randall Coats, *(Em)bodying the Word. Textual Resurrections in the Martyrological Narratives of Foxe, Crespin, de Beze and d'Aubigné* (New York : Peter Lang 1992).

²⁴ Nikki Shepardson. *Burning Zeal: the Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Protestant Community in Refomation France, 1520- 1570*. (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2007).

martyrologies, and seem to have used material from them. The most dramatic example is the *Quatrieme Partie*, which was nearly entirely made up of translated passages from Foxe, but Crespin used many other texts as well. Aside from using martyrological accounts already which others had already published, Crespin was influenced by the structure and philosophy of the other books, especially Foxe. Each of his editions after the Foxe-derived *Quatrieme Partie*, included an increasing amount of narrative history in which no martyr featured. This had the effect of binding the book more closely together, providing something closer to the grand narrative that has been identified with Foxe's martyrology.

Crespin was also involved in the publication of contemporary history, printing the works of Sleidan and Hainault.²⁵ These were authors with definite view of the practical utility of history, and skilled practitioners of the craft. Some of their techniques may shed light on the way in which Crespin may have worked. Like Crespin, Sleidan seems to have gathered official documents from prominent reformers, especially Calvin and Bucer, as well as receiving documents from the public, unsolicited.²⁶ Sleidan used these in a fashion that Alexandra Kas regarded as being influenced by Bucer's conciliatory approach at Strasbourg; he: 'tended to omit theological divisions.'²⁷ Sleidan seems to have seen an early draft or proof of the first edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*, as suggested by a letter he wrote to Calvin in 1554.²⁸

As a major publisher of Calvin's vernacular works, Crespin can be assumed to have been relatively well-informed about the reformer's views on a wide range of

²⁵ David Watson discussed these two in the context of Crespin's writing in 'Jean Crespin and History-Writing' in Bruce Gordon (ed) *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Vol 2, (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 40-1.

²⁶ Kess, Alexandra, *Johann Sleidan and the Protestant Vision of History*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) pp. 93-4.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 106

²⁸ Ibid, p. 95.

issues. He published a series of works by Luther, up to the mid-1550s, and later several by Calvin and other Reformed theologians which attacked central Lutheran tenets. If it would be too much to assume that in the case of Lutheranism, Crespin's editorial standpoint can be identified with the official Genevan position, then we can at least assert that he was as well aware of them as was anyone. In the other direction, the *Livre des Martyrs*' stance regarding some stranger groups became very influential amongst the Genevan establishment. Large sections of Beza's 1580 compilation the *Histoire Ecclesiastique*'s passages relating to the Vaudois have been excerpted directly from Crespin's own work. The *Livre des Martyrs*, therefore, may serve to illustrate Reformed attitudes toward Protestant history and the possibility of a widely-defined Protestant movement, albeit from the perspective of a man who was not himself a leader of the movement, but a member of Calvin's larger circle of influence.

As with John Foxe, we have to regard Crespin as a presumptive, rather than actual author.²⁹ The question of his exact role in the production of the *Livre des Martyrs* is extended by his additional roles as printer and publisher, where he presumably took on some of the tasks which Foxe had been able to place in the hands of John Day. We cannot be certain exactly what role Crespin himself played in the process of composing or printing the *Livre des Martyrs*. His workshop seems to have initially seen a period of co-production with Badius before he was able to work on his own; this suggests that he was to some degree involved in the process of printing, rather than simply financing editions.³⁰ If the author's presence during the printing process was considered important enough that Foxe stayed with Day during the printing of the *Actes and Monuments* in 1562, then Crespin's dual role

²⁹ See Devorah Greenberg, 'Foxe' as a Methodological Response to Epistemic Challenges in Loades, David (ed), *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 242.

³⁰ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, p. 66.

would have offered him some advantage, and a great deal of personal control over the final product.³¹ Certainly there would have been many other people involved in the process, some of whom may have been crucial to the shaping of the martyrology as it emerged. Crespin may have had Geneva's only English printer's assistant working in his shop; that man's influence with regard to the use and adaptation of English works like Foxe may have been important.³²

His printing career saw him print a string of theological works by major reformers in both French and Latin, as well as more exotic languages such as Spanish and English. In his later career, Crespin's workshop moved increasingly into educational works, publishing law textbooks, classical works including the *Odyssey*, and despite the competition from the formidable Estienne clan, dictionaries and lexicons of Italian, Latin, and Greek.³³ He seems to have been a trusted member of the Reformed community: he was trusted with assignments by the religious leadership of Geneva (he seems to have attended the Colloquy of Worms, and represented Calvin in the Low Countries on several occasions), and most importantly was the initial printer for some works by Beza and Calvin.³⁴ Amongst his publications were Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet*, Beza's *Abraham Sacrifiant*, and, in addition to a slew of theological works by Calvin and Bullinger, the 1563 *Confession de foy des Eglises de France*.³⁵

Although he never took the concept as far as did Foxe, Crespin's martyrology acted as a history of the Reformed Church. The Hussites, Vaudois, and Lutherans (especially the early Lutheran martyrs in the *Livre des Martyrs*) all

³¹ Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 64.

³² Gilmont in *John Foxe*, p. 139.

³³ Ibid. pp. 255-60.

³⁴ Ibid. pp. 219, 108-10.

³⁵ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, pp. 252-255.

represented early opposition to the papacy and to Catholic doctrine, providing a genealogy for the Reformed Church. The appeal of these groups was, in part, that they provided an answer to Catholic charges of novelty. Luther had made a virtue of similarities between his programme and that of Jan Hus; Flacius Illyricus' *Catalogus Testum* worked to include more examples of historical dissent.³⁶ The French Reformed Church went so far as to formally acknowledge, at the 1572 Synod at Nîmes, that the Cathars had been ancestors of the Reform.³⁷ The Cathars were in turn rehabilitated by Jean de Hainault, whose 1557 history had depicted the Cathars as savages, indeed cannibals; his 1582 work described them as having seen the light, even if only to a small degree.³⁸ Crespin never went so far as to praise or include the Cathars in his martyrology, but he was one of the major historians of the Vaudois, who held a similar appeal to his audience.

Crespin had clear criteria for including someone as a martyr. The primary test was twofold: the martyr had to have died, and done so for his faith. Both parts of that rubric were essential: a person had to have been executed as a result of refusing to recant his or her beliefs, and those beliefs had to have been correct. More so than other martyrologists, Crespin was reluctant to include in the *Livre des Martyrs* figures who had not been put to death, an attitude which only gradually shifted in 1563 and after, when he started to print separate historical sections. These were used to give context and continuity to the martyrological accounts, and had a distinctly secondary importance: several of these historical passages were not even listed in the index. Where Foxe had room for leading figures of the English Reformation, martyr or not, Crespin never included a biography of Calvin, for

³⁶ Yves Krumenacker. 'Les genealogie imaginaire de la Reforme Protestante', *Revue Historique*, 638 (2006), p. 262.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 271.

³⁸ Ibid.

example, and his depiction of Luther came as part of a larger discussion of the decline of the Church. Rabus' use of prominent men as 'confessors of the faith', a category parallel to that of martyrdom, in his work does not appear to have been taken up by Crespin.³⁹

David El Kenz, working from an unpublished work of Nadia Seré, has identified five marks of a true martyr in Crespin's work. These are, first, that he sheds blood for the truth of the Gospel, second, that (in a well-known passage from St. Augustine) it is not the suffering, but the cause which makes the martyr (Crespin cited this dictum approvingly on at least one occasion), third, that it was important that a tribunal of some sort attest to the fact that it was for doctrine that the martyr was condemned, fourth, that the martyr must be condemned exclusively for reasons of religion—those suspected of sedition, for example, were excluded, and finally, that constancy, above all, was the essential principle.⁴⁰ In his introduction to the 1570 edition, Crespin stressed the importance of this sort of test:

l'inaffable fondement de la verité, laquelle seule monstre la diversité des souffrances des vrais & faux Chrestiens. Vray est que les heretiques auront de belles œuvres en apparence, comme les arbres sauvages portent aussi des fruits qui ressemblent exterieurement aux bons, & sont ornez, de force belles feuilles: mais d'autant qu'ils sont hors de Christ, & par consequent de la voye, de la verité, & de la vie, leur foy est mauvaise, & leur croix forclos de benediction. La doctrine donc & la confession de foy sont les fruits entre tous autres plus notables & certains du vray fondement de la foy: & ausquels il faut specialement s'arrester en ces Recueils Ecclesiastiques qui sont dressez es VIII livres de ceste histoire Ecclesiastique, pour juger du fait des Martyrs par la parole de Dieu.⁴¹

³⁹ Kolb, *For All the Saints*, p. 63.

⁴⁰ El Kenz, *Les Buchers du Roi*, p. 128. Brad Gregory discusses the appearance of this theme in martyrology in *Salvation at Stake*, pp. 329- 332.

⁴¹ Crespin, 1570, sig. a iiii, verso. (The infallible foundation of the truth, which alone shows the differences in suffering of true and false Christians. It is true that the heretics have, in appearance, attractive works, as wild trees also carry fruits which outwardly resemble good ones, & are adorned

These marks of the martyr explain much that is distinctive about Crespin's work. Under this scheme, massacre victims would be counted as at best semi-martyrs, or 'fideles persecutés', in the absence of a court judgement explicitly condemning them for their beliefs.⁴² This, according to El Kenz:

obéit donc aux principes formulés par Calvin: le témoignage du Christ, la défense de la doctrine, la condamnation pour religion, excluant ipso facto l'esprit de sédition et la patience devant les tribulations. Il en résulte l'obligation d'un procès légal afin que le respect de ces critères soit authentifié par une manifestation publique.⁴³

Amongst their other purposes, the short historical sections which appeared in the *Livre des Martyrs* from 1564 onward allowed Crespin to retain his criteria for martyrdom whilst providing space to the commemoration and discussion of those who had died in massacres or other persecution, a growing phenomenon in the Wars of Religion.

A central reason why Crespin seems to have set such store by these marks of the true martyr was its intended purpose as a pedagogical tool.⁴⁴ He wrote repeatedly in the introductions to volumes and to narratives that he hoped they could teach his readers; he hoped, for example, that the history of the Vaudois would:

'servira d'instruction non seulement à tous fideles, en particulier: mais en general

with very beautiful leaves: but so much as they are outside of Christ, & by consequence of the way, of the truth, & of the life, their faith is wicked, & their cross prevented from benediction. The doctrine therefore, & the confession of faith are the fruits amongst all others most notable & certain of true foundation of faith: & which must be specially stopped in these Ecclesiastical Collections which are compiled in VIII books of this Ecclesiastical history, so as to judge the deeds of the Martyrs by the word of God).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. (Obedient, therefore, to the principal formulations of Calvin: the witnessing of Christ, the defence of doctrine, the condemnation for religion, excluding *ipso facto* the spirit of sedition and the patience before suffering. It follows the obligation of a legal process so that the respect of these criteria are authenticated by a public manifestation).

⁴⁴ David Watson, *The Martyrology of Jean Crespin and the Early French Evangelical Movement, 1523-1555*, (PhD Thesis, St Andrew's 1997), p. 2. 'Jean Crespin and History Writing' in Gordon 1996, pp 39- 58.

aux peuples & republiques'.⁴⁵ This could be as a conduct book, giving exemplar of how to face up to persecution and defend one's faith, as Watson suggested, and it could also be useful simply as a guide to true belief. The stories of martyrs arguing with their captors contained long passages of theological argument, complete with biblical citation. A cover-to-cover reader of the *Livre des Martyrs* would be equipped with a series of tested arguments in favour of Reformed tenets, and against Catholic positions. Aside from the question of eligibility to be a martyr, an account expressing doctrines contrary to Genevan orthodoxy would run the risk of gravely misinforming its readers on issues of the highest importance. We can expect, therefore, that the *Livre des Martyrs* should broadly reflect Crespin's vision of his own Church, and its theological views. This emphasis on doctrinal matters shaped everything about the book, from the content of the martyrs' speeches to the format in which individual notices were presented. In the *Livre des Martyrs*, confessions of faith, interrogations, and trials were allotted far more space than were the sometimes gory details of the executions themselves. This emphasis on the martyr's *acta*, rather than his *passio*, to use the language of the ancient martyrologies, betrays Crespin's interest in proving the Augustinian dictum it was that the cause, and not the punishment that mattered.⁴⁶

Crespin's treatment of the subject of 'strangers' who died at the hands of the Catholic Church, therefore, should reveal to us much about his conception of their denominations and his own. His total exclusion of Anabaptists is no surprise, but it confirms to us that there was more to his selection process than selecting the enemies of his enemies. The inclusion of Hussites and Lutherans, on the other hand,

⁴⁵ Crespin, 1565, p. 189. (Will serve as instruction not only to all of the faithful, in particular, but in general to all peoples & republics).

⁴⁶ Maureen Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories: the Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996) pp. XIX- XXI.

implies a broad Church, stretching across national boundaries, and embracing some contradictory stances on major issues. The acceptance of these groups was not, however, unconditional. Crespin edited and altered some of the doctrinal statements of these martyrs, seemingly to ensure that it was clear that they had died for the correct cause, and to advance an image of a united Protestant movement. Editing the *Livre des Martyrs* required Crespín to do more than select appropriate figures; it sometimes involved his intervention in the text itself.

Brad Gregory has written about this willingness to alter core doctrinal statements; he noted the disparity between Calvin's public dispute with gnesio-Lutherans over the Eucharist at the same time that Crespín was compiling a martyrology which treated an earlier generation of Lutherans as integral members of his Church.⁴⁷ Indeed, Crespín was actually the publisher of a number of Calvin's anti-Lutheran tracts. In 1554, Crespín's martyrology omitted ten of their sixty-three articles, principally regarding the sacrament of the Eucharist, but also to do with purgatory.⁴⁸ John Foxe is known to have engaged in similar alterations to texts he reproduced, downplaying certain doctrines while still including as a martyr the man who held them.⁴⁹

As with the *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe, the *Livre des Martyrs* cannot be treated as a single work; there is no single definitive edition. The title itself is an umbrella term (some studies have used *Histoire des Martyrs*); each edition of the martyrology was given a different title, and in one case, different states of the same edition received different titles. The history of the successive editions of the French-language *Livre des Martyrs* has been extensively outlined in Jean-François Gilmont's *Jean Crespin: Un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle*, but the relationships

⁴⁷ Gregory, p. 183.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.185.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.185, gives the examples of [Jorgen] Wagner.

between the seven primary editions are so important to this project that they need outlining here. There were at least two distinct phases to the production of the martyrology. In the first, lasting from 1554 to 1563, five successive editions were released, each providing the details of new events and martyrdoms. These were regarded as successive volumes of the same work, and later installments were named accordingly: the *Troisieme*, *Quatrieme*, and *Cinquieme partie*. These were produced in octavo, often with a sextodecimo edition following in the next year, as happened with the first three volumes.⁵⁰ In addition to being portable, if thick, volumes (the first edition was more than 650 pages), these editions often showed signs of hurried production. Some quires were inserted between already-printed sections to allow for the inclusion of hastily-added material, as was done in 1555 to add passages about the Hussite Wars and a number of Wyclifite martyrs.⁵¹ In the 1563 *Cinquieme partie*, material was used which seems to have been printed for another purpose: there are two sets of quires with pages numbered 1- 32, and the passage regarding Varlut and Dayke has been separately paginated and signed; Gilmont has shown this was for an earlier printing.⁵² On a more minor level, it is quite common to see occasional compression of text, and increased use of abbreviations, in places where faulty casting-off has left the typesetter in a tight spot.

In 1564, the vernacular martyrology entered its second phase. The five previous editions were brought together, and added to, in a single folio volume. David Watson has connected this change to the coming of the Wars of Religion, and

⁵⁰ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, pp. 248-55. This excludes the pirated sextodecimos made of the first edition, printed by the Rivery brothers.

⁵¹ Crespin, 1555, p. CXXXIII.

⁵² Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, p. 163.

the ability of Protestants in many areas to openly display their allegiances.⁵³

Although this new format was divided internally into seven books, the contents of the previous editions were redistributed along chronological lines. Crespin published a second of these compendium editions in 1570, this time running to eight books. This would be the final edition published in his lifetime. The subsequent versions of the *Livre des Martyrs* published through to 1619 would be built on this model. The compendium editions of the martyrology were generally of a higher quality than the octavos which had preceded them. There was more space around the text, clearer demarcation between sections, more informative paratext and introductory material, and more thorough indexes. The 1564 and 1570 editions also included inside their title pages, a full page woodblock representation of Noah's Ark, the only illustration ever included in the martyrology.

Two Latin editions were produced, in 1556 and 1560. The first was a translation of the first two parts of the vernacular martyrology, translated by Claude Baduel.⁵⁴ This was undertaken at about the same time that Crespin would have been engaged in the composition of the *Troisieme Partie*. The second was a larger volume, without an identified translator, and although one of the more widely-surviving variants of the *Livre des Martyrs*, it was the last to be published in Latin.⁵⁵ The 1560 edition was also Crespin's first attempt at a collected volume, subdivided into books.⁵⁶

The 1554 edition seems to have been inspired by the burning of the famous Five Scholars of Lausanne, who were executed in Lyon in 1552; Crespin suggested

⁵³ Watson, 'Jean Crespin and History-Writing', p. 57.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 250.

⁵⁵ Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, p. 131.

⁵⁶ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, p. 175.

as much in the introduction to the 1564 edition.⁵⁷ In any case, he gathered together a series of documents relating to martyrdoms at the hands of the Catholic Church, ranging from well-known published material to short current notices which may well have come by letter. This approach produced a work whose scope ranged from the 1415 execution of Jan Hus to the 1554 martyrdom of Richard Le Fevre, and encompassed Hussites, Vaudois, and Lutherans, in addition to orthodox members of the French Reformed Church. In the case of the Vaudois, this meant the inclusion of a section which was more narrative history or mass martyrology,

Crespin presented the 1554 edition for approval to the Genevan Council in August of that year as a *fait accompli*. It thus must have been an inconvenience when the Council objected to his use of the terms *saint* and *martyr*, and insisted that they be replaced.⁵⁸ This happened at a time when Calvin himself was becoming more sparing in his public use of the term, although he seems to have continued to use it in private correspondence.⁵⁹ Gilmont, however, has portrayed the Council's decision as being one of the last gasps of resistance to Calvin's influence; it was overturned once the council was under Calvinist control.⁶⁰

Crespin's solution seems to have been to print a new introductory *cahier*, reprinting the first sixteen pages of the book rather than the entire thing; as a result, the offending terms still appeared throughout the book.⁶¹ The title changed from *Le Livre des Martyrs* to *Recueil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment enduré la mort pour le nom de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ*. As a result, several slightly different states of this first edition exist. The later states also exclude from the title

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 168. Crespin, 1565, sig. Y ii verso.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 166.

⁵⁹ El Kenz, p. 104.

⁶⁰ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, p. 170.

⁶¹ El Kenz, pp. 167, 169.

page Crespin's name, and the place of publication.⁶² In an apparent act of piracy, the Rivery brothers published a sextodecimo edition of this version and the *Histoire Memorable* in 1555; it seems to have been sold as the result of an agreement between them and Crespin.⁶³

The primary copy consulted for this study is that held by the Huguenot Society of London Library, which is of state 'c' as defined by Professor Gilmont, the state entitled *Recueil de plusieurs personnes...*⁶⁴ The copy held at Westminster College, Cambridge, which is missing its title page, has also been used; this has been bound together with Crespin's 1555 edition of the *Histoire Memorable*.

The 1555 edition, the *Recueil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment endure la mort pour le nom de Nostre Seigneur*, was published in two parts, independently numbered, and named the *Premiere Partie* and the *Seconde partie*, establishing the convention by which the succeeding octavo editions would be named. The two were split mainly on a chronological basis, with both older and new information in each section. Jan Hus' place as the first martyr of the collection was supplanted by the account of the life of Wyclif and other Lollards. The relationship between the 1554 and 1555 editions is evidently complex; their initial *cahier* was interchangeable, and examples of the 1554 edition have been found with a 1555 *cahier* A, and vice-versa.⁶⁵ As a result of this reuse of the first edition as the *Premiere partie* of the second some notices, like Hus', could appear in four separate volumes.

⁶² Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, p. 46-7.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 58.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 46.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 57.

While much of the material in 1555's edition was repeated from 1554, and in the same order, Crespin does seem to have taken advantage of the opportunity to make changes offered by the reprinting. A couple of accounts were supplemented with new information at this stage, and others were subtly altered. It is likely that a major source of new information was Foxe's *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum...* of the previous year; both the section pertaining to Wyclif, and the information on Jerome of Prague which first appeared in this edition are strongly similar to the notices which had appeared in the *Commentarii Rerum* the previous year.⁶⁶ Late additions to the 1554 edition were better integrated into the work, as in the case of the section on the Vaudois massacres of 1545. This appeared in sextodecimo format the next year.⁶⁷ The copy consulted here is that held at the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, in Paris.

1556 was a busy year for Crespin, who published several signature works, including the collection *Conseils et advis sur le faict des temporiseurs*, Calvin's *Secunda defensio contra Ioachimi Westphali calumnias*, Sleidan's *Histoire de l'estat de la religion et republique sous Charles V*, works by Nicholas Ridley and an English order of service. The first Latin edition of his martyrology was also released.

These varying influences came into play with the 1556 edition, which was titled *Troisieme partie du recueil des martyrs*, explicitly continuing the *Premiere* and *Seconde partie* format of the 1555 version. The range of martyrs included was also much more current, and Reformed: the Lollards, Lutherans and Hussites of the first volumes superceded by more contemporary accounts. A sextodecimo version

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 68.

was published in 1557.⁶⁸ The copy consulted here is held at the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, in Paris.

1561's *Quatrieme partie des actes des martyrs* is notable above all for its origins as a translation into French of John Foxe's *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum*, or as it was put in the council minutes: 'imprimer et augmenter le Livre des martirs'.⁶⁹ In the event, the work was published with not a mention of Foxe, or of the origins of the work. It is not surprising, however, to find that nearly all of the martyrs included in the *Quatrieme Partie* are either English or from the Low Countries; Gilmont estimates that eighty-five per cent of this book's content comes from Foxe.⁷⁰ The *Quatrieme partie* included a few innovations. A long list of martyrs for whom there existed little or no writing—many of whom died in prison-- was included so that they would not 'passer en silence.'⁷¹ There was also an eight-page section dedicated to: 'ceux qui en diverses sortes furent miraculeusement preservez des dangers, & de la main de leurs adversaires.'⁷² This transposition from Foxe may be regarded as one of several early examples in Crespin of the *Recit d'histoire* format which was to appear from 1563 onwards. The *Quatrieme Partie* has not survived in great numbers; only two copies are known to exist.⁷³ This study makes use of that held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, which was consulted in person and in microfilm provided by Professor Mark Greengrass.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 140.

⁷⁰ Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, p.140

⁷¹ 1561, p. 750.

⁷² Ibid., p. 755. (Those who in many ways were miraculously preserved from dangers, and the hands of their enemies).

⁷³ Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, p. 163.

The 1563 *Cinquieme partie du recueil des martyrs* was the last, and at 807 pages the longest, of the octavo-format martyrologies. Like the previous parts, it consisted of new material, including much from the Piedmontese Vaudois; unlike the previous editions, this volume included a number of historical pieces, including accounts of the massacre at Vassy, the battles of the alpine Vaudois against Savoy, and of the ill-fated Brazilian expedition. These innovations aside, the *Cinquieme partie* is dominated by a few very lengthy notices about John Philpot (whose account is nearly 250 pages), Archbishop Cranmer, Anne du Bourg, and Francois Varlut and Alexandre Dayke. In the only surviving copy of this edition, Varlut and Dayke are included in an independently-numbered section, which Gilmont believes was printed for an earlier diffusion, in 1562.⁷⁴ This is one of several irregularities in the pagination and organisation of this edition; there are two entirely separate series of pages 1-32, for example. The only surviving copy of this edition is in fact dated 1564 on the title page; Gilmont has classed the work as dating from a year prior on the basis of a catalogue of books found on a colporteur in 1563, and the trial of a colporteur in January 1564 found to be actually carrying some copies.⁷⁵ This study makes use of the sole exemplar of the *Cinquieme Partie*, which is held in the municipal library in Solothurn.

With the next year's 1564 *Actes des Martyrs* Crespin changed the format and the approach of the *Livre des Martyrs* fundamentally. In creating the 1564 edition, he brought together all of the previous five volumes, and incorporated them into a single folio volume, before adding new information, for a total of more than 1100 pages, which were divided into seven books. In its change from a regularly updated

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 163.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 162.

series of portable works printed in octavo and sextodecimo into a bulky, less ephemeral book, the 1564 edition signalled a new approach to the work of martyrology. This edition gave far more context to its martyrs, providing short pieces of narrative history often entitled *Recit d'histoire*, as well as some longer works like Chandieu's account of persecution in Paris, which appeared at length, steps toward shaping the story of the latter-day martyrs into a single coherent history. It also contained twenty-four of pages of prefaces, sonnets, Latin poetry, and an *Advertissement a tous Chrestiens, touchant l'utilite qui revient de la lecture de ces Recueils des Martyrs*, which acted as a sort of table of contents. In both format and conception the work of Foxe seems to have been influential.

This work of recollecting previous accounts, and of placing them in relation to material from other volumes provided Crespin with his most significant chance to revise earlier publications. Material was both added and subtracted, and accounts were often embellished with learned glosses and short introductions, if nothing else. 1564's *Actes des Martyrs* was in several ways a re-founding of the martyrology, and it set the template that the later editions would follow and build upon. In addition to these changes of presentation, Moreau claimed to detect a change in tone from this edition onwards, with more 'brutal' and insulting language towards Catholics appearing.⁷⁶ Some later states of the *Actes des Martyrs* were dated 1565, although Gilmont asserts that there are few significant differences in the text. This study uses such a 1565 version, from the Huguenot Library in London, but a 1564 state example, from the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, in Paris, has also been consulted. For clarity, this edition will be referred to as the 1564 edition throughout.

⁷⁶ Moreau, p. 177.

The 1570 *Histoire des vrayz tesmoins de la verite de l'Evangile* expanded upon 1564's format, adding an eighth book, and stretching to more than 1400 pages. Additions were made to the introductory material, in particular a short section entitled: *Preface sur la conformité des martyrs de ce temps avec ceux de l'Eglise primitive*.⁷⁷ This depicted primarily biblical martyrs such as John the Baptist and Stephen; no attempt was made to use Eusebius' history, or to go as far as Foxe in showing a direct chain of continuity between the two periods. Much of the increased length of this volume can be accounted for by Crespin's use of a slightly larger typeface. Despite the apparent abundance of space, many cuts were made from the 1564 edition; Gilmont estimates that about twelve per cent of that volume was removed, and that around twenty per cent of the text of 1570's edition is new.⁷⁸ The copy consulted in this study is that held at Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, in Paris.

The *Histoire Memorable de la persecution de Merindol et Cabrieres* was a history of the French campaign against the Vaudois in 1545. Although separate, the *Histoire Memorable* was closely related to the *Livre des Martyrs*, and was eventually merged with it. It was first published in 1555, and expanded the story of the Vaudois of Provence, as Crespin had promised at the end of the first edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*.⁷⁹ It was, as the title suggests, a more historical work than the martyrology, marshalling a great many official documents into a narrative of the lead-up to the massacre in 1545. With the move towards more historical focus in the 1564 martyrology, the need for a separate historical work faded, and the bulk of the information contained in the *Histoire Memorable* was absorbed by the *Livre des*

⁷⁷ Crespin, 1570, sig. a. iiii. çç

⁷⁸ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, p. 181.

⁷⁹ Crespin 1554, p. 656.

Martyrs. Not everything was, however: the *Histoire*'s version of the early history of the Vaudois, and the lengthy confession of faith were excluded from the martyrology. A 1556 edition was also produced, which was somewhat modified: both the history and the confession which would be omitted in 1564 were heavily edited in this version. A sextodecimo version of this was bound with the 1555 sextodecimo pirate edition of the first *Livre des Martyrs*.⁸⁰ The 1554 edition used in this study is held at Westminster College, Cambridge. The 1555 version, and the sextodecimo, are each held at the British Library in London.

After Crespin's death, his martyrology was reprinted several times, eventually being continued and expanded by Simon Goulart up to 1619. Goulart was a significant figure in his own right, and his versions of the martyrology differ considerably in form and in content from those published in Crespin's lifetime. They, too, would reward further study, but that is not within the scope of this study.

This study will attempt to analyse the manner in which Crespin constructed his vernacular martyrologies. It will do so by focussing on three of these 'stranger groups' within the martyrology: the Hussites, the Lutherans, and the Vaudois. There are other groups from outside the Reformed Church portrayed in the Crespin martyrology, most notably the Lollards, and English Protestants of various stripes. Crespin, however, drew his information about these groups quite directly from the work of John Foxe, and the editorial judgments involved in their presentation and collection owe more to the English martyrologist than they do the Genevan.

The *Livre des Martyrs* was primarily a collection, rather than a monograph (Crespin included the word 'Recueil' in the title of four separate editions), and so it

⁸⁰ Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, p. 58.

is in his role as editor and compiler that we must hope to find evidence of his intentions. This study will attempt to undertake an exploration of these editorial changes to shed light on the content of the book, specifically that relating to groups outside of Crespin's own Reformed denomination. It is these groups, holding as they did ideas that were divergent from (if not at odds with) those ascendant in Geneva, whose accounts would have required the most careful scrutiny from Crespin. The decisions made in composing the *Livre des Martyrs*, such as that to include the Hussites, Lollards, and Vaudois, but to entirely omit mention of the Cathars, reveal something of the conception of the Reformed Church held by one of its earliest and most influential historians.

The willingness to extend his editorial influence into the very content of the martyrs' beliefs suggests many things about Crespin's plan for the martyrology, and his means of achieving it. It appears that correct, Reformed, doctrine was paramount, and that doctrine was a point on which Crespin was unwilling to compromise. It suggests that this conformity could be gained by portraying a uniformity of belief, a tactful silence around the areas of disagreement, rather than insisting on a positive requirement for agreement on all subjects. It is also important that Crespin was willing to make these changes, and engage with these potentially difficult viewpoints, in order to broaden the breadth and depth of his martyrology. Lutheran and pre-Reformation subjects could have been avoided entirely, or placed within a second tier of reformers, flawed in their understanding of the Gospel. The changes he made in order to include Henry Voez and Jean Esch in the *Livre des Martyrs* are remarkable, but so too should be the fact that they were included at all.

Crespin's martyrology was, to a very great extent, made up of collected documents either by or about the martyrs. These were frequently primary sources,

such as letters, trial documents, and eye-witness accounts, but Crespin also made extensive use of published material, drawing on pamphlets and books, including other martyrologies. Especially in the early editions, little of the text is presented in his own authorial voice. Outside of the introductions and prefaces (some of which were themselves derived from the writing of others), and later some marginalia, Crespin does not often assume the role of narrator or interpreter, instead simply introducing the documents to speak for themselves.⁸¹ This was not simply a literary technique, although Crespin spent his career in Geneva working as an editor and publisher, rather than an author. Instead, this collection of texts is central to the idea of a Protestant martyrology. Where the Catholics might covet the bones and possessions of the saints:

de reduire fidelement en memoire tout ce qu'ils en pourront avoir entendu, & que s'en pourra recueillir, non point de leurs os, ou de leurs cendres, à la facon de baslic, forgeur d'idoles & monstres nouveaux : mais leur constance, leur dicts & escrits, leurs responses, la confession de leur foy, leurs parolles & adhortations dernieres: pour rapporter le tout au giron de l'Eglise, a fin que le fruict en revienne a la posterité.⁸²

It is this idea of the martyrology as a cenotaph for, if not a re-constitution of, the martyrs which has been explored in the work of Catharine Randall Coats. Crespin emphasised the importance of the original texts, and imbued them with a great deal of significance.

In many cases we are able to identify the likely source material for many of the accounts. The amount of overlap between the *Livre des Martyrs* and other

⁸¹ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, pp. 179-87.

⁸² Crespin, 1554, sig [vi], recto-verso. (To set faithfully in memory all that they may have heard, & that may be collected, not their bones or their ashes, in the fashion of the baslisk, maker of idols & new monsters: but their constancy, their words & writings, their responses, the confession of their faith, their last words & adhortations: to bring all to the bosom of the Church, to the end that the profit is returned to posterity).

Protestant martyrologies provides a useful frame of reference. In situations where we cannot identify the original source, or where a document is known but no longer exists outside of Crespin's pages, the multiplicity of editions of the *Livre des Martyrs* allows for detailed comparison between versions. Some martyrs appear in four of the seven editions of the book; most appear in at least three. This sort of examination can often show revisions and editorial adjustments which shed light upon the aims of the author, and the concerns he may have had about the source material. This approach allows us to see several tactics used by Crespin in dealing with a problematic confession of faith. Excluded from the first edition of the martyrology, the confession was included in a subsidiary historical work, in the second edition of which it was edited to less than half of its original length. It was entirely replaced with a different confession when the Vaudois history was included in the later editions of the martyrology.

Modification, reduction and replacement were all tools used regularly by Crespin as editor, and this must raise the question of the reliability of the martyrology. This is one of the most-studied topics relating to Crespin, and has been subject to several works over the last century. Gilmont's assessment of Crespin's uncredited borrowing is that he reordered and recontextualised the material so that 's'il copie d'autres auteurs, il ne plagie pas simplement. Il exploite le modele pour exprimer une pensee en partie neuve.'⁸³ Crespin's willingness to alter this uncredited material to express his own meaning must be considered when evaluating the content of the documents and accounts he reproduced. His approach to this, as in so many things, evolved over time. In the 1554 edition of the martyrology, Crespin apologised for his adherence to the sometimes-rough language of his sources:

⁸³ Ibid, p. 187. (If he copies from other authors, he does not simply plagiarize. He exploits the model in order to explain a thought that is mostly new).

Aussi, lecteur, tu ne t'offenseras de la diversité du langage, souvent fort rude & mal poli. Car pour plus grande confirmation de verité, nous avons laissé chacun à son naturel, quelque impropre François qu'il parlant, esperans qu'aysement cela se supporteroit : & cependant qu'il serviroit grandement tant à verifier l'histoire qu'à declairer les merveilles de Dieu...⁸⁴

In 1570's introduction, by contrast, and using a passage heavily modified from Chandieu, Crespin expressed a degree of willingness to alter or improve the raw material with which he was working:

J'ay trouvé quelque fois des choses obscures, comme escrites en cachots tenebreux, et souvent de sang que les pouvres martyrs s'estoyent fait sortir: par faute d'encre: les autres en assez mauvais langage, selon qu'ils estoyent de diverses nations, ou gens de mestier; que j'ay fait traduire et redresser le plus fidelement que faire se pouvoit. De leurs interrogatoires & responses qui ont esté quelque fois tirees des Greffes, tout y est coustumierement si confus & couché à l'appetit des Greffiers ou ignorans ou malins, que besoin a esté d'en donner extrait sommaire, en gardant une mesme substance des Demandes & Responses. Bref en ce dernier point mon but a esté d'escire la vie, la doctrine, & la fin heureuse de ceux qui ont suffisant tesmoignage d'avoir seelle par leur mort la verité de l'Evangile.⁸⁵

Even this admission of altering his quoted material suggests that he was careful to retain the content of the interrogations and confessions, though that this claim to editorial integrity was done through the modified words of another author

⁸⁴ Crespin, 1554, sig. (viii) verso. (Also, reader, do not be offended by the diversity of language, often very rough & rude. Because for greater confirmation of truth, we have left each one to its natural state-- they speak some improper French-- hoping that easily this will support itself: & yet that it largely serves as much to verify the history as to declare the marvels of God).

⁸⁵ Crespin, 1570 Preface, sig. (a vii recto) (I have sometimes found obscure things, like writings in dark dungeons, and often blood that the poor martyrs have drawn, for want of ink, others in rather bad language, as they are of diverse nations, or working men; that I have translated and recovered as faithfully as I could. Their interrogations & responses that have been sometimes taken from the clerks, all is customarily so confused, & framed to the appetite of the clerks, or ignorant, or malign, that it has been required to give a summary extract, keeping the same substance of Questions & Answers. Briefly on this last point, my goal has been to write the life, the doctrine, & happy end of those who have sufficient testimony of having sealed by their death the truth of the Gospel).

should suggest to us that there is a great deal of complexity in Crespin's relationship to the texts with which he worked. There is no indication, however, that we should not follow Gilmont in seeing Crespin as an editor and shaper of texts, re-arranging and cutting the original documents to his purposes, rather than adding new elements to them.

Therefore, simply studying the text of the *Livre des Martyrs* will not allow a great deal of insight into Crespin as historian, as polemicist, or as author. The martyrology presents itself as a collection of disparate texts, with Crespin's own role being minimal; in many cases this is true. We can understand Crespin's martyrology better if we examine the way in which it was assembled, at the choices he made as a compiler and editor of this work, and the changes he made to his existing work.

**‘Il enverra après moi de plus vaillans prescheurs’: The Hussites in the
*Livre des Martyrs***

The Hussites would have seemed a relatively straightforward opportunity for Jean Crespin. Their parallels, and indeed, connections, with the Protestant cause had already been remarked upon by Martin Luther early in his dispute with Rome. Luther’s 1520 *Address to the Christian Nobility* contains the suggestion that the claims of the Bohemians be seriously considered, and goes on to state that he has found no error in what he has read of Hus.¹ In a letter of the same year to George Spalatin, Luther identified himself strongly with Hus:

I have taught and held all the teachings of John Huss, but thus far did not know it. John Staupitz has taught it in the same unintentional way. In short we are all Hussites, and did not know it. Even Paul and Augustine are in reality Hussites... I am so shocked that I do not know what to think when I see such terrible judgements of God over mankind, namely, that the most evident evangelical truth was burned in public and was already considered condemned more than one hundred years ago. Yet one is not allowed to avow this. Woe to this earth.²

As early as 1521, in his debates with Emser, Luther identified enough with Hus to declare: ‘if Emser produces Aristotle and crowns me with the name of Huss and Jerome, I would rather share Huss’s disgrace than Aristotle’s honor... Huss, who, by the grace of God, is again coming to life and tormenting his murderers, the pope and the popish set, more strongly now than when he was alive.’³ Even in the 1530s, well after these early expressions of admiration, Luther continued to praise

¹ Martin Luther, ‘Address to the Christian Nobility’, *Works*, Vol. 44. (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 196.

² Martin Luther, ‘To George Spelatin’ February 1520, *Works*, Vol. 47. (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 152

³ Martin Luther, ‘Concerning the Answer of the Goat in Liepzig’, *Works*, Vol. 39. (Philadelphia, 1970). p. 134.

Hus. In his 1537 sermon on John 16, Luther even went so far as to call him ‘St. John Hus—we can surely do him the honor of calling him a saint, since he had far less guilt than we have.’⁴ This was giving more credit to Hus than he had in the Address to the Christian Nobility, where he had specifically stated: ‘I do not wish to make John Huss a saint or martyr, as some of the Bohemians do.’⁵ He wrote prefaces to two works about Hus, each of them describing him as a ‘holy martyr’ and translated a third.⁶ In addition, in 1538 he published a series of Hus’ sermons, and included one of his own alongside.⁷ This was an early example of a reformer replying to comparisons with past heresies by defending the accused heretics, rather than denying the charge (although there is an element of that in Luther’s response, as well).

By the 1550s there was a tradition of linking contemporary Lutherans back to Wyclif, via the intermediary of Jan Hus.⁸ Indeed, some Lutherans were eager enough to claim a direct connection that some Hussite tracts were falsified, in order to better agree with protestant doctrine.⁹ Luther’s comments above suggest that he preferred not to give direct credit to Hus for his ideas, however. Whatever the line of descent Luther was claiming, it was an inadvertent one; Hus may have been a forerunner, but he was denied as an inspiration. In either case, Hussitism remained a force at the dawn of the Reformation, associated with the laicization of large amounts of Church land in the 1430s, and continued opposition to the Papacy,

⁴ Martin Luther, ‘Sermon on John, Chapter 16’, *Works*, Vol 24. (Philadelphia, 1961). p. 413.

⁵ Luther, ‘Address to the Christian Nobility’, *Works*, Vol. 44, p. 196.

⁶ Vandiverm, Keen, Frazel (eds), *Luther’s Lives: two contemporary accounts of Martin Luther*, (Manchester, 2004), p. 397.

⁷ Yves Krumenacker, ‘La généalogie de la Réforme protestante’ in *Revue Historique*, 638, 2006, p. 261.

⁸ Thomas Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) gives several examples of this, eg: pp. 1, 133.

⁹ David El Kenz, *Les bûchers du roi : la culture protestante des martyrs (1523-1572)* (Paris :Seyssel, 1997), p. 70.

despite a number of compromises and agreements.¹⁰ The Hussite revolt had involved political and social issues unique to fifteenth-century Bohemia, which were difficult for Crespin to present in a sixteenth-century Reformed context. There were also the myths which had grown up around the lives of Jan Hus and Jan Zizka, who became symbols of both 'religious and social solidarity'.¹¹ In the case of the Hussites, Crespin had to contend with a long-standing tradition, which had already shaped the legacies of his principal martyrs. Hus was regarded as a saint almost from the day of his burning, celebrated alongside Saints Stephen and Laurence in the churches of Bohemia.¹²

The distinction between the Hussites and the teachings of Hus himself was important. Hus' doctrines were relatively anodyne compared to the core beliefs of the movement that bore his name (he only assented to what became the central Hussite doctrine of communion in both kinds, Utraquism, once he was in prison in Constance). The movement which erupted after his execution at the Council of Constance killed city councillors in the First Defenestration of Prague, attacked Church property and holdings in word and deed, and used unexpected military prowess to hold at bay the forces of the Bohemian monarchy, and papal crusades launched against them. They were politically radical, surpassing Hus' populist preaching in the fields and villages of southern Bohemia whilst under papal interdict in the early 1410s. More than their rebellious, and at times, radical politics, the Hussites were religiously radical-- some scholars have suggested that Hus' success in rural Bohemia was based on a pre-existing Waldensian presence in the area.¹³

The various factions united around Utraquism, the doctrine that all should receive

¹⁰ Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular movements from the Gregorian reform to the reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 382.

¹¹ Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, p. 177.

¹² Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, p. 131.

¹³ Matthew Spinka, *John Hus: A Biography*, (Princeton, 1968), p. 180.

the Eucharist in both kinds, but also around the arguments Hus had made against the organization of the Catholic hierarchy. There were major divisions within the Hussites, however, the moderate Prager faction (who accepted communion in both kinds, and the bulk of Hus' teaching) were wary of the rural, radical Taborites (who, speaking generally, rejected transubstantiation and Church ceremonial, while advocating radical changes to society) on whose military accomplishments the movement relied.

Usefully for those, like Luther, who preferred to rely on the writings of the man himself (as his training and inclination would suggest), Hus' own corpus contained very little of this. Instead, the real scandal was, as it had been since 1415, the breach of the imperial safe-conduct under which Hus had travelled to Constance in the first place. His death was an example of papal perfidity, and the Emperor Sigismund's role in granting, and then retracting, the safe-conduct was a prime reason cited by the Bohemian nobles in their revolt against him.¹⁴

Hus' own doctrines were made the more controversial for his acknowledged debts to Wyclif, whom the Czech-speaking members, especially, of Prague's Charles University were becoming drawn (English links with Prague strengthened with the marriage of Richard II of England to Anne of Bohemia; a scholarship to Oxford was established in Bohemia in 1388).¹⁵ Jerome of Prague, an old colleague, who was also executed by the Council of Constance, may have been Hus' link to Wyclif- he studied at Oxford from 1399-1401, and brought some of the English scholar's works to Prague on his return.¹⁶ Hus was amongst those who drew heavily

¹⁴ Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, (Berkeley, 1967), p. 139.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 24.

¹⁶ Spinka, *Biography*, p. 59. Matthew Spinka, *John Hus' Conception of the Church*, (Princeton, 1966), p. 51. Spinka writes that these articles were seen as fabricated, and a direct attack on the Czech masters of the University.

on Wyclif's writings, though his work was more than derivative.¹⁷ Given the reaction against Wyclif in England, and amongst the German-speaking contingent of the University, this field of study was controversial in its own right. A supposed '45 Articles of Wyclif' was produced by the German faculty members, and eventually condemned, making Hus' study of that work a more difficult prospect.¹⁸ This document, drawn up in 1403, was based on twenty-four articles of Wyclif which were condemned by the Blackfriars Synod, to which faculty members added twenty-one more.¹⁹ A meeting of the University masters, which held a German majority, forbade the teaching or holding of these articles; these 45 articles, though hardly an objective summary of Wyclif's opinions, became 'the test of orthodoxy or heterodoxy'.²⁰ As Spinka has noted, Hus could be a critical reader of Wyclif, and always held the caveat that he would decline to support any proposition of Wyclif's shown definitively to be erroneous.²¹ This was a line he would use frequently during his trial in an attempt to maintain his support for his Wyclifite values without being condemned along with them. The pro-Wyclif Czech faction eventually prevailed at the Charles University; many of the Germans left for Leipzig, and Hus became for a time the university's Rector.²²

Hus' initial enthusiasm for Wyclif was founded not on his religious arguments, but his academic, philosophical works. However, Wyclif's strong realism, though it provided the Czech faction with ammunition against their Ockhamite German rivals, carried with it unavoidable implications for the study of

¹⁷ Kaminsky, p. 36.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 24.

¹⁹ Spinka, *Biography*, pp. 62-63.

²⁰ Spinka, *Hus' Conception*, p. 51. Spinka cites these in an appendix to this work.

²¹ Ibid, pp. 52-53.

²² Spinka, *Biography*, p. 102-105.

theology.²³ A stringent adherence to Wyclif's views challenged implicitly the Church's position on transubstantiation, as they held that, matter being impossible to destroy entirely, some of the original bread and wine must remain in the Eucharist after their consecration. Although Hus rejected this proposition of remanence, others in his movement continued to hold it.²⁴ The idea of remanence would excite antagonism against both Wyclif and Hus in their turn. Throughout this period, defenders of Wyclif against the 45 Articles attempted to gather more of his works from English sources, to better understand his teaching.²⁵

Hus' preaching, which coincided with his activities at the University, was arguably more radical in message than was his academic work. As rector and preacher of the Bethlehem Chapel from 1402, Hus held a privileged place amongst the large number of clergy then present in Prague (some 1,200, according to Smahel).²⁶ The Bethlehem Chapel had been founded in 1391, specifically to act as a venue for preaching in Czech, outside of the established parish system.²⁷ Hus' stewardship of this increasingly important institution made him a *de facto* leader of the reform movement. During his tenure, the walls of the chapel were decorated with didactic paintings- one contrasted the splendor of the Pope with the poverty of Christ; another attacked the Church's relationship with power by contrasting the Donation of Constantine (not then known to be a forgery) with Christ's suffering at the hands of Pilate.²⁸ Extracts from Hus' own work *De sex erroribus*, on the subject of the Mass, were painted on the walls in Latin, and later in Czech.²⁹ Spinka has suggested that this work replaced the Credo and Decalogue which had previously

²³ Kaminsky, p. 24.

²⁴ Spinka, *Biography*, p. 71.

²⁵ Spinka, *Hus' Conception*, p. 72.

²⁶ Klassen's calculations have the number toward 2,200. See Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, p. 15.

²⁷ Kaminsky, p. 23.

²⁸ Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, p. 228.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 229.

been there.³⁰ Hus' sermons, many of which survive, drew large crowds including the Queen.³¹ They focused initially on moral reform, and were considered to be orthodox expressions of Catholic doctrine.³² His focus on morality increasingly encompassed the clergy, and became critical of the establishment that had arisen since the Donation of Constantine, praising instead the ideals of the primitive Church.³³ In 1408, the Council of Pisa banned the criticism of prelates in Czech sermons, a move clearly aimed at Hus' preaching at the Bethlehem.³⁴

In late 1409, the Archbishop of Prague, previously relatively tolerant of the movement taking place in his city, was ordered by the pope to begin an examination of Wyclif's works, and prevent preaching in private chapels, of the nature of Bethlehem.³⁵ A great many (perhaps 200) of Wyclif's books were burned on the Archbishop's orders.³⁶ Hus both undertook a defence of Wyclif's works, and continued to preach, buoyed by support from the King, Queen, and local secular authorities.³⁷ He was excommunicated in 1411, and soon thereafter the Archbishop placed an interdict upon the city of Prague, which the King ordered to be ignored.³⁸ Hus' preaching and writing had precipitated a serious political situation from which the Archbishop eventually backed down, agreeing to withdraw the penalties, and to testify to Rome that there were no errors being taught in the Bohemian kingdom.³⁹ More conflict with the Papacy emerged in 1412, when Hus and other Prague reformers opposed a Bull of Indulgence created to allow a crusade against Naples; three young laymen, were killed in demonstrations against it and were immediately

³⁰ Spinka, *Biography*, p. 49.

³¹ Ibid, p. 51.

³² Ibid, pp. 52-53.

³³ Kaminsky, 39.

³⁴ Spinka, *Biography*, 85.

³⁵ Kaminsky, p. 73.

³⁶ Spinka, *Biography*, pp. 111, 113.

³⁷ Kaminsky, p. 73.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 74.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 75.

hailed as martyrs.⁴⁰ Hus' excommunication was revived, and another interdict laid upon the city; Hus soon left for the southern regions of the country, where he preached to crowds in the open, wrote, and enjoyed the protection of a minor lord, and later a senior royal official.⁴¹

When, in 1414, the Council of Constance (called, amongst other things, to find an end to the Papal Schism) attempted to resolve this situation, they summoned Hus to appear before them. The King of Bohemia, Wenceslas, was eager to dispel the claims of heresy being laid against his realm; his brother, Sigismund King of the Romans, perhaps wanted the charges against Hus dismissed.⁴² Sigismund, in order to persuade Hus to attend, offered him a safe-conduct to and from the Council, an offer he accepted (though perhaps against advice).⁴³ Within a few years, the scholastic works and reformist preaching of Hus and his party had grown into a movement with which the hierarchy of the Church was determined to deal. As he set off for Constance, Hus left behind a movement growing in popularity in the city, and in the rural areas in which he had been active; he also left behind him an increasingly active and educated (if not united) group of followers including other capable potential leaders, such as Jakoubek and Koranda. The issues on which he was due to be examined included his academic work (reliant on Wyclif, who was condemned at the same Council) and his preaching, which had been, as noted, deeply critical of the Church. Although he seemed a popular figure as he travelled to the Council through Germany, he was arrested less than a month after his arrival in Constance, despite the safe-conduct, and placed on trial after some months of

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 81.

⁴¹ Spinka, *Biography*, pp. 177-9, 190.

⁴² Ibid, p. 220.

⁴³ Ibid, pp. 222-3.

imprisonment.⁴⁴ Formulations of the charges against him were produced, and he was accused of holding the views of Wyclif, which had been formally condemned earlier in the Council. It would appear that any support from Sigismund had vanished, and Hus was found guilty, his views condemned, and he was executed in July 1415.

Hus' execution, which was made especially controversial because of the revocation of the safe-conduct, provoked a violent reaction from the reforming party in Bohemia, which now included a Hussite League comprised of secular nobles. In 1414, after Hus' departure, they had gone farther in their reforms, and adopted the doctrine of communion in both kinds, an innovation of which Hus had approved in a letter from prison.⁴⁵ This doctrine, so central to Hussite identity that the Taborite armies emblazoned a chalice on their battle-flags, originated with Hus' successor at Bethlehem, Jakoubek.⁴⁶ The doctrine was quickly condemned by the Council, in fact, three weeks before Hus' execution.⁴⁷

After his execution Hus remained a central figure; a report of 1416, one year after his execution, claimed that:

[o]thers hold services in churches, before many people, for John Hus and Jerome of Prague, condemned public heretics, as though for deceased faithful Christians. Others celebrate festivities for them, and sing the *Gaudeamus* and other songs as though for martyrs, comparing them in merits and sufferings to St Laurence the martyr, and preferring them to St Peter and other saints.⁴⁸

On Sigismund's accession to the Bohemian throne in 1419, his opposition to the forces of reform, combined with personal mistrust due to his behaviour towards

⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 229- 232.

⁴⁵ Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, p. 86.

⁴⁶ Kaminsky, p. 100.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 109.

⁴⁸ Canons of Bishop Zelezny of Litomysl, cited in Kaminsky, p. 163.

Hus, helped to enflame the war between him and the Hussites, which would take nearly two decades to resolve. It was in the immediate aftermath of these events, with Utraquism growing as a political issue, and popular outrage at Hus' betrayal by the authorities, that one of Hus' companions wrote his account of the Council of Constance.

Peter of Mladonovice

Crespin's relation of the trial and execution of Hus derived from an eye-witness account, written by Peter of Mladonovice, a former student of Hus, and as secretary to Hus' protector Lord Chlum, a companion on the voyage from Bohemia to Constance.⁴⁹ This work was almost immediately treated as the definitive account of Hus' death by his followers, and passages of it were read in church on the anniversary of his death, after the Gospel lesson.⁵⁰ Novotny, on examination of the manuscript versions, believed that chapters III and IV, which deal with the hearings at the Council, were written at the time Hus was on trial, while the other chapters (including the final chapter, dealing with Hus' death, which was read in churches) were written later.⁵¹

As part of the renewed German interest in Hus, this was printed in its original Latin at Nuremburg in 1528 at Luther's instigation; it was probably this edition which Crespin worked from.⁵² This edition may be lost, and we do not know in what ways it may have differed from the Latin manuscripts; all modern editions are based on these, collected by Palacky and edited by Novotny. This leaves open the possibility that some of the changes between the original and the version seen in the *Livre des Martyrs* were introduced by a German editor rather than Crespin.

⁴⁹ Matthew Spinka, *Hus at the Council of Constance*, (London, 1965), p. 81.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 80.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 84.

⁵² Ibid, p. 80.

Mladonovice's work was translated into German and published (by Johannes Agricola) in 1529.⁵³ The same decade saw other accounts of the events at the Council of Constance published (notably Poggio Bracciolini's *Historia Joannes Hussi et Hieronymi Pragensis, fideliter relatio...*, a more hostile account published about 1528 at Nuremberg), as well as some Latin editions of Hus' own writings.⁵⁴

Novotny worked to reconstruct the original manuscript composition, and it is his edition which was translated into English, along with commentary and documents pertaining to Hus' trial, by Spinka in 1965.⁵⁵ Novotny judged Mladonovice to be a fairly reliable narrator, and not overly biased towards his friend Hus, though he was opposed in this view by Jan Sedlak, who saw Mladonovice's hand in portraying the Council as unduly weighted against Hus.⁵⁶ In his composition, Mladonovice made reference to certain documents to be appended later, and a variety of statements, letters and confessions were included with the established version, and then in Crespin. For the most part, it seems clear that these documents were publically circulated; Mladonovice's principal contribution is his narrative, and the first-person account he is able to give of the principal events of the Council of Constance.⁵⁷ For his discussion of Hus, Crespin seems to have relied almost entirely on Mladonovice, despite the existence of other contemporary accounts, such as Poggio's *Historia*, and martyrological ones. Foxe, by contrast, used information from John Bale's *Image of Both Churches*, and later, Cochlaeus' 1549 *Historiae Hussitarum* to create his account of Hus' trial and martyrdom, and

⁵³ Ibid, p. 84.

⁵⁴ A copy is held in the Bavarian State Library.

⁵⁵ Vaclav Novotny, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* Vol. VIII, (Prague, 1932) pp. 25-120. Spinka, *Council*, p. 79.

⁵⁶ Spinka, *Council*, 85. While Sedlak felt Hus to be both heretical and rightly condemned, de Vooght advanced a theory by which Hus' teachings were heretical, but the Council acted in bad faith and on wrong information.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

the Hussite wars which followed.⁵⁸ Unlike several other narratives where the two martyrologies overlapped, Crespin did not draw on any of Foxe's editions for his later accounts of Hus, instead effectively retaining the same text from 1554 to 1570; the two martyrologies did not borrow from each other in this instance. The section on Jan Hus, then, was reliant almost entirely on one source, and once set in the first edition, remained true to that source despite the availability of new information from documents which Crespin was happy to use in other cases.

The paratext

The first edition begins with the narrative drawn from Mladonovice with no fanfare whatsoever. The first page of the *Livre des Martyrs* is titled *L'Histoire du Saint Martir Jean Hus*, and aside from a letterine 'L', there is no other decoration or introduction on the page.⁵⁹ The initial headlines, in large-type italics, are deployed in a quasi-decorative fashion, often taking up a third of the octavo pages, a feature that would not be repeated in the compendium editions, despite their larger format.

In 1555, Wyclif replaced Hus as the first entry in the martyrology, seemingly through the addition of two new quires, totaling thirty-two pages. Hus' account appears on page one (the sheet was labeled a.i), suggesting that at the time of initial printing Hus was expected to head this volume—this quire was interchangeable with its counterpart in the 1554 edition.⁶⁰ In accordance with the Council of Geneva, the word 'martyr' was removed, and the first page of this edition was headed with:

⁵⁸ *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (1563 edition). Editorial commentary and additional information. (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> [Accessed, August 30, 2011], p. 252.

⁵⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, p. 57.

‘L’Histoire et actes de Jean Hus, vray tesmoing de la doctrine du Fils de Dieu.’⁶¹

The page is otherwise unaltered; there is still no introduction, or context given to Hus specifically. This page (its entire quire, in fact) was reprinted as a direct copy of the 1554 edition; new pages were appended before and after it to make the needed changes.⁶² However, Crespin was able to add new information pertaining to Hus to this edition by adding to the end of the section on Wyclif nearly two pages, explaining: ‘Comment la doctrine de Wicleff parvint en Boheme.’⁶³ This, which may have been included to bring the inserted section up to thirty-two pages, and to merge the two sections, described a Bohemian scholar returning to his native land with a copy of Wyclif’s *Des Universales* (sic), and the difficulties that these works caused between the Czech and German factions at the university.⁶⁴ Hus is introduced to the reader as a scholar named Nicholas (and unkindly referred to as ‘the rotting fish’) who embraced Wyclif’s doctrines and joined the Czech side in the disputes.⁶⁵ Crespin relates the victory over the German masters, and their departure to found a new university at ‘Lipse’ (ie. Leipzig) in 1409.⁶⁶ Hus’ personal qualities are praised, and Crespin describes the foundation of the Bethlehem chapel and its population with Czech-language preachers as if it happened as a result of, and not before, the rise of Hus to prominence.⁶⁷ Having been chosen as a preacher in this ‘magnificent temple’, Hus: ‘commença à mettre plusieurs choses en avant des livres de Wicleff, afferment que toute verite estoit contenue en iceux, & disant souvent

⁶¹ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. 1. (The history and acts of Jan Hus, true witness of the doctrine of the Son of God).

⁶² Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, p. 58.

⁶³ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. XXXI. (How the doctrine of Wyclif reached Bohemia).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid. The detail of the nickname appears in Aeneas Sylvius. See Thomas Fudge, ‘Seduced by the Theologians: Aeneas Sylvius and the Hussite Heretics’, in Hunter, Laursen, Nederman (eds), *Heresy in Transition: Transforming ideas of heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 93.

⁶⁶ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. XXXII.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

qu'apres son trespas il disiroit que son ame allast ou estoit Wicleff: tant il estoit assure qu'il avoit este homme de bien, saint, & digne d'aller en Paradis.'⁶⁸ This passage, which links the two sections together, explains the hostility of the papacy towards Hus, according to Crespin. Facing this was the original page 1 from the 1554 edition, describing Hus.

Hus did not appear in the 1556, 1561, or 1563 editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, which covered new developments, but was present in the 1564 edition, as Crespin collected together the previous volumes. Due to the presence of Wyclif and Lollard martyrs before him, Hus appeared on page 27 of the first book of the 1564 *Livre des Martyrs*. Given that the same account of Hus was used in both the 1554 and 1555 editions, the 1564 edition represented Crespin's first real chance to change the text. The only alterations he made were to the text above the account proper. The section became called simply *Jean Hus*, and was followed by a short piece of introduction in a sub-headline, as was usual at this stage for most of his accounts. In this, he describes the basic arc of Hus' story, emphasising his personal goodness, his being lured to Constance, and his death, which 'ont plus advance l'accroissement d'icelle verite', and claims that his work is derived from the records of the Council: 'comme on cognoistre par ceste histoire extraicte des actes & procedures dudit Conceil.'⁶⁹ While the Mladonovice work from which Crespin drew his account does include some official documents, it must have been clear to Crespin that his source was not an official document in any form; the author makes clear in places his status as an eyewitness, and appeals for correction if he has erred. The rest of the text is

⁶⁸ Ibid. (Beginning to place many things before the books of Wyclif, affirming that all truth was contained in them, & often saying that after his passing he hoped that his soul went to where Wyclif was: so much he was assured that he had been a man of substance, holy, & worthy of going to Heaven).

⁶⁹ Crespin, 1565, p. 27. (Has more advanced the growth of this truth... as one knows from this history drawn from the acts and procedures of the said Council).

the same, although for this edition Crespin has added marginalia to guide the reader, providing reference-points (eg: ‘Articles contre Hus’) and Biblical glosses (eg: ‘Jean 6. g.64’). The section ‘Comment la doctrine de Wicleff parvient en Boheme’, which was placed between the accounts of Wyclif and Hus in 1555, is reproduced in 1564, with only one small addition to note that after the burning of Hus, the Council also ordered the disinterring and burning of Wyclif’s bones.⁷⁰ 1570’s introduction to the Mladonovice text was changed only very slightly. This time Hus is introduced as ‘Jean Hus, Bohemian’; the sub-headline introducing him is the same as that printed in 1564.⁷¹

The Text

The Mladonovice *Relatio* was divided into five chapters, translated by Spinka as ‘Events prior to the Journey to Constance’, ‘The Trial to the Beginning of the Imprisonment, and in what Matter it Originated’, ‘Here Follow the So-called Hearings, but in Truth not Hearings but Jeerings and Vilifications’, ‘About the Hearing on the Eighth Day of June’, and ‘The End of the Saintly and Reverend Master John Hus’. They cover a period of about ten months, from the summons by the council in October 1414 to Hus’ death in July 1415. Crespin’s version follows it closely, though there are some areas where cuts to the text have been made, which reduce the document’s length by nearly a third in total.

The narrative begins with the calling of the Council, and Hus’ summons to it by Sigismund, who provided Hus with a safe conduct, reproduced by Crespin in full.⁷² This places one of the most controversial parts of Hus’ martyrdom- his betrayal by the Imperial powers- in the first section of the account. The trust Hus put into the safe-conduct of the king is emphasised—‘voyant tant de belles promesses,

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁷¹ Crespin, 1570, p. 27 recto.

⁷² Crespin, 1554, p. 1. 1570, p. 15 verso.

& l'assurance que l'Empereur luy donnoit, luy fit response qu'il vouloit aller au Concile'--, as is the care that he took to ensure that no authority in Prague claimed that he held heretical beliefs by offering a debate on his doctrines, a stratagem to reduce accusations of disobedience to Bohemian authorities.⁷³ For all that, he may not have been entirely confident in his chances at the Council. Before he departed, Hus also left letters to one of his friends, and to the people of Prague, to be opened in the event of his death; Mladonovice and Crespin reproduce these, as well.⁷⁴ The rest of the chapter is made up of letters which Hus wrote back to Bohemia, describing his trip and debates through Germany, his arrival at Constance, and the state of the Council. If this section was indeed composed by Mladonovice after the fact, as Novotny suggests, it would appear that he did so by collecting Hus' letters and placing them within a narrative framework.

The next chapter begins with Hus' arrest at the hands of two bishops and a number of armed men.⁷⁵ This section is presented in described speech, presumably witnessed first-hand by Mladonovice, who was in Hus' party. Early in Hus' captivity, he was engaged by a theologian posing as a simple Minorite friar, but avoided the Council's trap with the aid of his companion and patron Lord Chlum.⁷⁶ The Cardinals and other members of the Church hierarchy are shown in an unflattering light, from their attempt to entrap Hus above, to their glee at his arrest, and the ease with which they are defeated in debate by members of Hus' party.⁷⁷ We also hear that Hus answered the first of many sets of articles created to try and define his positions. This first set was compiled by his old friend and colleague,

⁷³ Ibid., pp.2-3. (Seeing pretty promises, and the assurance that the Emperor gave, he responded that he was going to the Council).

⁷⁴ Spinka, *Council*, 95-98.

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp.110-111.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 113.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 115.

Stephen Palecs, who compiled a list of forty-four articles drawn from Hus' writings. Mladonovice and Crespin stress their convictions that Palec's list was fraudulent, and designed to condemn Hus, although neither quotes the list itself.⁷⁸ The last section of this chapter-- amounting to nearly half of its length, and quarter of the entire work-- was cut, presumably by Crespin, although it is not possible to fully rule out that it was missing from his source version.

The third chapter of Mladonovice's account gave his readers eye-witness information from the hearing before the Council. Hus was charged primarily with teaching and defending the errors of Wyclif, as well as holding the doctrine of remanence, a denial of transubstantiation which had long been implied by Wyclifite teaching.⁷⁹ The questioning of Hus by the Council is given supposedly verbatim (Mladonovice was present), over the course of the first day's hearing. The sometimes tumultuous nature of the hearings is emphasised throughout, and the dialogue centres on the theological issues for which Hus was on trial, as well as the political ramifications of the safe-conduct given by Sigismund. The next chapter takes in another day's hearings, and consists largely of articles excerpted from Hus' writings by Palecs, and Hus' article-by-article responses to them, followed by the Council's condemnation. The debate, including interventions from Sigismund himself, continues from the previous chapter.

The final chapter details the degradation and execution of Hus. The defrocking process was described in detail, particularly the reading of the articles which had been decided against him, including some points that had not been aired before. The chapter also sees repeated discussions of Hus' stance towards recanting: Hus repeatedly offered, in Mladonovice's account, to recant should he be shown,

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 121.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 167.

through scripture, to be wrong.⁸⁰ After his degradation, a paper crown painted with devils was placed on Hus' head (Hus immediately compared it to the crown of thorns), he was tied to the stake, and burned.⁸¹ He met his death singing religious songs, and his body was broken up and thrown into the river to ensure that there was no chance of his followers taking relics.⁸²

Doctrine

Within this narrative, Hus' doctrine is discussed in detail in several places, all within the context of his hearings before the Council of Constance, all of which are taken from Mladonovice. First, there is a letter from the Bishop of Litomysl, explaining to the Council the way in which Hussite agitation was proceeding across Bohemia, showing the impact Hus' movement was having in Prague, and the accusations being levelled against his followers. Secondly, the charges against Hus are reproduced, and his initial defence of himself. The most in-depth discussion, however, comes with the presentation of thirty-nine articles against Hus, and his subsequent defence. These were mainly assembled by Palecs, taken from Hus' works *De Ecclesiastica* and *Contra Palecs*; the reader is told that they were presented falsely, in order to condemn Hus.⁸³ The central issues on which Hus was being challenged were those which questioned the power of the Church hierarchy, rather than his views on the Eucharist, for which his followers would become notorious.

The letter from the Bishop of Litomysl was tabled at the conference in response to a letter by the lords of Bohemia, which was written in support of Hus. This document stressed especially the breach of the safe-conduct promised to Hus,

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 228.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.232.

⁸² Ibid, p.233.

⁸³ Crespin, 1570, p. 21.5.

and demanded that he be given a hearing.⁸⁴ The letter made reference to growing tensions within Bohemia, suggesting that there was a growing public support for Hus, and refers to accusations that the people of Bohemia were carrying the blood of Christ about in bottles, accusations the nobles wanted to deny.⁸⁵ Crespin did not reproduce this letter in full; he paraphrased, instead, the first part of this letter which touched on the safe-conduct, and the request that the Emperor honour it.⁸⁶ Subsequent passages in Mladonovice have been omitted from Crespin. The first dealt with the rising concern for Hus within Bohemia, and the pressure that the people there were applying to the lords to intervene with the Emperor. This used strong language, accusing Sigismund of ‘conduct verging on contempt and dishonour of the crown of the kingdom of Bohemia and of the afore-mentioned nation.’⁸⁷ The second passage is the one which complains of the stories being told that ‘the sacrament of the most precious blood of the Lord is being carried about Bohemia in bottles and that cobblers are now hearing confessions and administering the most holy body of the Lord to others.’⁸⁸ In order to protect the reputation of their nation, the lords implore the council not to believe such rumours.

It was in response to this letter by the lords that the Bishop of Litomyšl intervened. His speech as reproduced in Mladonovice, and then Crespin, takes the form of a counter-offensive. Having been told that his accusations of profaning the Eucharist have defamed the Bohemians, the bishop repeats the accusation at length. He stresses that laymen are taking both the bread and the wine, and that consecrated wine is being carried about in bottles and flasks.⁸⁹ He also introduces, second-hand,

⁸⁴ Spinka, *Council*, pp. 124-5.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 125.

⁸⁶ Crespin, 1570, p. 18 recto.

⁸⁷ Spinka, *Council* 125.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 125.

⁸⁹ Crespin, 1570, p. 18 verso.

an incident wherein a woman had grabbed the Eucharist from the hands of a priest and administered it to herself.⁹⁰ Crespín cut three sections of this short document. The first section he removed continued the bishop's accusation that the bread and wine were being given to laymen by saying that 'they stubbornly assert that the clergy who administer it in the contrary manner err and consent to a repugnant sacrilege.'⁹¹ The second passage removed followed the bishop's complaints about consecrated wine being carried in bottles, and claimed: 'on the basis of the erroneous assertion of the afore-mentioned Wyclifites that it is necessary for salvation that people commune in both bread and wine, it follows necessarily that just as the body of Christ is [carried] in a pyx, so also the blood of Christ should be carried from place to place in bottles and other utensils, particularly for the use of the sick.'⁹² The third omission, and the largest, followed shortly after. The bishop's letter touches on the incident of the woman taking the Eucharist for herself. In Crespín's reproduction it ends there, but in Mladonovice's, the bishop relates some of the woman's beliefs; she 'maintained the opinions that a good layman or laywoman consecrated better than a bad priest...' and dismissed the rumours that working men had been hearing confession in public.⁹³ Aside from this last retraction of an accusation against the Hussites, the omitted articles each attribute to the people of Bohemia radical views on the nature of the Church. Their omission did not change the essential points of conflict between the followers of Hus and the Catholic hierarchy, but it did remove the most dramatic examples of that conflict, examples which raised the spectre of rebellious activity by the Hussites.

⁹⁰ Spinka, *Council*, p. 128. Crespín, 1570, p. 18 verso.

⁹¹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 128.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid, pp.128-9.

Contemporary Reformed doctrine on the Eucharist, which Crespin knew well, agreed with the taking of both bread and wine by the entire congregation. The carrying about of the consecrated wine, and the serving of the communion to one's self, however were not behaviour recommended by Reformed ministers. Amongst the elements which were not included in the *Livre des Martyrs*, however, were those which suggested beliefs which were not represented in the Reformed Church. The first among these, the woman's assertion that clergy who administered the sacrament in only one kind did so erroneously and, indeed, sacrilegiously, was perhaps one with which the Reformed could agree. The second, in which the bishop claims that the Hussites believe that the bread and wine are necessary for salvation, is more directly opposed to Protestant doctrine on the nature of the Eucharist. This emphasis on the salvatory nature of the Eucharist was of course inimical to Protestant thought; the Hussites, according to this accusation, were placing undue faith in the powers of the Eucharist. To carry the consecrated wine about was offensive to Catholic minds, but to Hussites, it mirrored the way in which the host was sometimes used, as the letter makes clear. As written in Mladonovice, the Hussite practice of carrying the Eucharist was clearly an extension of Catholic belief about its efficacy; as written in Crespin, the practice is not explained, being mainly an example of the tensions between the Bohemians and the institutional church. The third omission, whereby the woman who served herself the Eucharist explained her convictions, stresses the belief of some of Hus' followers, that a good layperson had a stronger right to administer the sacraments than a sinful priest.⁹⁴

This assertion essentially amounted to an accusation of the old heresy of Donatism, a charge which Hus had faced before. In an exchange of treatises with

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 128.

Palecs in Prague, before the trial, Hus had defended himself by arguing that corrupt, sinful, or evil priests still had the power to administer the sacraments, but that such a thing was unworthy.⁹⁵ Palecs' position, repeated during the trial in Constance, was that the authority of the hierarchy came parcelled with the office, and not due to any personal merit.⁹⁶ It was, as Spinka notes, Hus' acknowledgement of the validity of the sacramental acts of unworthy priests that saved him from 'the thin ice of Donatism'.⁹⁷ The statement by the Bohemian woman, that a layperson could better consecrate than a priest, was on the contrary unambiguously Donatist, and thus clearly heretical. This complaint by the Bishop of Litomysl was potentially damaging to Hus' cause, tarring it with accusations of long-gone heresy. The disruptive acts in Bohemia could be linked to Hus' teaching. It was inevitable that Hus would be tainted by the supposed actions of his followers, even if he had not taught the specific doctrines that they were defending. In some cases the differences between his doctrine and that of the radical Bohemians were subtle, while the links were very apparent.

Donatism was attacked by the Reformed as well as the Catholic Church; Calvin had no sympathy for other groups such as the Cathars who put a great deal of emphasis on the purity of their clergy.⁹⁸ Crespin, whilst editing this section, retained these accusations which could have been damaging to Hus' reputation. On the other hand, he removed from his version some of the details most embarrassing to Hus, and least compatible with contemporary Reformed thought. It is worth noting, however, that Crespin did not excise any of the three accusations completely, either. Instead, he altered each separate accusation, removing the second half. Perhaps

⁹⁵ Spinka, *Hus's Conception*, p. 232.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Calvin's 1559 *Institutes*, 4.1.12-16, 20.

more importantly, this technique allowed the central ideas of the document to be presented while saving space, and Crespin made use of it fairly regularly. Rarely though did it have as much consequence for the meaning of a passage, and his motivations remain elusive.

A pair of rebuttals to the Bishop of Litomysl, in the form of more letters from the Czech and Polish lords, were cut from Crespin's account of Hus' hearings too. Although the first of these is primarily concerned with Hus' safe-conduct, and his public preaching, the second takes issue with the bishop's accusations. The lords state that they do not believe the bishop's accusations at all, although if:

these assertions shall be proved true without a doubt, the aforesaid lords are eager to show themselves, as much or more than he or anyone else anywhere, how deeply pained and grieved they are by the scandal which may be arising in the said kingdom—which God forbid!⁹⁹

Like previous letters by the Bohemian nobility, the central thrust of the letter seems to have been to rescue the reputation of their country from accusations that it was infected with heresy.¹⁰⁰ This letter's primary purpose was to refute the charges that Crespin had already cut from his rendering of Litomysl's accusations, while re-affirming the strength of Catholic belief amongst the Bohemian nobility, and so presumably it was not a useful addition to the martyrology.

After the accusations made by the Bishop of Litomysl, the narrative moves to Hus' hearings before the Council. This move involved the omission of the entire second half of Chapter II, which amounts to more than a quarter of the length of Mladonovice's work. This section consists largely of letters written before Hus' hearing by supporters and sympathisers. From Prague, notaries confirmed that Hus

⁹⁹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 133.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 134.

had formally offered the hierarchy the chance to dispute his teachings, but that no challenge had come.¹⁰¹ These supported the findings of the Bishop of Nezero, the inquisitor for the city of Prague, who had examined Hus and concluded that not only did he not harbour any heresy, but that he would never break from the Catholic Church; Nezero's letters make up the majority of this section.¹⁰² A series of letters from the Bohemian lords also appear, imploring Sigismund, on the basis of the safe-passage he had granted Hus, to let him out of prison and at least give him a fair hearing rather than see him condemned on the basis of unreliable testimony.¹⁰³ On the other side of the argument were a series of letters from King Ferdinand of Aragon, imploring Sigismund to keep Hus in prison, and to do everything to eliminate heresy in his lands.¹⁰⁴ After this series of letters, the narrative resumes with the account of a hearing held due to the pressure of the Bohemian lords.

At this hearing, the assembled prelates were provided with copies of Hussite articles 'qui avoyent este faususement recueillis de ses livres', (Mladonovice belaboured the point about the faithlessness of these hostile editors at greater length than Crespin).¹⁰⁵ The first error he was accused of holding was a belief in remanence, holding that some of the sacramental bread remained bread after consecration.¹⁰⁶ This idea had grown out of Wyclif's ultra-Realist views, which rejected the idea that the category of 'bread' could be entirely annihilated and replaced with that of 'Christ'.¹⁰⁷ Hus, though a close follower of Wyclif in many respects, rejected the teaching and argued in favour of the doctrine of

¹⁰¹ Ibid, pp. 136, 152.

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 138.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 139-140.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 155.

¹⁰⁵ Crespin, 1570, p. 19 recto. (Which had been falsely collected from his books).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 19 verso. Spinka *Council*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁷ Spinka, *Biography*, p. 64.

transubstantiation.¹⁰⁸ Mladonovice related that Hus denied having ever argued such a thing, and indeed had never expressed an opinion on the material bread.¹⁰⁹

Crespin, however, removed this denial and its implicit support for Catholic doctrine on this aspect of the Eucharist.¹¹⁰ The impression given to a reader of the *Livre des Martyrs* would be that Hus acquiesced in this description of his doctrine. The Cardinal of Cambrai attempted to clarify these matters, asking Hus what he thought happened to the universal substance of ‘bread’ after transubstantiation, and during debate on the question, Hus dismissed an English scholar’s point by claiming: ‘That is a puerile argument that schoolboys study’.¹¹¹ In Crespin’s rendition, however, that became a comment on the entire line of questioning, for he distilled the entire argument as:

le Cardinal de Cambray tenant en sa main un certain billet, qu’il disoit avoir receu le jour precedent, forma un argument contre Hus. Puis deux Anglois se leverent, & furent repoussez avec leurs argumens: lesquels ne sont point ci recitez, pource qu’ils sont si frivoles, qu’ils ne meritent pas que les oreilles des auditeurs en soyent embabouinées.¹¹²

In the same debate, Hus again affirmed his belief in transubstantiation; he: ‘responded that truly, really, and totally that same body of Christ that had been born of the Virgin Mary...and that was seated at the right hand of the Father, was in the sacrament of the altar’.¹¹³ He denied, again, that he held Wyclif’s doctrine of remanence to be true.¹¹⁴ Crespin cut these passages, as well, retaining only a few

¹⁰⁸ Spinka, *Council*, pp. 167-8 n.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, pp. 167-8.

¹¹⁰ Crespin, 1570, p. 19 verso.

¹¹¹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 168.

¹¹² Crespin, 1570, p. 19 verso. (The Cardinal of Cambrai held in his hand a certain note, which he said he had received the previous day, forming an argument against Hus. Then two Englishmen rose, & were rebuffed with their arguments: which this will not repeat, because they are so frivolous, that they do not merit that the ears of the listeners be so abused).

¹¹³ Spinka, *Council*, p. 169.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

lines where Hus insisted on the sincerity of his testimony, even in the face of contradicting evidence.¹¹⁵

Hus was then accused of teaching and holding the doctrines of Wyclif; he replied, as he had done elsewhere, that he did not hold Wyclif's errors, and that if Wyclif 'avoit semé quelques heresies ou erreurs en Angleterre, c'estoit aux Anglois à y pouvoir.'¹¹⁶ In response, the Council began to question Hus about his defence of the '45 Articles' of Wyclif (which had been assembled with hostile intent at best). Hus responded by saying that there were some articles there which he would not condemn, giving the example: 'Que l'empereur Constantin & le pape Sylvestre avoyent fort mal fait, d'avoir confère telles donations a l'église.'¹¹⁷ Denouncing the Donation of Constantine was an attack on the Church's temporal power and material wealth. It also established a divide between the primitive Church and the current, established one, suggesting that the previous thousand years of Catholic history were to some degree tainted. This identification of the Donation of Constantine with the beginning of the decline of the Church was used by other heterodox groups, as well: some Vaudois traditions drew on the same trope in establishing their foundation to that event.¹¹⁸ Wyclif, too is cited as the origin of Hus' argument that 'If the pope or a priest is in mortal sin, then he neither transubstantiates, nor consecrates, nor baptizes'.¹¹⁹ This second point where Hus agreed with Wyclif is left out of Crespin's account of the hearing, replaced with a dismissive 'qu'ils n'estoyent point tells en ses livres, comme on les alleguoit.'¹²⁰ This difficult

¹¹⁵ Crespin, 1570, p. 19 verso.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 20 recto. (Had spread some heresies or errors in England, it is for the English to make provision).

¹¹⁷ Ibid. (That the Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester had been acting very badly to have conferred such donations upon the Church).

¹¹⁸ Audisio, *Les Vaudois* pp. 16, 68, 216.

¹¹⁹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 172.

¹²⁰ Crespin, 1570, p. 20 recto. Compare to Spinka *Council*, p. 172-3. (That it is not thus in his books, as they alleged).

question of the status of a sinning priest is a familiar one at this point, with potentially Donatist undertones, and Crespín opted to omit it. His interrogators also try to tie Hus to the unrest in Bohemia by accusing him of preaching resistance by the sword, but he rebuts this through reference to the ‘glaive de la Parole, & du heaume de salut, selon l’advertissement de S. Paul.’¹²¹

The interrogation next comes to the fullest discussion of Hus’ doctrines, the discussion of the thirty-nine articles supposedly taken from his written works. Hus acknowledged that many of the articles were indeed his, but claimed that others had been forged to his disadvantage.¹²² Crespín added to this that these misleading excerpts had been made by Hus’ former friend Palecs, ‘principal auteur de ceste fascherie: & ne les trouva-on point és livres desquels on les disoit estre tirez & recuelliez: ou bien s’ils y estoyent, ils estoyent corrompus par calomnies, comme on le pourra facilement voir.’¹²³ While the point is made several times in Mladonovice’s *Relatio* that Palecs was the compiler of these articles, it was Crespín who made the point at this specific juncture.¹²⁴

Mladonovice’s original work contrasted the articles put to Hus by the Council with Hus’ own writings from which they were drawn, along with any commentary by Hus himself. This makes clear to the reader the alterations made by the prosecution, and disputed by Hus. Crespín retained this format, printing a numbered list of the articles, and stating each before including Hus’ response. Most of the responses are slightly shortened, leaving out some of Hus’ explanation, and often omitting the original phrasing of the article in question. This removes many of

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 20 verso. (The sword of the Word, & of the helm of salvation, according to the warning of St Paul).

¹²² Spinka, *Council*, p. 182. Crespín, 1570, p. 21 verso.

¹²³ Crespín, 1570, p. 21 verso. (Principal author of this argument: & they were not found in the books of which they claimed were drawn and collected: or if they were, they were corrupted by slander, as we can easily see).

¹²⁴ Spinka, *Council*, p. 183n.

the minor objections Hus had to their wording, and has the effect of placing Hus in agreement with more of the articles he was accused of supporting than might otherwise appear to be the case. The articles are based on Hus' writings, which means that they deal primarily with the more technical and less dramatic aspects of Hus' thought: there is no discussion of the Utraquism which was beginning to become so important back in Prague, but much of predestination and the status of sinners within the Church. This means that the questions of obedience and even Donatism are once again heavily debated.

Of the thirty-nine articles, the first twenty-two are drawn from Hus' *De Ecclesia*. The first eleven of these deal with the question of membership of the Church, an issue prominent in Wyclif's own thinking. Hus argued that the universal church (as opposed to the Church militant, or terrestrial) was composed only of the predestined, and was therefore an example of an 'invisible Church'.¹²⁵ As in Calvin's work, predestination and the nature of the Church were inherently linked. These articles were reduced in length, with Crespín making small but significant changes around the question of predestination. For example, the first article as recorded by Mladonovice argues: 'The holy catholic Church, that is the universal [Church], is then the totality of all the predestined, present, past, and future' before going on to give proofs from Augustine.¹²⁶ Crespín's rendering shortens Hus' defence, only referring to St Augustine rather than quoting him. In the rendering in the *Livre des Martyrs*, Hus confesses that : 'Il n'y a qu'une sainte Eglise catholique ou universelle, qui est la communauté universelle de tous les fideles & esleus.'¹²⁷

Several subsequent articles parse the question of membership in the Church

¹²⁵ Spinka, *Council*, p. 183. Crespín, 1570, p. 22 recto.

¹²⁶ Ibid, pp. 183-4.

¹²⁷ Crespín, 1570, p. 22 recto. (There is but one holy catholic or universal Church, which is the universal community of all the faithful and elect).

(meaning the invisible, eternal Church), such as whether St Paul had ever been ‘membre du diable’ or had been a servant of God even when persecuting the earliest Christians, whether members of the Church could fall away from her.¹²⁸ Through these questions Hus was probing ideas around predestination and election- as those foreknown to be doomed were never part of the invisible, universal Church, they cannot fall away from her. Similarly though Paul acted against the Church at first, his was not the sort of permanent separation from the Church suffered by the foreknown.¹²⁹

The fourth article, on this theme, was another that Crespin altered. To the article: ‘The predestinate not existing in grace according to present righteousness is ever a member of the holy universal Church’, which may be seen as the inverse of the argument on St. Paul, Hus replied that: ‘Some are in the Church in accordance with unformed faith and in accordance with predestination, as they are the predestinate Christians now in sin, who will, however, return to grace’.¹³⁰ To Hus’ explanation of that point, Crespin added : ‘Il y a d’autres qui semblent estre hors d’icelle, a cause qu’ils vivent mal: & nonobstant a cause de la predestination, ils ne laissent point d’estre inserez en l’Eglise.’¹³¹ This emphasis on the fixed nature of predestination places helps to clarify any problems caused by Hus’ mention of the sinning predestined.

The ninth article, in both Hus and Crespin, argues that only Christ could be described as the head of the Church, striking at papal claims.¹³² The tenth, like the others up to this point, addresses questions of membership in the Church and

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 22 recto.

¹²⁹ Spinka, *Council*, pp. 184-5.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 185.

¹³¹ Crespin, 1570, p. 22 recto. (There are others who appear to be out of it, because they live badly: & notwithstanding the reason of predestination, they are not allowed to be added to the Church).

¹³² Ibid, p. 22 verso.

possible Donatism, by asserting ‘Si celuy qui est appele vicaire de Jesus Christ, suit Jesus Christ en vie, lors il est son vicaire: mais s’il chemine en voyes contraires, lors il est messenger de l’Antechrist, contraire a S Pierre & au Jesus Christ, & vicaire de Judas Iscariot.’¹³³ The eleventh article attacks priests living badly, saying that they therefore also think faithlessly with regard to their use of the seven sacraments.¹³⁴ This passage, by acknowledging the continued effectiveness of sacraments given by such men, keeps from a Donatist position. Furthermore, Crespin, while repeating the list of ‘offices, clefs, censures, moeurs & ceremonies, service devin de l’Eglise, veneration des reliques, orders constituees en l’Eglise’ and ‘indulgences’, is careful to avoid repeating Hus’ claim that there are seven sacraments.¹³⁵

With the twelfth article levelled against Hus, the discussion moves to the worldly power of the Church. This article stated bluntly that ‘la dignite Papale est procedee des Empereurs Romains.’¹³⁶ Hus clarified that his original statement was ‘La pre-eminence & institution du Pape est venue de la puissance de l’Empereur’ and tied this to the Donation of Constantine, which was the doing of the Emperor, and not the Council of Nicea.¹³⁷ The next article denies that no-one can claim, without divine revelation, that he is the head of a Church, bringing together the ideas of the invisible church, and Christ’s headship of the Church.¹³⁸ His next point (the fourteenth) follows, that being that it is unreasonable that ‘le Pape, quiconque il soit, soit chef de quelque eglise particuliere, si Dieu ne l’a predestine: mais encore la

¹³³ Ibid, p. 22 verso. (If he who is called the vicar of Jesus Christ, follows Jesus Christ in life, then he is his vicar; but if he walks in contrary paths, then he is the messenger of the Antichrist, opposed to St. Peter & to Jesus Christ, & the vicar of Judas Iscariot).

¹³⁴ Spinka, *Council*, p. 189.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 189. Crespin, 1570, p. 22 verso. (Offices, keys, censures, customs & ceremonies, divine service of the Church, veneration of relics, orders founded in the Church).

¹³⁶ Crespin, 1570, p. 23 recto. (The papal dignity is derived from the Roman emperors).

¹³⁷ Ibid. (The pre-eminence and institution of the pope comes from the power of the emperor).

¹³⁸ Ibid.

predestination ne constitue point un home mortel chef de l'Eglise.'¹³⁹ The fifteenth article also argues that unless the Pope's morals and life are virtuous, he cannot be the proper vicar of Christ.¹⁴⁰ This is another point that Crespin has shortened considerably, though the argument is not distorted by his changes.

The sixteenth article charged Hus with teaching that: 'not because the pope holds the place of Peter, but because he possesses the great Donation, is he [called] the most holy', which Hus claimed should read 'not because he holds the place of Peter, and because he possesses the great Donation, is he most holy; but if he follows Christ in humility, gentleness, patience, and labor from the great bond of love, then is he holy'.¹⁴¹ Crespin reproduced the first accusation, though the Donation itself is replaced with mention of its terrestrial rewards: 'non pas pour tenir la place de S. Pierre, mais pource qu'il a de grans revenues.'¹⁴² This preserves Hus' accusers' distinction between the seat of the Papacy and its material rewards while at the same time making the Donation of Constantine into something incontrovertibly worldly. The seventeenth article applies the test of membership in the true, universal, Church to the cardinals, as well, 'unless they live after the manner of the apostles'.¹⁴³

The next four articles, from the eighteenth to twenty-first, deal with a more specific topic, though one which cuts to the heart of the Church's claims to authority: the relationship between secular and religious power. In article eighteen Hus was accused of arguing that heretics should only be censured by the Church, and that there should be no physical punishment applied, even if handled by the

¹³⁹ Ibid. (The pope, whoever he is, is head of some particular church, if God has not predestined him: but again, predestination does not make a mortal man the head of the Church).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Spinka, *Council*, pp. 192-3.

¹⁴² Crespin, 1570, p. 23 recto. (Not because he holds the place of St. Peter, but because he has its great revenues).

¹⁴³ Spinka, *Council*, p. 193.

secular powers.¹⁴⁴ This, despite his own precarious position, Hus apparently denied. In the longest of his explanations, he claimed to have argued that Christ himself refused to judge, nor to condemn to physical death the disobedient.¹⁴⁵ Crespin's reproduction of this article condenses it by citing some of the scriptural references rather than quoting them, and by removing others.¹⁴⁶ The nineteenth article against Hus stated that 'les nobles de monde doyvent contraindre les gens de l'eglise a observer la Loy de Jesus Christ.'¹⁴⁷ His defence was that he had written that the secular estates had also been ordained by God, and that they also had a role to play within the Church militant. In this formulation, the priests 'gardans purement les ordonnances du Fils de Dieu: & de nobles du monde, qui contraignent a garder les commandments de Jesus Christ, & d'hommes vulgaires servans a ces deux parties, selon la loy d'iceluy.'¹⁴⁸ The twentieth article argues against the idea of ecclesiastical obedience, claiming that it is 'l'invention des prestres & moines, sans expresse autorite des saintes Escritures.'¹⁴⁹ In his writings, this idea was expressed as part of a comparison of the Spiritual, Civil, and Ecclesiastical obediences; in this scheme, one's spiritual obedience outweighs one's ecclesiastical obedience, a point Crespin retains in his translation, (though his omission of Hus' final clause may give the reader even more chance to resist the church authorities).¹⁵⁰ The twenty-first article touches the question of whether a person excommunicated by the Pope can appeal to Christ, which is what Hus had done in the years before his arrival before the Council of Constance. The article as put to

¹⁴⁴ Crespin, 1570, p. 23 recto.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 23 recto, verso.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 23 verso. (The nobility must require the churchmen to observe the Law of Jesus Christ).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. (Guard purely the ordinances of the son of God: & secular nobles, who are required to keep the commandments of Jesus Christ: & the common people serving both parties, according to the law thereof).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. (The invention of priests and monks, without express authority of the holy Scriptures).

¹⁵⁰ Compare to Spinka, *Council*, p. 196.

Hus had not appeared in his works, and Mladonovice instead included an explanation by Hus of his struggles over his excommunication.¹⁵¹ He had appealed to the Pope and had no satisfaction; he had appealed to a Council, which had taken too long, and so he had appealed to Christ.¹⁵²

These first articles being concluded, Crespin gives the reader a page of Hus' pleading, under a sub-headline reading: 'Pource que mention est faite de l'appel dudit Hus, il a semblé bon d'insérer la forme d'iceluy.'¹⁵³ This is addressed to Christ himself (Hus repeatedly defended his right to appeal his case to a higher authority than the Papacy), and is primarily concerned with the iniquities of his arrest and trial.

After this interruption, Mladonovice and Crespin return to Hus' defence of articles taken from *De Ecclesia*. The twenty-second article voices his concerns on man's wickedness: 'L'homme vicieux fait vicieusement, & l'homme vertueux fait vertueusement.'¹⁵⁴ Hus' lengthy explanation of his point, drawing from Augustine, Luke, and Corinthians as found in Mladonovice is replaced with a short summary: 'il n'y a point de moyen entre deux: ou les oeuvres humaines sont vertueuses, ou vicieuses.'¹⁵⁵ This somewhat Manichean polarity, with everything being either good or evil, is not something that Mladonovice recorded, although it is implicit in some of Hus' examples.¹⁵⁶ The twenty-third article demands preaching from priests as essential to their role, even should the Pope order them to stop.¹⁵⁷ This, again, is a subject ostensibly drawn from Hus' teaching, but in fact it relates to his recent

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Crespin, 1570, p. 23 verso.

¹⁵³ Ibid. (As mention is made to the appeal of the said Hus, it seems appropriate to insert the form thereof).

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 24 recto. (The vicious man lives viciously, and the virtuous man lives virtuously).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 24 verso. (There is no middle between the two, or human works are virtuous or vicious).

¹⁵⁶ Spinka, *Council*, p. 197.

¹⁵⁷ Crespin, 1570, p. 24 verso.

experience: Hus was being forced to defend his recent actions as much as his writings. Hus' argument, that priests were commanded by God to preach, in Crespin's translation avoids the word 'priest', in favour of 'homme d'église', or 'ministre de la Parolle'.¹⁵⁸

The twenty-fourth article in Crespin is very similar to the original, though like other articles, it is shortened by excluding some biblical citations. The twenty-fifth article, on the subject of ecclesiastical censures, is another where the translation paints the worst possible picture of Catholic practice without altering Hus' essential argument. In this case he has 'in case laymen are not obedient to the clergy's will' as 'le Clergé... reduire le peuple en servitude, si les laïcs ne rendent obeissance à leur appétit & fantasie.'¹⁵⁹ It is also the only article where Crespin seems to have introduced new information not found elsewhere in Mladonovice. Where in the original, the article is followed simply by 'This statement is not in the book, but its subject is extensively treated in Chap. XXVIII', the *Livre des Martyrs* characterises these censures against laymen as 'augmentent l'avarice, maintiennent la malice, & preparent la voye à la Antechrist.'¹⁶⁰ These procedures are said to be the means 'par lesquelles le Clergé procede principalement contre ceux qui decouvrent la malice de la Antechrist.'¹⁶¹ The twenty-sixth article, and the last to be drawn from Hus' *De Ecclesia*, was one which condemned the use of interdicts against the people. Hus had indeed written that, but he had also outlined a situation in which such an action could be beneficial to the population. His examples against interdicts were drawn

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 24 verso. Spinka, *Council*, 24 verso.

¹⁵⁹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 200. Crespin, 1570, p. 24 verso. (The clergy... reduce the people to servitude, if the laity do not render obedience to the churchmen, to their appetite and fantasy).

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. (Increasing greed, maintaining evil, and preparing the way for the antichrist).

¹⁶¹ Crespin, 1570, p. 24 verso. (How the clergy mainly proceeds against those who discover the evil of the antichrist).

from scriptural accounts of Christ's reaction to the execution of John the Baptist.¹⁶²

Crespin's translation here may be slightly partial, for what Spinka rendered as 'Christ, the supreme pontiff' Crespin has as 'sovereign bishop'.

Hus was then interrogated on articles drawn from his work against Palecs, who had had a hand in composing the charges against him. There were seven, most of them on questions about the papacy, and the questions of a pope foreknown to be damned. The first article, that: 'Si le Pape, ou quelque Evesque ou Prelat est en peche mortel, lors il ne'est plus Pape, Evesque ou Prelat', echoes much of what had already been debated.¹⁶³ The third and fourth articles also deal with the question of a Pope who is wicked, or foreknown, the fifth claims that the Pope should not be called 'most Holy', while the sixth questions the very legitimacy of a Pope who lives contrary to Christ, for he has only obtained the post through human action, and not divine.¹⁶⁴ Each of these articles was reduced in length for the martyrology, although Crespin retained at length an exchange between Hus and King Sigismund. In this, Hus seemed to have won a point, for when the King questioned him on his first article, Hus was able to ask of Palecs: 'Si le Pape Jean a este vray Pape, pourquoy l'avez-vous prive de son office?'¹⁶⁵ This particular charge was later dropped.¹⁶⁶

The fourth article, and the fifth, were reproduced by Crespin in much-reduced form; at the abridgement in the fifth article, Crespin wrote: 'Et quant & quant il recita au long la teneur d'icelles'.¹⁶⁷ The seventh and final article in this series decries the condemnation of the forty-five articles of Wyclif (which in turn

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid, p. 25 recto. (If the pope, or some bishop or prelate is in mortal sin, then he is no longer the pope, bishop or prelate).

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, pp.25 recto, verso.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 25 recto. (If Pope John is the true Pope, why have you deprived him of his office?).

¹⁶⁶ Spinka, *Council*, p. 203 n.

¹⁶⁷ Crespin, 1570, p. 25 verso. (And as and when he recited through the content of this).

made Hus' own defence much more difficult), as being: 'desraisonnable & inique: & la cause alleguee par eux est fausse'.¹⁶⁸ Hus' original statement was less a condemnation, and more an appeal for proof, demanding: 'ou est la probation? Vous forgez une cause que vous ne prouvez pas.'¹⁶⁹ Hus maintains his careful relationship to Wyclif's doctrines by refusing to condemn all of Wyclif's articles, while at the same time saying that: 'je ne veux maintenir les erreurs de Wicleff, ne d'autre quelconque.'¹⁷⁰

In the compendium editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, , the two most prominent cuts from the text of the articles V-VII from *Contra Palecs* appear, as well as articles I-II from the treatise against Znojmo appear to be marked in print by a small symbol consisting of two parallel vertical lines, approximating: ||. This does not appear to be a widely repeated mark of Crespin's workshop, but here marks major omissions from article V, and from article VII.¹⁷¹

The final group of articles is a group of six which were taken from a 'petit livre compose contre Stanislaus de Znoyme'. The first article, once again, deals with the proper election of a Pope. Using the legendary example of Agnes, elected as Pope John, Hus argues that the responsibility for a prelate's standing lies with the prelate himself, and not with the electors. His more subtle point is largely ignored by Crespin, who in many ways repeats the Council's accusations against Hus, though this time with approbation.¹⁷² The nuance of the argument, that 'It also happens that they elect a wicked person whose passive election God approves... whether the electors have chosen well or ill, we should believe the works of the elected', is missed in favour of more eye-catching statements such as: '[e]t que cela

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. (Unreasonable & unjust, and the cause alleged by them is false).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. (Where is the proof? You forge a cause that you have not proved).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. (I do not maintain the errors of Wyclif, nor those of any other one).

¹⁷¹ Crespin, 1570, p. 25 verso. Crespin, 1565, p. 44.

¹⁷² Ibid.

estoit elire un brigand, un larron & diable: & par consequence on peut elire un Antechrist.¹⁷³

The second article continues to ask questions about sinning popes, in this case stating that a Pope foreknown to damnation is not the head of the Church. Hus again protested that this was not his phrasing: rather he had asked if such a thing were the case.¹⁷⁴ The third article questions whether the Church militant even requires a head on earth, as Christ could : ‘à la dextre glorieuse de son Pere, gouverne l’Eglise ici bas en la terre par la grace & vertu de son Esprit.’¹⁷⁵ As there was at the time of the hearings no Pope, Hus argued that the Church could evidently survive without one (a point cut from Crespin’s translation of this passage).¹⁷⁶ The fourth article simply extends the argument of the third, to the effect that: ‘Christ regleroit beaucoup mieux son Eglise par ses vrais disciples espars par tout le monde, sans tells chefs monstreux.’¹⁷⁷ Again, the Church’s current state, without a Pope, and the legend of Agnes, Pope John, are used as evidence toward this point.¹⁷⁸

The attack on the Papacy continues with the fifth article, in which Hus is accused of denying even the primacy of St Peter himself. In Hus’ original writing, he did this by arguing for equality amongst all of the Apostles.¹⁷⁹ In Crespin’s version, however, Hus does not make this distinction; instead agreeing with the accusation: ‘je repon, Je dy ainsi en mon livre...’¹⁸⁰ His sixth and final article denies the need for a papacy to manage the affairs of the Church; it had been ruled

¹⁷³ Spinka, *Council*, pp.209-10. Crespin, 1570 p. 25 verso. (And that it elected a thief, a robber, and a devil, and by consequence we could elect an Antichrist).

¹⁷⁴ Crespin, 1570, p. 26 recto.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. (At the glorious right hand of his Father, govern the Church here below on Earth by the grace and virtue of his Spirit).

¹⁷⁶ Spinka, *Council*, pp. 211-12. Crespin, 1570 p. 26 recto.

¹⁷⁷ Crespin, 1570, p. 26 recto. (Christ ruled his Church better through his scattered true disciples than such monstrous chiefs).

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. Spinka, *Council*, p. 213. (I reply, I wrote thus in my book).

effectively under the Apostles, and there was currently no Pope, either. He was accused at this point of putting forward not his own beliefs, but those of Wyclif, who had already been condemned. This tactic, of using the primitive and apostolic Church as an unflattering comparison to the contemporary hierarchy, was one which would also see service in the arguments of the Vaudois, Luther and a host of other reformers. Appearing in Crespin, it served the purpose both of attacking the theoretical basis of the papacy, and of demonstrating that such attacks had been made centuries in the past.

Later in the document, at the condemnation of Jan Hus, the Council delivered judgement on his doctrines, in a passage which Crespin incorporated. Even at this stage, Hus was demanding that the members of the Council explain to him which of his articles was heretical, and in what fashion, for he as elsewhere, he promised to recant any which could be shown to be false.¹⁸¹ In Spinka's translation of Mladonovice, the first article read against Hus regarded his claims that 'the holy universal Church is one, which is the totality of the predestinate, etc.'—concerns voiced throughout his trial.¹⁸² Crespin's interpretation of this is that the prosecution had 'inséré entre les autres, assavoir, que Jean Hus avoit dogmatisé que les deux natures, assavoir la divinité & humanité sont un mesme Christ', an idea which is expressed nowhere in this section of the Mladonovice.¹⁸³ Hus is accused of wishing himself to be 'la quatrieme personne de la Divinite'—an entirely absurd accusation, which Novotny attempted to explain by suggesting that it represented a *reductio ad absurdum* from Hus' tenets of philosophical realism.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 226. Crespin, 1570, p. 28 verso.

¹⁸² Spinka, *Council*, p. 226.

¹⁸³ Crespin, 1570, p. 28 verso. (Inserted amongst the others, to wit, that Jan Hus had dogmatised that the two natures, to wit, the divinity & humanity, are one Christ).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. Spinka, *Council* 227. (The fourth person of the divinity).

These points, excerpted from the full summing-up against Hus, are the final articles of doctrinal argument in Crespin's account of Hus. The bulk of the discussion of Hus' trial, and almost all of his formal questioning on doctrinal points had been included in the *Livre des Martyrs*. Crespin also included some of the discussion in the Council from these hearings, which will be discussed briefly below. Unlike his treatment of the Vaudois, or Lutheran martyrs, Crespin dedicated the bulk of his space to the actual doctrines of Hus, and to the Catholic criticisms of his positions. The execution of Hus, and the controversies over the imperial safe-conduct granted him—potentially important features for a Protestant martyrologist—are dwarfed by a full-length airing of Hus' recorded beliefs. Much of this is due to Crespin's reliance on his source, for the same emphases are present in Mladonovice's text. The majority of Hus' doctrines are represented as they are found in Mladonovice, but there was a series of changes made. The accusations made by the Bishop of Litomysl were edited, seemingly bearing in mind the potentially dangerous subjects of the Eucharist and of Donatism.

Crespin's editing of Hus' articles maintained this pattern. Hus' adherence to the doctrine of transubstantiation was omitted entirely, with the effect that the Council's charges against him were in some areas no longer denied. The discussion of the first two articles put to Hus by the Council evinces several cuts of Eucharistic material in the space of a single page.¹⁸⁵ Arguments which suggest Donatism, often centring on the question of a sinning or unworthy priest, were consistently either shortened or cut entirely. The articles themselves, which engage these problems in more detail, were less affected by Crespin's editorship, but the pattern remains. The articles also bring into question Hussite doctrines around predestination, another

¹⁸⁵ Crespin, 1570, p. 19 verso.

area where Crespin made some minor changes. Hus's language is also policed for Catholic terminology, with substitutions being made for the seven sacraments and for 'priests'. Hus is again made to agree with accusers more often than was the case in the source material, such as in the attacks on the Papacy, where Hus' claims to have been misrepresented are replaced by his agreement; his nuanced responses and clarifications to the Council become, in the *Livre des Martyrs*, explanations of the doctrine he was originally trying to defend himself against.

The Execution of Hus

After the lengthy sentence of condemnation, the text depicts the degradation and defrocking of Hus, and his execution. Mladonovice, who was an eye-witness to this event, gives it in great detail; it was this section of his account which was read in Bohemian churches on the anniversary of Hus' execution.¹⁸⁶ Crespin clearly saw the value of this passage, and included it in nearly its entirety. However, even in the midst of Hus' heroism, there were details which were altered. As Hus was being led to the stake, a priest 'in a green suit with a red silk lining' said that Hus should not be heard, nor given a confessor. What Mladonovice relates approvingly, and Crespin omits, is that 'Master John, while he was still in prison, had confessed to a certain doctor, a monk, and had been kindly heard and absolved by him, as he himself stated in one of his letters to his [friends] from prison'.¹⁸⁷ Among his final words were a plea : 'Jesus Fils de Dieu, assiste-moy, à ce que par ton saint aide je puisse constamment & patiemment endure ceste mort cruelle & ignominieuse, a laquelle je suis condamne, pour avoir presche la parole de ton saint Evangile'.¹⁸⁸ He also told the crowd not to believe the accusations against him, for he had never

¹⁸⁶ Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, p. 131.

¹⁸⁷ Spinka, *Council*, p. 232.

¹⁸⁸ Crespin, 1570, p. 30 recto. (Jesus, son of God, help me, that by your holy aid I might constantly and patiently endure this cruel and shameful death, to which I have been condemned, for having preached the word of your holy Gospel).

held or taught such things; this plea is related by Crespin as ‘il exposoit au peuple la cause de sa mort, comme il avoit fait auparavant’; another example of Crespin weakening Hus’ defence.¹⁸⁹ On the pyre, Hus refused to recant, again denying he had done the things of which he had been convicted.¹⁹⁰ After his death, his body was burned further and mutilated on the orders of the marshal, according to Mladonovice: ‘so that the Czechs would not regard it as relics’, and thrown into the river.¹⁹¹ Crespin, who was unlikely to view the collection of relics favourably, declared that Hus’ body had been destroyed ‘qu’il ne restast rien de cest homme sur la terres, tant petit que ce fust’, which, although true, omits the question of relics.¹⁹² This question of veneration amongst Hussites is not something on which Crespin had a consistent line: Palecs had earlier accused members of Hus’ faction of venerating a piece of Wyclif’s tombstone ‘comme une reliquaire’, an accusation which Crespin kept in his text, as he would later accusations that Hussites took and revered parts of Wyclif’s tomb.¹⁹³ Crespin concludes the passage with a subtitle: ‘Celuy qui a redigé par escrit ceste histoire, a esté present à tout ce qu’il a raconté ici: afin que nul ne pense que ce soit un tesmoignage par ouy dire.’¹⁹⁴

Letters

Crespin followed the Mladonovice account with a selection of Hus’ letters, prefaced with a brief introduction, explaining that these are : ‘Entre les epistres que maistre Jean Hus a escrites depuis son enterprise de partir de Boheme pour aller au Concile de Constance, jusques a sa mort, celles cy ont semble les plus dignes d’estre

¹⁸⁹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 232. Crespin, 1570 p. 30 recto. (He showed to the people the cause of his death, as he had done previously).

¹⁹⁰ Crespin, 1570, p. 30 verso.

¹⁹¹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 234.

¹⁹² Crespin, 1570, p. 30 verso. (That there was nothing remaining of the man’s body, as small as it was).

¹⁹³ Ibid, p. 27 verso. (Like a reliquary).

¹⁹⁴ Crespin, 1554, p. 95. Crespin, 1570, p. 30 verso. (He who recorded this history in writing, was present at all that he has related here: so that no-one thinks this is an account by hearsay).

redigées par escrit.¹⁹⁵ In 1554 and 1555 this takes the form of a vaguely ornamental inverted pyramid of text, occupying a third of the page; in 1564 and 1570, it is simply two lines of small italic text. In total, over 100 letters of Hus survive, and some of them were widely copied, though we do not know to which ones Crespin had access.¹⁹⁶

In 1554 and 1555, Crespin presented fourteen letters of Hus, one after the other, and with a single sentence of introduction each. In 1565 and 1570, fifteen letters were reproduced, although the new entry, added to the end of the existing section, is merely an edited and reduced version of the fourth letter. This oversight is repeated and so does not seem to have been spotted.¹⁹⁷ It may be that Crespin found this letter, in its differing translation, in another source in the years between 1555 and 1564, and included it in the next edition without checking its content in relation to the letters already included. A cursory comparison would likely have revealed the mistake, for the central points of the letter are present in each version: a complaint at the banning of his Czech-language works by a council that spoke no Czech, and a claim that the people of Swabia found the Council's proceedings shameful.

The letters are largely concerned with Hus' facing up to his imprisonment and trial; only two of them were written before his arrest. The letters reproduced by Crespin are largely ones written with a public audience in mind. Of the fourteen, three are either to his patron Lord Chlum or to Chlum and Lord Duba, five are to 'Friends' or 'Faithful Friends' in Bohemia, one to 'Friends in Constance', with another to 'Fathful Czechs' and one each to his parishioners and to Praguers in

¹⁹⁵ Crespín, 1554, p. 96. Crespín, 1570, p. 27 verso. (Among the letters that master Jan Hus wrote since his decision to depart Bohemia to go to the Council of Constance, up to his death, those that seem most worthy to be collected in writing).

¹⁹⁶ Matthew Spinka, *Letters of John Hus*, (Manchester, 1972).

¹⁹⁷ This letter can be found at Crespín, 1570, pp. 35 verso- 36 recto.

general. Some of these appear to have been written in Czech, and other in Latin; Hus' largely vernacular approach to preaching would have also applied to his use of the written word. In the seventh letter, he refers to a Latin translation of his farewell letter to his parishioners (which Crespín had included as Letter 1). The letters reproduced spend little time on the specifics either of Hus' doctrine, or of the progress of his trial. They focus instead on a defence of his principles, and on admonitions to his readers to live good Christian lives and not to be dissuaded by the actions of the Council.¹⁹⁸ The fourth letter, the one duplicated by Crespín, deviates from this pattern, directly attacking the Council's organisation and conduct.¹⁹⁹ The letters are increasingly informed by Hus' knowledge that he is to be executed, and provide an example of preparation to make a good death. In the sixth, he dwells on the varied ways in which the martyrs of the primitive Church met their end (presumably a topic newly important to him), and makes arrangements to ensure that his helpers are safe, his debts paid, and due acknowledgement given to his supporters and patrons. He also relates the actions of members of the Church hierarchy to persuade him to abjure his positions or admit to his heresy. He relates to his friends in Constance, in the ninth letter that 'There have already been a great many exhorters, persuading me by many words that I ought and lawfully can recant, subjecting my will to the holy Church which the sacred Council represents.'²⁰⁰ Hus, however, refused to consider such a course on the basis that he had never held any such heresy, and would not confess to something he had not held.²⁰¹ Hus' interlocutors tried to convince him there was merit in confessing to things he had not held or done, drawing examples from the *Lives of the Fathers*, and saying that

¹⁹⁸ Crespín, 1570, pp. 31 verso, 32 verso.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 32 recto-verso.

²⁰⁰ Spínka, *Letters*, p. 183.

²⁰¹ Crespín, 1570, p. 34 verso.

‘si le Concile me disoit que j’auroye seulement un oeil, & nonobstant j’en auroye deux, neanmoins je devoye confesser avec le Concile qu’il est ainsi.’²⁰²

The central theme of the letters, however, is of Hus’ preparation for his death. His final letters to friends bear some of the elements of a legacy: in the third letter he enjoins the:

‘seigneurs, qu’ils traittent leurs povres sujets en toute humanite, & les gouvrement justement. Je prie les bourgeois & citoyens, qu’ils couverséent en bonne conscience en leur facon de vivre. Je prie les artisans d’exercer leurs ouvrages diligemment & qu’ils en usent avec crainte de Dieu’

before thanking the secular lords who have aided him by name.²⁰³ In his final letters, he gave them his blessing, and guidance, advising one to marry, and another to preach the word of God. Crespin omitted, however, the more mundane elements of these letters; Hus’ bequest of a fur coat and final words to a series of distant friends are absent from the *Livre des Martyrs*.

Hus tried to aid the progress of the Bohemian reform movement, telling them not to fear that his books were being burned, for the Israelites had once burned the writings of the prophet Jeremiah.²⁰⁴ The Antichrist was manifesting himself in the Pope, and in parts of the Council now, and Hus desired his followers to be able to defeat him:

Quel plaisir ce me seroit, si j’avoye quelque loisir de descouvrir maintenant tant de meschancetez horrible que j’ay cogneues, afin que les fideles serviteurs du Fils de Dieu s’en peussent donner garde! Mais j’ay bonne fiance en mon Dieu, qu’il envoyera après moy (comme il y en a desia) de plus vaillans prescheurs, qui descouvriront beaucoup plus ouvertement la

²⁰² Ibid. (If the council told me that I had only one eye, & notwithstanding that I have two, nevertheless I must confess with the council that it is thus).

²⁰³ Ibid, p. 31 verso. (Lords, that they treat their poor subjects in all humanity, & just government. I pray the bourgeois & citizens, that they discourse in good faith in their way of life. I pray for artisans to perform their works diligently, & that they use them with fear of God).

²⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 32 verso.

malice de l'Antechrist, & ses fines ruses, & s'exposeront à la mort pour la verité du Fils de Dieu...²⁰⁵

The letters reproduced in Crespin do not appear to have been curated according to any single criterion. Hus wrote letters in which he declared openly his reluctance to abjure, and others which reveal a prophetic cast to his thinking, where he seemed to predict a popular rising overcoming the resistance of the church.²⁰⁶ It is difficult as a result to discern a pattern in his inclusions and exclusions; one possible reason for his having included the fourteen letters which he has would be that this was not an editorial decision but one dictated by the availability of the letters themselves. Certainly, the letters which appeared in the *Livre des Martyrs* were Hus' more public ones, addressed to a mass audience; only a small proportion of his letters addressed to a single recipient were included, suggesting that they had found their way into mass circulation.

Jerome of Prague

Jerome of Prague, compatriot and ally of Hus, and a significant figure in the Bohemian reform movement in his own right, was included alongside Hus, but not at nearly the same length. Jerome's status within the Hussite movement has long been contested. As we have seen, within months of his execution he was being treated by some Bohemians as the equal of Hus in holiness and in martyrdom, indeed, as a saint.²⁰⁷ In 1554, Crespin noted that after the news of the executions reached Bohemia, 'leurs disciples & adherans s'assemblerent, & en premier lieu solenizerent la memoire d'iceux, & ordonnerent qu'elle seroit celebrée tous les

²⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 33 recto. (What pleasure it would give me, if I had some freedom to uncover, now that I know, so much horrible wickedness so that the faithful servants of the Son of God were able to take guard! But I have a good partner in my God, that he will send after me (as there are already) the bravest of preachers, who will discover much more openly the malice of the antichrist & his fine tricks, & will expose themselves to death for the truth of the Son of God).

²⁰⁶ Spinka, *Letters*, p.149.

²⁰⁷ Kaminsky, p. 163.

ans.²⁰⁸ Later history was not always so kind. Lutzow, writing in the early twentieth century, took pains to suggest that Jerome's role as 'church-reformer has been greatly exaggerated'; his frequent absences from Bohemia gave him less influence than Hus, based at the Bethlehem chapel in Prague, had held, while comparison 'between the saintly and truly evangelical simplicity of the character of Hus, and the sophisticated insincerity of Jerome, who represents an early type of the humanist' also relegated Jerome to a supporting role.²⁰⁹ R.R. Betts, writing in 1948, acknowledged the subordinate role in which Jerome had been cast since the seventeenth century, and theorised that this was due to a 'greater interest in ideas than actions' amongst modern scholars.²¹⁰ However, even Jerome's actions are difficult to single out for praise: unlike Hus, he held no post with the importance of the Rectorship of the University, or the stature of the Bethlehem Chapel. His contributions to the Bohemian reform movement, pivotal as they may have been, are difficult to precisely define.

Jerome of Prague had studied at the Charles University alongside Hus, but left sometime before 1400 for Oxford, taking advantage of the recent links between the two institutions forged by the royal marriage.²¹¹ On his return he brought with him several of Wyclif's works which had not previously been available in Bohemia, most importantly the *Dialogus* and *Trialogus*, which amongst other things argued for the secularisation of Church property.²¹² When the forty-five articles of Wyclif were condemned by the University, Jerome was absent, perhaps in Jerusalem; he

²⁰⁸ Crespin, 1554, pp. 139-140. (Their disciples & followers assembled, & in the first place commemorated the memory of them, & ordained that they would be celebrated each year)

²⁰⁹ Francis Lutzow, *The Life and Times of Master John Hus*, (London, 1921), p. 299.

²¹⁰ R.R. Betts, *Essays in Czech History*, (London, 1969), p. 51.

²¹¹ Lutzow, p. 300 says 1398; Betts, p. 53, argues for 1399 or 1400.

²¹² Betts, p. 54.

returned in time to take place in the debates on indulgences.²¹³ At Hus' summoning before the Council of Constance, Jerome felt himself bound to attend. Arriving in Constance after Hus' arrest, and shortly before his trial, Jerome managed to only temporarily escape arrest himself. After Hus' execution, Jerome recanted his position, and even his loyalty to Hus, declaring that the Council had been right to burn Hus.²¹⁴ He eventually returned to his original position, and declared before the Council that he regretted his abandonment of Hus and Wyclif, an action that allowed them, as he would have known, to declare him a relapsed heretic and have him burned.²¹⁵

Jerome was executed on the 30 of May, 1416, nearly a year after Hus. The situation in Bohemia had changed dramatically in that period; the Hussite League had formed, and issued a protest to the Council of Constance which declared that 'John Hus confessed to no crime, nor was he legitimately and properly convicted of any, nor were any errors or heresies cited and demonstrated against him'.²¹⁶ The eight copies delivered to the Council bore the names of 452 members of the Bohemian nobility, an indication of the potential power of an embryonic Hussite movement.²¹⁷ The surge of support which had grown up around Hus did not seem to dissuade the Council from trying and executing him; indeed, this addition of secular disobedience made the embryonic Hussite movement more threatening to the Church hierarchy, and more in need of repression. Spinka has suggested that it was this volatile situation which gave the Council increased motivation to secure Jerome's recantation.²¹⁸ Thus, Jerome was a problematic character, as his

²¹³ Betts, p. 54. Spinka, *Biography*, pp. 59, 82.

²¹⁴ Neu Watkins, p. 112

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Kaminsky, p. 143.

²¹⁷ Ibid, p. 144.

²¹⁸ Spinka, *Biography*, p. 292.

recantation called into question his status as a witness for the divine truth, and his career before Constance had not contained much to allow him to be depicted as a dedicated reformer.

There does not appear to be a shortage of documents on the trial and death of Jerome; the Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini, present in his capacity as a functionary of the papal *curia*, wrote about Jerome's trial in a letter which was later published. This only detailed the last few days of Jerome's trial, and his death, and did not portray his abjuration. Instead, Poggio focused on the rhetorical skill and learning with which Jerome defended himself, presenting him as a humanist, and drawing comparisons to the ancients. Renee Neu Watkins, indeed, has suggested that the differences between Poggio's letter and other accounts of Jerome's death can be explained by the Florentine's interest in portraying a type of contemporary Stoic: 'Jerome seeks to remind us, and did remind his sympathisers, of the Passion. Only to and through Poggio could his death call up the memory of the tranquil Socrates, the imperturbable Cato.'²¹⁹

Jerome was included in Crespin from the first edition, which devoted slightly more than ten pages to him. The passage begins with a large headline, and a couple of lines of introduction, claiming the following to be drawn from Poggio's writing: 'Poggio Florentin quelque adversaire qu'il fust, a esté contrainct de rendre ce tesmoignage en ses Epistres à la constance & heureuse mort de ce Saint Martyr, comme ayent este spectateur d'icelle.'²²⁰ Poggio's letter (to Bruni, aka. Leonardo Aretino, though Crespin does not mention the recipient), reproduced nearly in full, only omitting primarily introductory material, is the only material to

²¹⁹ Renee Neu Watkins, 'The Death of Jerome of Prague: Divergent Views', *Speculum* 42, 1 (1967), p. 120.

²²⁰ Crespin, 1554, p. 129. (Poggio the Florentine, adversary though he was, has been obliged to render testimony in his letter of the constancy & happy death of the Holy Martyr, as having been a spectator of it).

be found on Jerome in this edition. Crespin's gloss gives Jerome full status as a martyr, and emphasises his bravery in the face of death, Poggio's account having already worked to cast him as a stoic figure. Crespin was clearly not entirely comfortable with the use of a hostile source to illustrate Jerome's execution, and concluded his account by discussing Poggio's suitability:

Or combien que la constance d'un tel serviteur du Fils de Dieu meritast bien qu'un home de meilleure foy que l'auteur de ce recit, qui est Pogge Florentin... toutesfois on peut voir que ceste description est hors de toute souspecon: veu que cest homme profane Pogge Florentin, lequel se donne bien a congoistre par ses escrits, est contraint de louer ce Martyr de JESUS Christ, contre tout son gré & intention.²²¹

Poggio's letter described only Jerome's final appearance before the Council; it is a narration of one impressive speech, and Jerome's execution. It therefore does not include, or mention, Jerome's arrest, his initial admission of heresy, recantation, or denunciation of Hus and Wyclif. The Jerome portrayed by Poggio, and included in the first edition of the *Livre des Martyrs* is defiant, eloquent, and doomed.

Poggio's letter does not touch on theology at all. It mentions that Jerome 'respondroit publiquement à tous les articles qui estoient proposez contre luy', but mentions only one specific point of disagreement: the Eucharist.²²² Asked if 'tu maintenu cest opinion, que le pain demeure des reste après la consecration', Jerome flippantly answered that '[l]e pain est chez le boulangier'.²²³ The discussion then moves away to more *ad hominem* arguments, and does not return to the subject.

²²¹ Ibid, pp.138-9. (Now how much the constancy of one such servant of the Son of God merits a man of better faith than the author of this narrative, who is Poggio the Florentine... nevertheless one may see that this description is out of all suspicion: see that this profane man Poggio the Florentine, that gave well to knowledge by his writings, is obliged to praise this Martyr of Jesus Christ, against all his will and intention).

²²² Ibid, p. 132. (Responded publicly to all the articles which were proposed against him).

²²³ Ibid. (If you maintain this position that the bread remains the same after consecration... the bread is at the baker's).

Jerome delivered a long oration on men who had been condemned by unjust trials, including Socrates, Plato, Anaxagoras, Boethius, amongst the Jews, Isaiah, Jeremy, and Daniel and to John the Baptist, Stephen, and the Apostles before turning his attention on the witnesses whom he thought had ensured his conviction.²²⁴ He lamented the period where men could disagree on doctrinal matters ‘sans aucune suspeçon d’erreur ou d’heresie’, as had Saints Augustine and Jerome.²²⁵ It was, in short, a noteworthy demonstration of the orator’s art, furnished with classical allusions and forms, and it is largely this aspect that the arch-humanist Poggio recorded and which caused him to remark that: ‘ceste homme-la est digne de memoire perpetuelle entre les hommes.’²²⁶ Poggio also gave an eye-witness account of Jerome’s death at the stake, which was borne with great courage, as he sang a hymn and reminded the executioner to light all parts of the fire.²²⁷

As Crespin had noted, Poggio was a member of the *curia*, and so potentially suspect to Protestants, so that his version of events could only confirm Jerome’s bearing, confidence, and the elements of his defence. The articles which Jerome had to defend, the central issue of the hearings, are never elucidated, and the only time Poggio makes reference to doctrinal difference is to show Jerome’s wit, not his learning, which Watkins argues is central to Poggio’s conception of Jerome.²²⁸

Crespin expanded the Jerome of Prague account in 1555, which ran across seventeen pages from pages 129 to CXXXIII; an extra *cahier* giving 16 pages was added to accommodate the changes. Part of this seems to have been done using information, including a list of articles, taken from Foxe’s *Commentarii Rerum*, (itself derived from Bale) which had been published the previous year, as part of the

²²⁴ Ibid, pp.133-134.

²²⁵ Ibid, 1554, p. 135. (Without any suspicion of error or heresy).

²²⁶ Ibid, 1554, p. 137. (This man is worthy of perpetual memory amongst men).

²²⁷ Ibid, p. 138.

²²⁸ Neu Watkins, p. 120.

same series of changes that saw the addition of Wyclif and a number of Lollards, although Crespin did not use information from Foxe to alter his section on Hus.²²⁹

In 1555, the headline simply reads *Hierome de Prague*, with the sub-headline reading: ‘Le commencement de l’histoire de M. Hierome de Prague’. Instead of Poggio’s letter, this edition’s version begins with a two-page section of narrative, describing events up until Jerome’s final confrontation with the Council. It begins with a combination of a misprint and an error, asserting that Hus was burned at Constance in 1516, instead of 1415, ‘pour la confession de la verite de Dieu.’²³⁰ The error (though not the misprint) is inherited from Foxe, who had Hus’ death as occurring in 1416.²³¹ Jerome is introduced as a disciple of Hus, condemned for ‘une mesme cause, à la poursuite des mesmes ennemis, & accusateurs. Et comme ils avoyent use de grande familierite ensemble en toute leur vie: aussi l’affliction & la mort cruelle ne les a peu distraire l’un de l’autre’.²³² Much of Jerome’s merit in this description comes from his association with Hus, and his independence from Hus, and from Prague, is not mentioned. Crespin then qualifies his account with an unusual aside: he tells the reader that:

On pourroit icy faire mention du cours de la vie, des estudes, des bonnes moeurs, du naturel dudict Hierome voire s’il en estoit besoin: mais d’autant que l’ordre de ce livre nous appelle plustost au recit de la constance des vrais Martyrs & tesmoins du nom de Dieu, qui ont alegrement expose leurs propres vies, pour rendre un si heureux tesmoignage : il vaut mieux venir droit a reciter de quelle fermete ce personnage s’est employe jusques au dernier souspir, a maintenir la verite de Dieu.²³³

²²⁹ David Watson points this out in *The Martyrology of Jean Crespin* p. 150.

²³⁰ Crespin, 1555, p. 129. (For the confession of the truth of God).

²³¹ John Foxe, *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum* (Strasbourg, 1554), p. 78.

²³² Crespin, 1555, p. 129. (The same cause, at the pursuit of the same enemies, & accusers. And as they had use of a great familiarity together in all their life, so too the affliction and cruel death did not distract the one from the other).

²³³ Ibid, p. 129. (One could here mention in the course of his life, of study, of good morals, of nature of the said Jerome truly if it was needed, but as long as the order of this book calls us rather to the

When Hus was taken before the Council, Jerome travelled to Constance to aid him, and was arrested. Crespin acknowledges and addresses the question of Jerome's abjuration by saying that Jerome, like St Peter, may offer an example of human fragility, for after he was imprisoned, 'endure longuement de grandes afflictions & cruelles oppressions. Sur cela on luy proposa des menaces terrible: & il y avoit aussi quelque Esperance d'eschapper meslee parmy, qui luy fit accorder de dire ce mot, que Jean Hus avoit este justement condamne.'²³⁴ Crespin immediately notes: 'mais ceste confession arrachée de crainte, luy fut matiere de plus grande constance puis après, comme il sera veu en la procedure.'²³⁵

Jerome was soon overtaken by guilt for having betrayed his friend, and was in part driven by his love for the true religion. He resolved to appear before the Council to complete Hus' work, and to redeem himself.²³⁶ His captors amassed a series of accusations against him, and Crespin presents here a list of twenty-one articles, for which Jerome was eventually condemned. These articles had appeared in 1554 in Foxe's *Commentarii Rerum*, after that work's own reprinting of Poggio and would later appear (in slightly truncated form) in de Haemstede's 1559 Dutch martyrology.²³⁷ However, both Foxe and Crespin would come to omit this list. Although Foxe's *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum* repeated the twenty-one articles in 1559, his 1563 martyrology and Crespin's 1564 edition both omitted such detailed

narrative of the constancy of the true Martyrs & witnesses of the name of God, who have happily risked their own lives to render so glad a testimony: it is worth more to come right to tell with what firmity this person had employed up to his last breath to maintain the truth of God).

²³⁴ Ibid, p. 130. (Long endured great afflictions and cruel oppressions. On this he was threatened with terrible menaces: & he had also some hope of escaping amongst the mix, that he agreed to say the word, that Jan Hus had been justly condemned).

²³⁵ Ibid. (But this confession extracted in fear, he was matter of greater constancy thereafter, as will be shown in the procedure).

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Foxe, *Commentarii rerum*, pp.*80 recto - * 81 verso. van Haemstede, *De Geschiedenisse ende den doot der vromer Martelaren ...*1559, pp.56-57.

examination of Jerome's beliefs.²³⁸ It is possible that just as Crespin decided to follow Foxe in including the twenty-one articles in 1555, he took his cue from the English martyrologist when excluding them in 1564.

The articles were presented, unnumbered, as a list across two pages, as Jerome's own propositions rather than accusations for him to answer, as had been done for Hus. The articles naturally share much with Hus' philosophy, and several are repeated from Hus' trials. Compared with Hus, Jerome's articles are less concerned with the scholastic philosophical underpinnings of doctrine, but instead with the correction of Christian belief and practice. Overall, they argue for a reduction in the power and influence of the Church hierarchy, and challenge its ability to intercede with God for its members. Jerome shows an interest in the membership of the invisible Church that he shared with Hus; his fifth article argues that St Paul was never of the devil, and is the same as the second of Hus' twenty-one articles from the previous year.²³⁹ Like Hus, he believed that authority was at least partially contingent on personal sanctity, rather than title.

Jerome devoted more attention to specific criticisms of Church practice, some fundamentally—indeed, the first article printed denies that the Pope has power over other bishops, and the third denies the existence of purgatory. The ninth article states that auricular confession is a lie, and the tenth that it is sufficient that all confess their sins before God. Jerome denies the existence of purgatory in his third article, from which it follows (in the seventeenth article) that one wastes time appealing to the holy dead, or (in the eighteenth) by singing the canonical hours.²⁴⁰ These theses attack the clergy's special standing, powers, and, in the fifteenth article, vestments by denying their power in saving the souls of laymen.

²³⁸ Foxe, *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum*, (Basle, 1559), p. 71.

²³⁹ Compare Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. 184, with Crespin, 1570, p. 22 recto.

²⁴⁰ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 133.

Other articles pushed against ideas of sacrality, denying in successive points (the twelfth and thirteenth) the sanctity of cemeteries, and arguing that ‘It is all the same where bodies are buried’.²⁴¹ Central to this mode of thinking was the fourteenth article, which claimed that the church of God is the world, thus temples and chapels only serve to restrict sanctity. Similarly, as feast days should be abolished, the twentieth article argues that one could work any day but Sundays. Most importantly, in the sixteenth article Jerome asserts that the Eucharist can be given to all who repent, at any time, and at any place. Taken together, these articles argue for a view of the world with few intermediaries between God and man. Holy places, holy days, and holy men were all to be discarded, reducing the Church’s agency in tending to its flock.

The *Livre des Martyrs* tells us that the Council condemned the articles, and then Jerome. ‘Pour plus grande attestation de toute l’histoire, nous avons ici insere la sentence prononcee contre ledict Hierome, que nous avons traduite quasi de mot a mot...’²⁴² Crespin included the sentence pronounced against Jerome, a document which takes nearly three pages of the octavo edition.²⁴³ The sentence of condemnation’s primary charge against Jerome is his rejection of his recantation, on the grounds that: ‘il avoit faussement menti.’²⁴⁴ This means that the condemnation is primarily focussed on the now-rejected recantation that Jerome had previously made. It decries the ‘blasphemes, les autres scandaleux, les autres offensives des aureilles Chrestiennes, téméraires & seditieux des long temps maintenus, preschez & dogmatisez par Jean Wycleff and Jean Hus, hommes de mémoire damnable’ and

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid. (For greater attestation of all of this history, we have here inserted the sentence pronounced against the said Jerome, which we have translated almost word for word).

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 135. (He had falsely lied).

makes much of Jerome's 'confession de la vraye foy catholique & Apostolique.'²⁴⁵

It was only '[l]ong temps apres son abjuration & protestation, retournant, comme un chien, a son vomissement' that they claimed he had wrongly denounced Hus and Wyclif.²⁴⁶ There is no mention in the condemnation of Jerome's twenty-one articles, or of his defending any doctrinal positions; he was condemned for his relapse and stubbornness.

After this condemnation, Crespin reprinted the letter of Poggio to Leonard Aretin, which had previously been the only document attesting to Jerome's trial and execution. This time it carried a lengthy sub-headline which explained 'combien qu'en la precedente edition nous ne l'ayons donnée entire: a present après l'avoir de plus pres reveue nous l'avons inserée depuis son commencement jusqu'a la fin, pour plus ample tesmoignage de la verite d'une histoire tant excellente.'²⁴⁷ Unlike in the 1554 edition, all of Crespin's commentary is confined to this paratext, with the text of the letter itself running uninterrupted from introduction to salutation; this is as was presented in Foxe's *Rerum Commentarii* the previous year, and may have been drawn in its expanded form from that source. This changes very little about the depiction of Jerome at the Council; the main additions are an introduction to the subject, wherein Poggio explains his interest in the Bohemian reformer: 'Je confesse que je nevy jamais homme qui pour defenders sa cause, principalement en accusation de mort, approchast plus de l'eloquence des anciens, lesquels nous avons

²⁴⁵ Ibid, pp. 133-4. (Blasphemies, the other scandals, the other offenses to Christian ears, rash and seditious for a long time, preached & dogmatized by John Wyclif and Jan Hus, men of damnable memory).

²⁴⁶ Ibid, pp. 134-5. (Long after his abjuration and protestation that he returned, like a dog to its own vomit).

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 136. (How in the previous edition we had not given it fully: at present after closer review, we have included it from beginning to end, for more ample testimony of the truth of such an excellent history).

en si grande admiration.²⁴⁸ All of the text found in 1554's edition of this letter is present, and a short passage has been added, or restored, to the end, which declared Jerome to be a true philosopher and compared him favourably to the ancient Mutius, for his steadfastness in the face of the fire, and to Socrates for his ease before the prospect of execution.²⁴⁹

In 1555, Crespin clearly had confidence in Jerome's *bona fides*, choosing to include documents that showed his damaging behaviour, which included fleeing Constance, abjuring his previous arguments, and agreeing with the execution of his old friend and ally Hus. The first edition, which had been based entirely on Poggio's letter, had attested only to Jerome's eloquence and constancy in the face of death. The second edition added information about Jerome's own views in the form of the twenty-one articles and acknowledged his earlier recantation through both the narrative section and his condemnation by the Council. As the changes to the pagination show, these were changes which may well have been inconvenient to Crespin, as a printer, to make, and they contained material which was not to Jerome's credit, but they were made anyway.

Like Hus, Jerome of Prague next appeared in the *Livre des Martyrs* in the 1564 edition. He again directly followed Hus, appearing on pages 62 to 71. Unlike Hus' account which had not changed materially since the first edition, Jerome's only found any sort of stability with this edition, which differed from the 1555 edition in a number of ways, amongst which was the exclusion of the list of Jerome's articles. Crespin appears to have found a new source from which to draw his account of the life of Jerome, for he expanded this section in several places, until Poggio's letter was less than half of the total length of the account.

²⁴⁸ Ibid. (I confess that I never saw a man who to defend his cause, mainly against capital allegations, more closely approached the eloquence of the ancients whom we hold in such great admiration).

²⁴⁹ Ibid, pp.CXXIX-CXXX.

This is consistent with the increased focus on narrative history which emerged in the compendium editions. This edition begins by stressing the closeness of Jerome to Hus throughout their lives. Where the 1555 edition hints at Jerome's life, but declines to elaborate, reading: 'On pourroit icy faire mention du course de la vie, des estudes, des bonnes moeurs, de naturel de ducdict Hierome...', the 1564 edition maintains the same approach, but with additional material:

'Nous pourrons bien voirement icy raconteur comment Hierome de Prague fut nay en l'endroit de la ville le quel on appelle la nouvelle Prague, comment il a vescu au paravant: en outré nous pourrions parler de ses estudes excellentes, de ses bonnes & saintes moeurs, de sa nature...' ²⁵⁰

This expansion of his existing text is typical of Crespin's wider approach; the greatest growth can be found in the section leading up to Jerome's imprisonment and abjuration. This is partly because Crespin, in keeping with the chronology, has moved to this section the episode of Jerome's attempts before his arrest to obtain a safe-passage back to Constance, but it is also due to the insertion of a tranche of new material. This depicts Jerome's posting of provocative letters on the doors of cardinals and churches around Constance which declared his willingness to answer to charges on the basis of doctrine, and a series of exchanges, after his arrest, with Jean Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris.²⁵¹ In total, the section preceding Jerome's recantation was expanded from perhaps half of one octavo page in 1555 to nearly two pages in folio, as many as 1,800 words.²⁵²

The 1564 edition of the *Livre des Martyrs* also expanded the passage describing Jerome's torture, which changed from describing it in emotive terms: 'il

²⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 129. Crespin, 1565, p. 63. (We may well truly here tell how Jerome of Prague was born in the area of the city which is called New Prague, how he lived earlier: in addition we could speak of his excellent studies, of his good and saintly morals, of his nature).

²⁵¹ Crespin, 1565, p. 64. Betts suggests that this information was drawn from an eyewitness at the council, possibly Mladonovice.

²⁵² Ibid, pp. 63-64. Calculation my own.

endure longuement de grandes afflictions & cruelles oppressions’, to giving an account of what he was forced to endure: ‘lierent les bras, & luy enfermerent les pieds en ceste prison qui estoit fort haute, en sorte qu’il ne se pouvoit seoir, ains panchant pouvoit bien toucher la terre seulement de la teste’.²⁵³ As in the previous edition, it acknowledges briefly Jerome’s rejection of Hus and Hus’ doctrines, and stresses the circumstances under which it was achieved. In 1555’s version of events, Jerome’s resolution to reject his abjuration follows immediately, and brings him again before the Council, where he presents his articles. In 1564, Jerome has less control over his situation, and as his opponents: ‘recueilly par certains signes qu’il n’avoit de bon Coeur renounce a sa doctrine...’ new charges are levelled against him.²⁵⁴ What follows, in 1564, is another account, drawn from a new source (perhaps Flacius Illyricus, or Flacius via Foxe) of Jerome’s last appearances before the Council, in which he gave his strongest defence of himself and of his doctrines, and in so doing strongly reasserts his belief in the doctrines of Hus and Wyclif. In many places this overlaps with the events detailed in the letter of Poggio. 107 articles are levelled against Jerome (Betts mentions 104 in his version), but not detailed; Jerome ‘depuis le point du jour iusques a midy a refuter plus ou moins de quarante articles’, and in later hearings went on to argue against many more.²⁵⁵ Echoing Poggio, Crespin draws attention to how he ‘parla bien des disciplines diverses des Philosophes, & des saintes Ecritures, ou de quelle industrie il en devisoit’, and used examples of men wrongly condemned drawn from amongst the

²⁵³ Crespin, 1555, p. 130. Crespin, 1565, p. 64. (He long endured great afflictions & cruel oppressions...tied his arms, & bound his legs in this prison which was very high, in a manner that he could not sit, bent in this way he could touch the ground only with his head).

²⁵⁴ Crespin, 1555, p. 130. Crespin, 1565, p. 65. (Collected by certain signs that he had not with good heart renounced his doctrine).

²⁵⁵ Ibid. (From the break of day to noon had refuted more or less forty articles).

philosophers, prophets and Apostles.²⁵⁶ This edition also shows him denouncing ‘l’intolerance, la malice, la paillardise, & l’avarice des Prestres’, a line of argument which Crespin highlighted using a marginal note.²⁵⁷

This would be the place for Crespin to reproduce the twenty-one articles found in 1555, but he refrained from doing so; none of the articles alleged against Jerome at this hearing are detailed.²⁵⁸ Instead, he included a strongly-worded retraction by Jerome of his abjuration. Further attacks by Jerome on the established order, and against Jerome by members of hierarchy, appear in Crespin for the first time; much of their content consists of mutual denunciation.²⁵⁹ The sentence condemning Jerome following this last set of exchanges is identical with the one printed in the previous edition, including the sub-headline introducing it. In the 1555 edition, the sentence against Jerome was followed only by Poggio’s letter in its full form. In 1564, Crespin included another narrative account, of the death of Jerome. This version gives details not found in Poggio: like Hus, Jerome was apparently adorned with a paper crown painted with devils. This account also tells of Jerome singing hymns at the stake, specifically the Paschal hymn; the opening lyrics: ‘Salve festa dies toto venerabilis avo/ Qua Deus infernum vicit & astra tenet’, are given in the text (Poggio simply says that he sang a hymn).²⁶⁰ It also tells us some of what he said at the stake: besides his claim that ‘ma foy n’est point autre que celle que je vien de chanter’, he commended his spirit to God and, in Czech, asked for forgiveness for his sins.²⁶¹ His bed and other possessions were then taken from the prison and burned on the same fire and the remains thrown in the Rhine; as

²⁵⁶ Crespin, 1565, p. 65. (Spoke the diverse disciplines of the philosophers well, & of the holy Scriptures, or of what industry he thought).

²⁵⁷ Ibid. (The intolerance, the malice, the bawdiness, & the avarice of Priests).

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 65.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 66.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 68.

²⁶¹ Ibid. (My faith is not other than that I have just sung).

with Hus, it seems as if the authorities were planning to eliminate any relics of Jerome from emerging.²⁶²

The final document in the account of Jerome of Prague is the letter from Poggio Bracciolini to Leonard Aretin, as it had been in the previous edition. This is preceded by a headline proclaiming: ‘Lettres d’attestation de la constance & vertu admirable dudit de Prague’, (although the only letter which follows is that of Poggio).²⁶³ The Poggio letter was again included verbatim, and this time Crespin added marginal glosses to aid the reader. Most of these are simple pointers to parts of the text, such as: ‘Articles de l’accusation’, while towards Jerome’s execution they provide some commentary: ‘L’eloquence & persuasion de Hierome; Horreur de la prison en laquelle Hierome a este detenu.’²⁶⁴ One of these marginal notes allowed Crespin to again comment on Poggio’s position in respect to Jerome: ‘Pogge incertain s’il doit nommer la verite heresie’ next to a passage where the letter refuses to wade into the theological issues at stake in the hearings.²⁶⁵

Crespin’s final engagement with the life and death of Jerome of Prague came with his publication of the 1570 *Livre des Martyrs*. The text for this was identical to that from the 1564 edition, with the exception that once more the framing of Poggio’s letter was changed. Crespin dropped the previous edition’s headline which promised more than one letter, and introduced a new sub-headline in place of the one which served in 1555 and 1564. This read: ‘Attestation de la Constance & eloquence admirable de Hierome de Prague escrite par Pogge Florentin, present au Concile de Constance, par laquelle (combien qu’il fust sectateur des supposts de Rome) la constance de Hierome de Prague est descrite en ses responses & apres la

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid. (Letters attesting to the constancy and admirable virtue of the said of Prague).

²⁶⁴ Ibid, pp. 69-70. (The eloquence & persuasion of Jerome; Horror of the prison in which Jerome was detained).

²⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 68. (Poggio uncertain that he named the correct heresy).

sentence de mort'.²⁶⁶ The remainder of the letter, including the marginal glosses, is reproduced as before.

Jerome's place in history has long been controversial, and his portrayal in the *Livre des Martyrs* contains most of the reasons why that has been so. Throughout, he is presented as a companion, or a subordinate to Hus, and the smaller space he has been given reflects that, as does the narrative, included from 1555, of him rushing to Hus' aid, and then betraying him. Jerome, too, was portrayed more in terms of his actions and trial than his ideas and his doctrines. In 1555, twenty-one articles against him were detailed, but they were omitted from the compendium editions. In 1564, the reader is told about more than 100 articles levelled against Jerome, but these are not given in detail as they were against Hus. Some of this emphasis is surely due to the sources available to Crespin: in 1554, he appears to have only had available Poggio's letter to Aretin which, as we have seen, was concerned with Jerome as an exemplar of Stoic behaviour rather than as a challenger to the doctrines of the Church. The later additions, if they do not greatly expand our knowledge of Jerome's beliefs, at least attempt to portray him in a better light. They never attempt to deny his recantation, but they do stress his loyalty to Hus from the earlier days, and so implicate him more fully in the reform movement, as do the passages where Jerome swears his loyalty to Hus' doctrines. Crespin was also forthcoming about Jerome's recantation, including it consistently from 1555, and comparing it to St Peter's denial of Christ. Jerome's inclusion was predicated primarily on his relationship with Hus, and his behaviour. The recantation attacked both of those factors, but was allowed to stay

²⁶⁶ Crespin, 1570, p. 39 verso. (Attestation of the constancy & admirable eloquence of Jerome of Prague written by Poggio Florentine, present at the Council of Constance, by which (all the more as he was a sectary of the deputies of Rome) the constancy of Jerome of Prague is described in these responses & after the sentence of death).

The Hussite Wars

The execution of Jan Hus was followed very quickly by an outbreak of warfare in Bohemia. Religious radicals in Prague and in the countryside attempted, in a variety of ways, to reform their local church, while a large, noble, Hussite League quickly placed itself in opposition to the crown. Two major factions became apparent, though both accepted the Utraquist argument. The socially moderate Praguers, and the radical, rural Taborites found themselves in competition, even at war during one brief period, but they managed to exclude Sigismund, who ascended the Bohemian throne in 1419, from his kingdom until 1436. In the popular memory, this was largely accomplished by the general Jan Zizka, who led a largely Taborite force against the King, the Praguers, and the crusades launched against the Bohemian kingdom by the Papacy.

In the sixteenth century, the most prominent historian of these wars, and indeed of the entire Hussite movement, was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II. Aneas Sylvius served the papacy at Basel and at the Imperial court from 1431 to 1455, and gained a reputation as an expert in transalpine affairs.²⁶⁷ On a mission to Bohemia he debated with Hussites, and visited the city of Tabor, home of the Taborites. As Pope, he secured the Compacts of Basel, which had allowed the Hussites to remain in communion with Rome while practicing Utraquism, in part hoping to use their military prowess in a crusading campaign. As a cardinal he drew on this experience to write one of the definitive texts on Bohemia, the *Historia Bohemica* (1458).²⁶⁸ This work, though covering centuries of Bohemian history, is primarily focused on the events of the fifteenth century, after the Council of Constance. Howard Kaminsky has criticized Aneas Sylvius' analysis of the theology

²⁶⁷ Kaminsky, Howard. 'Pius Aeneas Among the Taborites' in *American Society of Church History* 28:3 (1959), p. 281.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 283.

in the *Historia Bohemica*, feeling that it gives too much prominence to the Taborite faction, which he regarded as influenced by ‘Waldensian errors, which thus seem to be part of the general body of Hussite doctrine’, as against the more moderate Praguers, Four Articles of Prague, which the groups shared.²⁶⁹ It seems Aeneas Sylvius was aware of the other aspects of Hussitism; earlier works of his, such as an oration of 1455, downplayed the importance of the Taborites and Waldensian influence.²⁷⁰ Kaminsky has suggested that the ‘crude treatment of the 1458 *History*...simply inserted a list of Waldensian articles into the narrative’.²⁷¹ In addition to *Historia Bohemica*, Crespin could have drawn upon other work by Aeneas Sylvius (his 1455 oration, and a letter of 1451), and the *Commentariorum...Concilio Baslia* of 1525, which included many documents relating to Hus, Jerome, and the Hussite wars. What Crespin did draw from Poggio’s works was not the doctrine of the Hussites, or the Taborite faction, but instead the events of the 1410s and 1420s in Bohemia. All doctrinal matters were discussed in the accounts of the martyrs, Hus and Jerome; the story of the aftermath of their execution was a *Recit d’Histoire* (first in form, and then in name), and so not the place for such discussion.

The Hussite Wars, and the Taborites especially, have fit a variety of historical frameworks in the centuries after they appeared. The early Taborite pledge that all things were to be held in common, and their stances on the abolition of debts and rents have, along with their battles against the crown and the Church hierarchy, made them an attractive subject for Marxist historians, who saw Hussite religious concerns as elaborating social and class conflict.²⁷² Some, like Macek, saw the

²⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 284-5.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 299.

²⁷¹ Ibid, p. 303.

²⁷² Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, pp. 168-9 for the Taborite social stances.

Hussite wars as the ‘most powerful and effective attack upon feudalism up to that time’.²⁷³ Kavka saw them as channeling all of the opposition to the social system toward the established Church, which ‘sanctioned the whole social system of the Middle Ages.’²⁷⁴ Their success in protecting and spreading the Hussite movement, was such that Fudge felt able to claim: ‘Hus arrived in Constance he was thrown into prison, degraded from the priesthood and burned as a heretic. At the next general council his followers were admitted as equals.’²⁷⁵ Although without this military and political success, Hussitism might have failed, or disappeared quickly, this was not the focus of this part of the account. The *Livre des Martyrs* focused throughout on Hus, and to a lesser degree Jerome of Prague. They were, of course, the principal martyrs of their movement, but they were also among its leading early thinkers. The emphasis on the martyrs of Constance placed theology, and relatively moderate theology, at the centre of the Hussite experience, rather than a history of the warfare and political manoeuvring which followed.

In 1554, Crespin began his account of this period on the same page as Jerome’s execution ended, separating the two with a large-type headline reading: ‘Ce qui advenu depuis la mort de Jean Hus, & de Hierosme de Prague martyrs.’²⁷⁶ This was a nearly five-page narrative account, centred on the tensions within Prague in the years after the executions at the Council of Constance. It is also the only account of the Hussites which showed them demanding the Eucharist in both kinds—a central issue of the conflict which was so important in the trials. Crespin shows the legacy of the Council being carried back to Bohemia with the witnesses of it:

²⁷³ Josef Macek. *The Hussite Movement in Bohemia*, (Prague, 1958). p. 13.

²⁷⁴ Frantisek Kavka ‘The Hussite Movement in the Czech Republic’ in Teich, Mikulas, *Bohemia in History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p. 832.

²⁷⁵ Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, p. 276.

²⁷⁶ Crespin, 1554, p. 139. (What happened after the death of Jan Hus, and of Jerome of Prague, martyrs).

Les cendres de ces deux Martyrs furent jetees au lac de Constance, de peur que ceux de Boheme ne les emportassent. Toutesfois leurs disciples emporterent de la terre du lieu ou ils avoyent este bruslez, & l'emporterent en leur pays comme une chose sainte & sacree. Et furent ces deux bons personnages honorez en Boheme comme Martyrs excellens de Jesus Christ. Car apres que nouvelles furent venues en Boheme de ce qu'on avoit faict a Constance ausdicts M. Jean Hus & Hierosme, leurs disciples, & adherens s'assemblerent, & en premier lieu solonizerent la memoire d'iceux, & ordonnerent qu'elle seroit celebree tous les ans.²⁷⁷

They were able to obtain some churches (rendered as 'temples' throughout this passage) in which they could preach, and render the sacraments to the people, though the exact nature of these is not mentioned, though one presumes it was according to the new dispensation.²⁷⁸ There was then a bout of serious attacks on monastic churches, with little attempt to mitigate or excuse them. The account describes how the people of the city of 'Slavonie' (Slavonice, in Moravia) demolished a church belonging to the Jacopins (Dominicans), and that this was not the last of the churches demolished by the followers of Hus 'car ils on rase plusieurs autres, jusques aux fondemens: mis le feu en plusieurs autres, qui estoient somptuesement bastis.'²⁷⁹ The narrative spends a relatively long time outlining the richness with which Catholic Bohemian temples were built and decorated, not only in towns and cities, but in the villages, as well.²⁸⁰ This passage strongly resembles

²⁷⁷ Ibid, pp. 139-140. (The cinders of these two martyrs were thrown into Lake Constance, from fear, that those of Bohemia could not carry them off. However, their disciples carried off the earth of the place where they had been burned, & carried in their country as a sacred and holy thing. And these two good persons were honoured in Bohemia as excellent martyrs of Jesus Christ. For after the news was taken to Bohemia of what had happened at Constance to the said M. Jan Hus & Jerome, their disciples & adherents assembled, & in the first place commemorated the memory of them, & ordained that they would be celebrated every year).

²⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 140.

²⁷⁹ Ibid. (For they razed many others, down to the foundations, fired many others which had been sumptuously built).

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

one found in Aeneas Sylvius, which declares that the monastic church of Glatouiam was the first of the many fine Bohemian churches to be sacked.²⁸¹

The monastic burial place of the Bohemian kings (known today as Zbraslav) is described in especial detail, including the living quarters for the monks and the biblical passages painted across the walls, before describing how, after the death of Wenceslas IV, the monastery was sacked, and ‘les disciples de Hus ruinerent tout cela’.²⁸² One of the Taborite movement’s demands to the Prager faction in 1420 was the destruction of all monasteries, which though blocked within Prague itself, was carried out in many other instances.²⁸³ Other sources which reported on the sacking described the recently deceased king’s body being hauled from its tomb, mocked and plied with wine, details which are not present here.²⁸⁴ Crespin moves from this lengthy passage to a shorter one which describes a mass assembly of 30,000 on the hill which they named Tabor, near Bechingue (Bechyne), where 300 tables in the open air were established to: ‘administrerent la Cene au peuple sous les deux especes tant du pain que du vin’, partly through being driven out from their own towns and church.²⁸⁵ This passage closely follows Aeneas Sylvius’ account of the first popular masses.²⁸⁶

This movement was the radical, ‘left’ wing of Hussitism, informed by a chiliasm and communalism on which Crespin did not dwell; ‘Tabor’ itself would eventually be crystallised into a new, fortified, town. The rural movement concerned king Wenceslas (the chronology here is confused- this event occurred in 1419), with its overtones of sedition and even rebellion. This account places the priest Coranda

²⁸¹ Aeneas Sylvius, *Historia Bohemica*, (Rome: 1475), p. 38 verso.

²⁸² Crespin, 1554, p. 141. (The disciples of Hus ruined all there).

²⁸³ Frederick Heymann, *John Zizka and the Hussite Revolution* (Princeton, 1955). p. 167.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 168.

²⁸⁵ Crespin, 1554, p. 141. (Administered the Eucharist to people in both kinds, in bread as well as in wine).

²⁸⁶ Aeneas Sylvius, p. 30.

at the centre of the unrest, urging followers to pray for the king, drunkard and coward though he might be, for he would not dare to clamp down on their reforms.²⁸⁷ Curiously, this is said to have endeared him to Wenceslas. At the same time another priest, Jean, (Jan Zelivsky) was encouraging more action within Prague. On his urging, the Hussites seized for their use the Carmelite church, Mother of God of the Snows, and then ‘portoyent presque tous les jours leur hostie par leurs temples’, before petitioning the king through a gentleman named Nicholas for more churches.²⁸⁸ These details, too appear to have been derived from the *Historia Bohemica*.²⁸⁹ The king’s reaction is to retire across the river to his castle of ‘Vissegrade’ (Vyšehrad), and thereafter even farther from his rebellious capital.²⁹⁰ The account ends there, in mid-1419, with Tabor rising and the king under pressure, before the Defenestration of Prague and the death of Wenceslas, although a glimpse is given of that violence, in the form of the attacks on churches which followed that event.²⁹¹

In 1555’s edition, Crespin revised this section dealing with unrest in Bohemia after the executions, giving an entirely new account, although possibly drawn from some of the same sources. Whereas the first edition largely gave an account of events in Prague before the Defenestration of 1419, the 1555 edition’s version of events starts after it, and makes no mention of the action and the deaths of the city councillors.²⁹² This, like the previous year’s, followed on directly from Jerome’s section, and was not fully separated from it. Instead, a line in italics, resembling the sub-headlines used elsewhere, introduced ‘Ce qui est advenu après la

²⁸⁷ Crespin, 1554, p. 142. Coranda was in fact based in Pilsen, where he was joined by Zizka - Heymann, p. 88.

²⁸⁸ Crespin, 1554, pp.142-3. Kaminsky, 277. (Carrying nearly every day their host by their temples).

²⁸⁹ Aeneas Sylvius, p. 30 verso.

²⁹⁰ Crespin, 1554, p. 143.

²⁹¹ Kaminsky, p. 277, gives us this dating.

²⁹² Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, pp. 90-93.

mort de Jean Hus & Hierome de Prague’, removing the reference to ‘martyrs’.²⁹³

The account is four and a half pages long, similar to the account it replaces, although in this instance it runs onto the extra *cahier*, marked with roman numerals; the pagination is only rejoined after a series of Lollard accounts.

In this edition, the section begins by explaining the rage which the execution of Hus and Jerome caused in Bohemia, and the immediate reaction by their followers, ‘qui par leur moyen avoyent pris quelque goust de la parole de Dieu... eussent certains temples, ausquels ils peussent francement faire prescher la parole, & administrer les Sacraments.’²⁹⁴ He also does not mention that Jan Zizka, the focus of most of this passage, seems to have abandoned his post at the royal court to participate in, and perhaps lead, this action.²⁹⁵ To protest the actions of the Council, and preserve the memory of Hus his followers had minted ‘la monoye Hussitique’, which bore the inscription ‘After one hundred years you will have to answer to God, and to me’, which were supposedly the words of Hus himself to those condemning him.²⁹⁶ Crespin explains that what Hus had actually meant by this was that he could be confident that a century hence, all of those would have died and gone before God’s judgement, and made to account for their conduct at the Council.²⁹⁷ He notes, however, that Martin Luther, ‘grand restaurateur de l’Evangile, homme de saint m  moire...   autrement entendu ce propos’, which can be found in his commentary on Daniel; in it, Luther seemed to suggest that the prophecy indeed made reference to himself.²⁹⁸ Crespin gives another rendition of the prophecy:

²⁹³ Crespin, 1555, p. CXXX.

²⁹⁴ Ibid. (Who by their means had taken some taste of the word of God... had some temples, at which they could sincerely preach the word & administer the Sacraments).

²⁹⁵ Heymann, p. 64. At p. 34, he suggests Zizka’s post as *cliens de curia domina regis* would have been something ‘semi-military’, such as palace guard or bodyguard.

²⁹⁶ Crespin, 1555, p. CXXX.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, p. CXXXI.

²⁹⁸ Ibid. (Great restorer of the Gospel, a man of holy memory... had otherwise understood this remark).

‘Saint Jean Hus (dit il) a esté le precurseur ou avantcourer du mespris de la Papauté, comme il leur prophetisa en esprit, disant, Apres cent ans vous en responderez à Dieu & à moy. Et derechef, Maintenant certes ils rotiront l’Oye (car en langue Bohemienne Hus signifie cela) mais ils ne rotieront pas le Cygne, qui viendra apres moy.’²⁹⁹

Crespin then points out the co-incidence of dates, with Hus’ execution at Constance occurring in 1416, and Luther’s arguments with the Papacy from 1517 (though as is established elsewhere in Crespin’s own narrative, Hus died in 1415).

Having established this link between Hus and the sixteenth-century reformers, the *Livre des Martyrs* then returns its focus to the events in Bohemia itself. This narration of the Hussite wars is viewed almost entirely through the biography of Jan Zizka, the nemesis of Zelivsky (the protagonist of the 1554 account), one of the primarily military leaders of the Hussite movement, and certainly the most iconic. Although the material derived from Aeneas Sylvius that was used in 1554 had been entirely removed, Crespin returned to the work for his material on Zizka. The *Historia Bohemica* is cited in Crespin’s text twice in one paragraph, with the immediate qualification that it came from: Aeneas leur ennemi mortel, qui depuis fut Pape du Rome, nomme Pius second.³⁰⁰ His life and connections with the royal court are rehearsed, as are his military background and eye lost in battle.³⁰¹ The reader is told that Zizka regarded the execution of Hus and Jerome as an insult to the Bohemian Kingdom, (as other documents show, he would not have been alone in this view) and gathered together an army:

²⁹⁹ Ibid. (Saint Jan Hus (he said), to be the precursor or forerunner of the contempt of the Papacy, as he to them prophesised in spirit, saying: After one hundred years you will answer to God and to me. And again: Now certainly they have cooked the Goose (for in the Czech language Hus means that), but they will not cook the Swan, who comes after me).

³⁰⁰ Crespin, 1570, p. 42 verso. In 1555’s version, Crespin only notes that Aeneas was a mortal enemy, and neglects to mention the fact that he eventually became Pope. (Their mortal enemy, who later became Pope of Rome, called Pius the Second).

³⁰¹ See Heymann, pp.25-32 for Zizka’s exploits in Poland against the Teutonic Order.

proposant de venger l'outrage du Concile de Constance. Et pource qu'il ne se pouvoit prendre aux auteurs du faict, il delibera de server sur leurs complices & ceux de leur ligue, à savoir, sur les Prestres, Moines, & semblables vermines. Suyvant donc sa poincte, il commença à demolir & gaster les Eglises, à mettre en pieces les images, à destruire les monasteres & chasser les Moines, pource qu'il disoit que c'estoyent pourceaux, qui s'engressoyent en ces cloistres. Finalement, il amassa plus de quarante mille hommes, tous bien deliberez de maintenir à l'epée la doctrine de Jean Hus.³⁰²

Even among Taborites Zizka seems to have been notable for his hostility to monks, and he showed them no mercy when captured.³⁰³ Sigismund, who had inherited the Bohemian throne from his brother, and thus was the rightful king, was kept out of the kingdom by Zizka as an enemy of their faith, mistrusted for his abandonment of Hus earlier.³⁰⁴

As a result, Zizka-- who is again made to stand for the Hussite movement as a whole-- was assaulted by papal forces (indeed, Sigismund arranged for a crusade to be declared against his rebellious and heretical subjects) and showed his military genius by repelling them. Zizka's exploits were apparently too good to resist printing, and Crespin outlines how he defeated one mounted force by the fact that he: 'commanda aux femmes... de semer leurs longs couvrechefs en terre, ausquels les esperons des Chevaliers s'entotillerent.'³⁰⁵ This seems to have been drawn from Aeneas' account of the battle of Sudomer, in 1420; most other relations of this battle

³⁰² Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. CXXXI- CXXXII. (Proposing to avenge the outrage of the Council of Constance. Because he could not get to the authors of the deed, he decided to serve on their accomplices & those of their league, namely, on the Priests, Monks, & similar other vermin. Following thus his point, he began to demolish & waste Churches, to break images to pieces, to destroy monasteries & drive out the Monks, because that he said that it was for those, that he entered in these cloisters. Finally, he amassed more than forty thousand men, all well determined to maintain by the sword the doctrine of Jan Hus).

³⁰³ Heymann, 448.

³⁰⁴ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. CXXXII.

³⁰⁵ Ibid. (Commanded their women... to strew their long veils on the ground, in which they hoped the Knights would be entangled).

have the royalist knights bogged down in the marshy ground rather than women's attire.³⁰⁶ The participation of women in Zizka's armies was a commonly-used trope.³⁰⁷ In another encounter he seized horses and taught his men to ride, establishing a fully capable army.³⁰⁸ Amongst Zizka's varied victories are omitted those over the more conservative Prager faction in 1423 and 1424, in a series of conflicts between Hussite groups.

The text also credits Zizka, and not the Hussite masses, with the foundation of the town of Tabor, which in this telling was a settlement for the Hussite armies. No mention is made of the mass-meetings outlined in 1554's edition. In the version of events in the *Livre des Martyrs*, Zizka founded it when he realised that his troops had no-where to which to retreat, and selected a place himself. His soldiers were thus ever afterwards known as 'Taborites'.³⁰⁹ They were viewed with some concern by the moderates in Prague.³¹⁰ Zizka's role was to give some order to the fledgling community, and he was elected as one of its four captains some months after its foundation in 1420.³¹¹ At no point are the beliefs or actions of the Taborites explained to the readers of the martyrology.

The remainder of the account celebrates Zizka's defence of Bohemia against ever-increasing imperial armies, the loss of his remaining eye, and his death of plague (in 1424) en route to negotiate with Sigismund about a settlement that would supposedly have granted 'tout charge & autorite sous soy.'³¹² It ends by re-inforcing Zizka's legend: he supposedly requested that his skin be made into a drum to lead

³⁰⁶ Thomas Fudge, *The Crusades Against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418- 1437*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 38n.

³⁰⁷ Heymann, p. 138n.

³⁰⁸ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. CXXXIII.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Heymann, p. 79.

³¹¹ Ibid, p. 96.

³¹² Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. CXXXIII. This is cited, accurately, as coming from Aneas Sylvius, though rejected as historical fact by Heymann, p. 433. (All charge and authority under him).

armies against his enemies, and his tomb to read: ‘frayeur du Pape, la ruine des Prestres, la mort & destruction des Moines, & c.’³¹³ This macabre story is also drawn from Aeneas Sylvius, building again the legend of Zizka. The warlord’s primacy came again at the expense of the other actors; the account of Bohemia post-Hus ends with Zizka’s death, and the reader is never told what happened to the remaining Hussites, or the outcome of the war.

This focus on Zizka removes the responsibility for the sackings of monasteries from the unruly mob and gives it to one man with a coherent plan of action. Aeneas Sylvius’s depiction of Zizka, as a powerful and dynamic force - almost superhuman, if malign - may have been influenced by his role in winning the Utraquists back to the Catholic fold, ‘in part from a desire to make the most out of this anticipated crusade against the Turks’.³¹⁴ It was certainly an image well suited to Crespin’s purposes.

Crespin did not engage with the doctrinal elements of the wars. His account has the Hussites fighting for the doctrines of Hus, but in reality the situation had long moved past Hus’ own positions. Utraquism, communion in both kinds, had become the central issue, agreed by both Prague moderates and Taborite radicals, and had only been approved by Hus in a letter, rather than formulated by him. The question appears nowhere in the lengthy discussion of Hus’ beliefs before the Council of Constance; it was cut from the accusations made against the Hussites by the Bishop of Litomysl.

In 1564, with the chance to edit all of his material, Crespin re-arranged the structure of what had become the *Premier Livre* and ten pages of unrelated material were inserted between the end of Jerome’s account and the beginning of the

³¹³ Crespin, 1555, p. CXXXVIII This detail, again rejected by Heymann, also come from Aeneas Sylvius. (Terror of the Pope, ruin of the Priests, the death & destruction of Monks etc).

³¹⁴ Kaminsky, ‘Aeneas Sylvius’, p. 301.

discussion of the Hussite wars. This seems to have been done for reasons of chronology, as the first of the intervening accounts is of Catherine Saube, dated 1417. The 1564 account has the same sub-headline as the preceding version, but as it does not follow other Hussite material it is also provided with a full headline declaring simply: *Recit d'Histoire*.³¹⁵ The text is very similar, with some minor changes to the phrasing, and a few embellishments which seem intended to make the document easier to read. The text on the Hussite coin, declaring 'Après cent ans vous en respondrez a Dieu & a moy' is picked out in capital letters, and a learned aside is moved from the body of the text to the margin.³¹⁶ With regard to the question of what Hus had meant by those words, Crespin made small but significant changes, so that where Luther was described as 'the great restorer of the Church... the man of holy memory', he is in 1564 simply named. Luther's theory, that Hus had predicted the coming of the Reformation, was also changed to stress that this was a prophetic statement.³¹⁷ Crespin's description of Zizka also changed in emphasis; 'gentil homme' became 'homme fort exerce en armes', and his reaction to the executions at Constance is no longer claimed to be for reasons of national pride.³¹⁸ Aside from these minor changes, largely those of emphasis, the section is concluded with changes to Zizka's epitaph, to become 'protecteur du pays, Frayeur du Pape, Fleau de la prestaille', and two more lines comparing himself to heroes of the Roman Republic, and his assurance of lasting fame '[s]i l'envie de adversaires n'empechoit.'³¹⁹

³¹⁵ Crespin, 1565, p. 80.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. CXXXI; Crespin 1565, p. 80.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Crespin, 1565, p. 81. (Protector of his country, Terror of the Pope, Flail of the Priesthood... if the envy of his adversaries does not prevent it).

In 1570, Crespin reunited the narrative of the Hussite Wars with the executions at Constance. This meant that there was no need for a full headline to the section, and the section was headed with a small italic line reading: ‘Histoire de ce qui est advenu après la mort de Jean Hus, & Hierome de Prague.’³²⁰ This time, the account has been bolstered with new material, which expanded it from two folio pages to four. The account starts in this iteration with the letter eventually signed by 452 lords of Moravia, a long document which runs to nearly two folio pages. This document is a successor to the petition to which the Bishop of Litomysl had replied during Hus’ trial. Dated, in the copy Crespin used, from the feast of the national saint Wenceslaus, 1415, the letter is rooted in feelings of injured national pride at the accusation of having harboured and followed heretics. Indeed, the letter condemns the execution of Hus on the basis of ‘seul rapport, fausses accusations, & meschantes calomnies de ses enemies mortels, traitres tant de ce nostre Royaume, que de marquisat de Moravie.’³²¹ Due to a mistranslation of the original Latin, or omission of the phrase: ‘et jam forte’, Crespin’s printing of this document also seems to condemn the execution of Jerome of Prague in the year before it took place.³²²

The condemnation is made in the sort of nationalist terms which had been associated with Zizka in 1555’s edition, and then removed: ‘Vous l’avez condamne comme obstine heretique... vous l’avez fair mourir d’une mort cruelle & honteuse, le faisant (comme on nous a recite) brusler tout vif: au grand deshonneur du tres-

³²⁰ Crespin, 1570, p. 41 recto. (History of that which came after the death of Jan Hus, & Jerome of Prague).

³²¹ Ibid. (Sole report, false accusations & evil calumnies of his mortal enemies, traitors to our Kingdom, that of the marquisate of Moravia).

³²² Crespin, 1570, p. 41 verso. The original, in Palacky, *Documenta*, p. 582, reads *sine omni misericordia comprehensum incarcerastis et trucidastis et jam forte, sicut et Johannes Hus, crudelissima morte interemistis*. Crespin’s has this as *vous l’avez cruellement traite, & mis a morte comme Hus...*

chrestien royaume de Boheme, & tres-illustre marquisat de Moravie, de nous tous...'³²³ The letter defends Hus against all accusations of heresy, suggesting that those who:

‘dit qu’il y a des heresies semees en Boheme ou Moravie, qui nous ayent infectez & autres fideles du Royaume, cestuy-la, disons-nous, a faususement menti par sa venimeuse langue & puante gorge, comme meschant traître des susdits Royaume & Marquisat : & comme pervers & mal-heureux heretique luy-meme...’³²⁴

The letter appears to have been reproduced verbatim aside from one paragraph, in which the lords declared their kingdom and marquisate’s longstanding loyalty to the Catholic Church, throughout the periods of schism and antipopes, which was cut entirely.³²⁵

The lords proclaim their intention to one day plead their case before the Apostolic throne (against which Crespin added a marginal note reading: ‘La simple ignorance qu’on avoit encore du siege de Rome, les abusoit.’)³²⁶ This letter became a basis for the Hussite League, founded three days later by fifty-five of the fifty-eight original signatories.³²⁷ A list of fifty-four names is included as having signed the letter, which identifies the copy used by Crespin as the last of eight which were signed in different areas of Bohemia.³²⁸ After the letter, and list of names, the

³²³ Crespin 1570, p. 41 recto. (You have been condemned as an obstinate heretic... you have to die a cruel & shameful death, to (as we recited) burn alive: to the great dishonour of the Christian kingdom of Bohemia, & illustrious marquisate of Moravia of us all).

³²⁴ Ibid, p. 41 verso. (Said that there are heresies seeded in Bohemia or Moravia, whom we have infected & other faithful of the Kingdom, this person, we say, falsely lied by his venomous tongue & stinking throat, as a wicked traitor of the said Kingdom & Marquisate: & as a perverse & unhappy heretic himself).

³²⁵ Compare Crespin, 1570, p. 41 verso with Palacky, p. 583.

³²⁶ Crespin, 1570, p 41 verso. (The simple faith which they still had in the seat of Rome, was abused).

³²⁷ Kaminsky, p. 144. The original letter was dated September 2; Crespin’s is dated from the Feast of St Wenceslaus, which would have fallen later in the month. The discrepancy is explained by Crespin’s copying of a version which was signed later by a different group of nobles (see below).

³²⁸ Compare with document 85 (VIII) in Palacky, p. 589.

narrative returns to the form it held in the two previous editions. Zizka's attacks on ecclesiastical buildings (represented this time as 'demolir les temples') are again one of the major themes of the discussion.³²⁹

The Hussite wars were hugely important to the survival of the Utraquist movement in Bohemia, and they could have been used by Crespin as a demonstration of resistance to Catholic forces (by a motivated nobility, no less). However, they received relatively little space within the *Livre des Martyrs*, and much of that focussed on a few specific events. Much of this must be due to Crespin's own conception of the martyrology, which was always more concerned with individuals than with historical moments. From this point of view, it is somewhat remarkable that any such history was included as early as 1554's edition, although even by 1570, when historical sections were more common, it was still almost a footnote to the deaths of Hus and Jerome. More material could have been included, from a number of the sources Crespin had already used—Foxe's 1563 edition, for example, presented a much longer version of the Hussite wars which included elements found in each of Crespin's accounts, and in more detail. That this was not done should not suggest that he was entirely content with the section; it was modified in each subsequent edition, and had another edition been produced, it may have changed again.

There were two main versions of the events after the executions at Constance: that in the 1554 edition, which focussed on the events in Prague in 1419, and that in the later editions, which covered some of Zizka's battles up to his death in 1424. Though there is little overlap in the material which the two narratives cover, there are some similarities of theme and of approach. Both main versions

³²⁹ Crespin, 1570, p. 42 recto.

mention the iconoclasm, and anti-clericalism, of the Hussite movement, with the 1554 account spending a significant amount of time describing the riches of the Bohemian Church. Both versions also mention the foundation of the town of Tabor, though 1554's describes it as the outgrowth of mass meetings held to receive the sacrament, a view closer to the modern consensus. In 1555, 1564 and 1570, Tabor's foundation is the work of Zizka, done primarily to house his army. These later accounts give more prominence to the noble Hussite League, and the Taborite general than to the mass demonstrations in Prague and in the countryside. This more closely accords with Aeneas Sylvius' account, and indeed with Crespin's technique of portraying events primarily through their leading members, but it also reduces the role of the masses, and thus the more radical elements in Hussite history.

Conclusion

Between Hus, Jerome, and the Hussite wars, Crespin devoted a substantial amount of space to the Bohemians- 143 pages of octavo in 1554, and 54 of folio in his 1570 edition. The majority of that space was devoted to the account of Hus, which was itself primarily an account of his trial; the ratio of *acta* to *passio* is in Hus' case near to 100:1. As such, the Hussite pages contain a high proportion of religious discussion, of which a great deal is very sophisticated. Hus' doctrines, so far as they were presented at the trial, and related by Mladonovice, were included by Crespin in the *Livre des Martyrs*, though not without a series of small cuts and modifications. Most significantly, Crespin removed the portions of Hus' defence in which he claimed that his doctrines were compatible with the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

As we shall see in relation to the Lutherans, Eucharistic theology was of the highest importance to Crespin, and indeed to the Reformed movement in this period. Hus' statements on the sacraments were thus brought into line (by omitting the offending passages, not altering them), which ensured that he could be presented as being in opposition to the Catholic Church on the single most important area of disagreement. This Eucharistic interest, however, seems not to have extended to the most striking of the Hussite stances: the Utraquist insistence on the sacrament being given in both kinds. The topic would have been difficult to raise in Hus' or Jerome's accounts, for they left Bohemia before the practice was widely spread, and only a single letter connects Hus to the practice. The writings on which Hus was being examined contained no mention of Utraquism. However, whatever evidence is given, the accusations levelled by the Bishop of Litomysl were purged of their mention of the Utraquist practice, which had appeared in Mladonovice.³³⁰ Utraquism, which had been practiced by the Hussites and was acceptable to the Reformed, was removed from the list of accusations along with other, more damaging, ones. Jerome's trial similarly did not touch on the question. He, too, had left Bohemia before the practice became common, and there was nothing in his trial to indicate that he was accused of participating in it. Even the list of twenty-one articles that appeared in the 1555 edition makes no reference to his sacramental theology beyond the sixteenth, which states 'The Eucharist can be given at all times and places to all who repent', an inclusive attitude which was shared by the Utraquists without approaching their position.³³¹ With the question of Utraquism avoided in both Hus and Jerome's accounts, it could have been addressed in the short history of the Hussite wars. This it was, passingly, in the 1554 account, where

³³⁰ Spinka, *Council*, p. 128.

³³¹ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. 184.

Tabor was described as a place where thousands would gather to be given ‘la Cene... sous les deux especes tant du pain que de vin.’³³² This recognition of the Taborite movement’s early days was not expanded on, and was excluded from all subsequent editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*. Rather than being the central motivating force of the Hussites, Utraquism was briefly presented as part of the rural mass movement, and quickly removed.

Crespin was, naturally, reliant on his sources, and on this front, too, there is real difference between the different Hussite accounts. Hus’ remained static, indeed nearly identical from the first edition to the last, while those of Jerome and the Hussite wars changed several times. In Jerome’s case, this was probably because the first edition’s source was both incomplete, and furnished by an author presumed to be hostile. When Crespin had the ability, the following year, to add information from elsewhere, such as Foxe, he did so. What is unusual, however, is that if he did add to Jerome’s account from Foxe, he did not take anything from Foxe’s version of Hus. He did not use information from official trial documents not included in Mladonovice, which would have contained more information on the beliefs of his antagonists, perhaps due to difficulty in obtaining them through a source he trusted. Crespin did not make as much use as he could have from Aeneas Sylvius, either, although including more from the *Historia Bohemica* would have given him more narrative history, rather than martyrological material. His depiction of the Hussites was therefore largely based around the narrative of Mladonovice, who was like so many of Crespin’s sources, an eyewitness and friend of the victim.

Hus and his followers were the first entries in Crespin’s first edition, and though they were soon superceded by Wyclif, they never lost their prominence in

³³² Crespin, 1554, p. 141. (The Eucharist... in both kinds, in bread as well as in wine).

the martyrology's scheme of late medieval reform. Along with the Lollards, who joined them in 1555, they represented almost the entirety of pre-Reformation resistance to the Catholic Church. Their role was such that they could not simply be excused faults on the basis that they did not know any better, and were at least opposed to the fallen Catholic Church: dispensations that Crespin would extend to the Vaudois for their errors. Instead, the Hussites were portrayed as explicit forebears to the coming of the Reformation a century later. In 1554, the Hussites concluded on page 143. On page 144, the first Lutheran martyr was introduced. From 1555 onwards, the two movements were instead brought together by the legend of Hus' prophecy, which was linked to Luther by the reformer's own writing. Thus, Crespin knit the Hussites into the *Livre des Martyrs* as fully fledged members of the True Church.

‘Luther n’est point mort pour moy’: Crespin and Lutheran Martyrs

Unlike the Hussites or the Lollards, the Lutherans depicted in the *Livre des Martyrs* were nearly contemporary with the Reformed martyrs. Unlike the Vaudois, the Lutherans and Reformed had an often overlapping tradition and membership, especially in Germany and the Low Countries. Crespin implicitly treated the Lutherans as being part of his own era, and used Luther as the dividing line between the ‘old times’ and the present age of persecution. Although Crespin occasionally had disputes with the Lutherans, and was well aware of differences between them and the Reformed Church, he treated them in this context as part of the same movement. He does not identify Lutheran martyrs as being in any way different from Reformed ones; there are none of the caveats that mark his description of Vaudois or Hussite beliefs. With the Lutherans, Crespin had reached a group who, despite some fundamental conflicts, he depicted as essentially part of the same movement. This was an approach which closely followed that of Calvin himself, who worked to maintain some level of unity with the Lutherans while revealing his disagreement with their tenets, and his frustration with Luther himself.

In his later editions, Crespin used the coming of Luther to indicate the beginning of a new era in the history of the Church. The first mention of Luther himself came in the context of the Hussite prophecy, which as we have seen, appeared in the *Livre des Martyrs* from 1555 onwards. Hussites had coined their own money, which featured the prophecy: ‘Après cent ans vous en responderez a Dieu & a moy: qui estoyent les propres paroles que Jean Hus avoit dict a ceux du

Concile’, meaning that in that span, all of his listeners would have died, and been subject to the judgement of God.¹ However :

pource que ce grand restaurateur de l’Evangile, homme de sainte memoire, Martin Luther, à autrement entendu ce propos: nous mettrons icy son interpretation comme il l’a escrite en ses commentaries sur Daniel. Saint Jean Hus (dit il) a este le precurseur ou avantcoureur du mespris de la Papaute, comme il leur prophetisa en esprit, disant, Apres cent ans vous en responderez a Dieu & a moy. Et derechef, Maintenant certes ils rotiront l’Oye (car en langue Bohemienne Hus signifie cela) mais ils nerotiront pas le Cygne, qui viendra apres moy. Et certainement ce qui est advenu à verifie & prouve sa prophetie. Car il fut brusle l’an 1416. & de nostre temps le different & debat qui a este esmeu pour les pardons du Pape, a commence l’an 1517.²

The introduction given to Heindrichs van Zutphen, the martyr immediately following the Hussites in 1554, also outlined the growth of ‘la Parolle de Dieu ...en plusieurs lieux’³ In a short paragraph before van Zutphen’s tale, Crespin argued that with the resurgence of the gospel had come a resurgence in the travails of the Church: ‘les persecutions de la primitive Eglise ont recommence...toutesfois il a bien voulu en ces temps cy séeller par le sang de ses fideles Martyrs, & par la mort

¹ Jean Crespin. *Recueil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment endure la mort pour le nom de Nostre Seigneur*, ([Geneva], Jean Crespin. 1555), Vol. 1, pp. CXXX- CXXXI. (After one hundred years you will answer to God & to me: these were the very words which Jan Hus had said to those of the Council).

² Ibid, p. CXXXI. (Because the great restorer of the Gospel, a man of holy memory, Martin Luther, had otherwise understood this remark: we put here his interpretation as it was written in his commentaries on Daniel. Saint Jan Hus (he said), to be the precursor or forerunner of the contempt of the Papacy, as he to them prophesised in spirit, saying: After one hundred years you will answer to God and to me. And again, now certainly they have cooked the Goose (for in the Czech language, Hus means that), but they will not cook the Swan, who comes after me. And certainly that which has happened has verified and proved the prophecy. For he was burned in the year 1416, & of our times the difference and debate which had been moved for the pardons [indulgences] of the Pope, had started in the year 1517).

³ Jean Crespin. *Recueil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment enduré la mort pour le nom de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ*, ([Geneva, Jean Crespin] 1554), p. 144. (The word of God... in many places).

d'iceux.⁴ This explanation was the extent of the context given to this new era of martyrdom in the 1554 edition, and it featured no mention of Luther, or any of the turmoil of the late 1510s and 1520s. Instead, the narrative moved immediately to van Zutphen's martyrdom. As the passage on Hus's prophecy was added in 1555, there was no mention of Martin Luther in the first edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*. In 1555, this passage had been changed by a rearrangement of the early martyrs, which added a number of Lollards executed during a: 'grande persecution en Angleterre contre les vrais & fideles serviteurs de Dieu.'⁵ These additions were included, however, in a new quire, and the link to the Lutherans in the opening paragraph of van Zutphen's account remained unchanged. The later octavo editions, up to the *Cinquieme Partie* of 1563, were primarily concerned with more recent events, and so presented Crespin with little opportunity to revisit the role played by Lutherans in this new age of the Church. It was with the collection of previously published work into the compendium edition of 1564 that Crespin had chance to revisit this information, and to apply to it some historical context and background which had not been included in the past.

This was first achieved with a mention of Luther in the introductory section: '*Advertissement a tous Chrestiens, touchant l'utilite qui revient de la lecture de ces Recueils des Martyrs*'. Luther is placed immediately after Savonarola in the context of the *Livre Premier* by making another reference to Hus' prophecy:

DIX HUIT ans après la mort du susdit martyr, ceste lumiere monta quelques degrez davantage, estant esclarcie en plusieurs poincts de la doctrine Chrestienne, necessaires à l'Eglise. Ce fut l'an M.D.XVII, quand Martin Luther commença de maintenir par articles, par predictions, & escrits

⁴ Ibid. (The persecutions of the primitive Church had begun again... nevertheless it was needed in these times that this be sealed by the blood of these faithful Martyrs, & by the death of them).

⁵ Crespin 1555, Vol 1, p. CXXXIII. (Great persecution in England against the true and faithful servants of God).

publiques la veritée de l'Evangile : l'annee cent & unieme apres le trespas de Jean Hus, lequel on maintient avoir predict aux Evesques qui estoient à Constance l'an M. CCCC. XV, lors qu'on le mena á la mort, Apres cent ans vous en respondrez a Dieu & a moy.⁶

The brief mention of Luther in the text on the Hussite Wars in 1564 remained almost as it had been in 1555, although the complementary language directed towards him was entirely removed. Luther was not described as 'ce grand restaurateur de l'Evangile' or 'homme de saint memoire', as he had been in 1555, instead he was simply 'Martin Luther'.⁷ It was supplemented elsewhere: Luther did not yet merit his own entry in the martyrology, but was featured in a couple of places before the first Lutheran martyrs, as a way of establishing some context for this new wave of persecution.

The section ostensibly on Savonarola which appeared in the 1564 and 1570 editions was primarily a discussion of the history of the Church, and praise for Martin Luther; the two figures had been paired in the introduction, as well. Crespin appears to have derived this passage from one which had appeared the previous year in Foxe's 1563 *Actes and Monuments*; Foxe in turn took most of his information from Melancthon's biography of Luther.⁸ He omitted much of the beginning of Foxe's section, which was fulsome in its praise of the German reformer, and which rehearsed a great many of Luther's early debates, such as against Eck, and against

⁶ Jean Crespin, *Actes des Martyrs*. [Geneva]: Jean Crespin, 1565, sig. *o* i verso. (EIGHTEEN years after the death of the aforesaid martyr [Savonarola], this light grew a few degrees stronger, being enlightened in many places by the Christian doctrine, which is necessary to the Church. It was the year 1517 when Martin Luther began by asserting in articles, preaching, and public writings the truth of the Gospel: the hundred and first year after the death of Jan Huss, who is held to have predicted to the bishops who were at Constance in the year 1415, when he was put to death, 'After a hundred years you will answer to God and to me).

⁷ Compare Crespin, 1555 Vol 1, p. CXXXI with Crespin, 1565, p. 80. (The great restorer of the church... man of holy memory).

⁸ John Foxe. *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (1576 edition). Editorial commentary and additional information, re. 1563 edition, p. 454. (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> [Accessed: 18.08.11].

Karlstadt.⁹ The suggestion, in Foxe, that Luther was: ‘not only governed by human diligence, but with a heavenly light, considering how constantly he abode within the limites of his offyce’, was omitted. Instead, Crespin began his section at the point which suggests that God, above all, should be credited for the good works of Luther.¹⁰ Otherwise, it followed in its plan, if not in every detail, the passage as printed in the *Actes and Monuments* the year previous. Thus the passage begins with a short introduction to Luther:

En ce temps-cy le seigneur suscita Martin Luther pour manifester de tant plus sa verite au monde. Et combine que la vertu qui estoit en ce personnage, soit digne de louange, d’autant qu’il a use des dons de Dieu en toute reverence: nonobstant il nous faut principalement rendre grace a Dieu, que par luy il nous a rendu la lumiere de l’Evangile, & nous devons garder, & estendre la memoire de sa doctrine.¹¹

This was the beginning of a history of the Church which took nearly three quarters of the space supposedly dedicated to Savonarola. Luther’s emergence was followed with a robust defence of the ‘doctrine de l’Evangile’ against Epicurians and hypocrites.¹² The passage next traces what a marginal note described as ‘Quatre mutations depuis les Apostres’: the heresies of Origen, of Pelagius, the age of the mendicant friars and Albertus Magnus, and that of Thomas Aquinas.¹³ To combat these, ‘Dieu suscita S. Augustin’ (a phrase Crespin used for both Luther and Vualdo), who: ‘s’il estant juge les differens qui sont aujourd’huy’, would side with those ‘qu’on nommez depuis Lutheriens. Car quant à la Remission gratuite des

⁹ John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (1563 edition) p. 456 (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> [Accessed: 18.08.11].

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Crespin, 1565, p. 84. (In these times the lord brought forth Martin Luther to better show his truth to the world. And how that the virtue he had in this person, was worthy of praise, that he used all of the gifts of God in all reverence: notwithstanding we must principally render grace to God, that through him rendered to us the light of the Gospel, & we must guard and extend the memory of his doctrine).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid, pp. 84-5. (Four mutations since the Apostles).

pechez, la Justification de la foy, l'Usage des Sacrements, & autres poincts de la religion Chrestienne il consent entirement avec ceux qui sont de la coté de la verité.'¹⁴ Despite the intervention of the apparently proto-Lutheran Augustine, innovation and decline continued within the Church. Wealth grew, most strikingly amongst the mendicant orders, which Crespin refers to as 'vermin'. Equally disturbing was the growth of the study of scholastic philosophy, which 'convertir la doctrine Ecclesiastique en Philosophie profane', especially the 'labyrinthes & fausses opinions' of Thomas Aquinas.¹⁵ The passage concludes by describing it as a 'temps tenebreux, des choses si horrible, & une confusion si pernicieuse, que quand on y pense, tout le corps en frissonne d'horreur & de frayeur', and that God: 'nous ayant donné non seulement des vrais Docteurs & Peres, mais aussi de ses vrais Martyrs en tesmoignage et confirmation plus ample de sa vraye doctrine.'¹⁶

Luther's emergence was described in glowing terms indeed. He was compared to Augustine, and the reader was assured that the Doctor would surely have taken their side were he alive in the sixteenth century. Where Foxe believed that St Augustine 'wold speake for vs, and defend our cause. Certenlye, as concerning free remissyon, iustification by faithe, the vse of the Sacramentes and indifferent thinges he consenteth wholly with vs', Crespin's version of this was careful to specify Lutherans as the objects of Augustine's approval, as we have seen above.¹⁷ Crespin also curtailed the continuation of this discussion of the merits of St

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 85. (God brought forth St. Augustine... if he had judged the differences of today... who have since been named Lutherans. For about the free remission of sins, the justification of faith, the usage of the Sacraments, & other points of the Christian religion he agrees entirely with those who are of the side of truth).

¹⁵ Ibid. (Labrynthine and false doctrine).

¹⁶ Ibid. (Dark times, of horrible things, & a confusion so pernicious, that when one there thinks, all the body is in a trembling of horror & of fear... we have given not only the true Doctors & Fathers, but also of these true Martyrs in testimony and more ample confirmation of the true doctrine).

¹⁷ *TAMO*, 1563, p. 458 [Accessed 20 August, 2011]. Crespin 1565, p. 85.

Augustine, and ‘Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, and some other like, that gouerned studies to S. Bernardes time’; this extends a full paragraph longer in Foxe.¹⁸

In 1564, Luther was also mentioned in the opening lines of the account of the martyrs Henry Voez and Jean Esch. This was brief, and simply says that: ‘Quand Luther eut commence de publier sa doctrine par livres imprimez, plusiers les leurent & en firent fort bien leur proufit avant que les adversaires en eussent procure la defence.’¹⁹

In 1570, the section on Savonarola was changed, supplemented with new information and stripped of the passages describing Luther and Church history. Instead, this edition saw these subjects given their own section. The references made to Luther elsewhere in the 1564 edition were largely retained. This edition’s *Dispositions et Argumens des VIII Livres* was essentially unchanged from the previous version (omitting the reference to Luther’s preaching). The biggest change came shortly thereafter, when Luther was prominently, though not exclusively, featured as a subject of the ‘*Discours historial des l’horreur de temps qui ont precede la venue de Martin Luther, & autres fideles Docteurs de l’Evangile*.’²⁰ This four-page section gave a history of Church controversy from the Council of Constance to the Ninety-five Theses, though primarily focussed on the first decades of the sixteenth century. Although similar thematically to the history presented in the Savonarola section of 1564’s edition, 1570’s version of the events was entirely new. It focused initially on Church councils, touching on the Council of Basel, where the Greek Orthodox delegation, pleading for help against the Turks, managed

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Crespin, 1565, p. 87. (When Luther had begun to publish his doctrine by printed books, they lured many, & did well in their favor before their adversaries had readied a defence).

²⁰ Jean Crespin, *Histoire des vrays tesmoins de la verité de l’Evangile*. ([Geneva]: Jean Crespin, 1570), p. 56 verso. (Historical discourse of the horror of times which preceded the coming of Martin Luther, & other faithful Doctors of the Gospel).

to fall out with the Catholic Church over transubstantiation, and on the Fifth Lateran Council, where the cardinals would ‘confermer les vieilles idolotries, les erreurs, abus, superstitions, & la tyrannie du Pape.’²¹ Further advancing the idea of a Church in decline was a disagreement between the Cordelier and the Jacopin (Dominican) orders about the birth of the Virgin Mary, which ended with a Dominican statue of the Virgin being created at Berne which seemed to weep and move miraculously, until the forgery was discovered and its creators sentenced to be burned in 1509.²² In light of this corruption, God :

sucita par sa bonté infinie Martin Luther, qui estoit de l’ordre des Augustins. Lequel combien qu’il fust de petite toutfois honneste maison, & sans aucun credit au monde, homme au demeurant de bon esprit & de singulier savoir, Dieu luy donna un courage merueilleux, & l’arma d’une constance incroyable. Par le moyen dequoy, & usant de la parolle de Dieu, il a comme denoué toutes les plus grandes difficultez dont les Papes embrouilloyent le povre monde.²³

Crespin once again made reference here to Hus’ prophecy: ‘Il y avoit alors desia cinq cens ans que les Papes opprimoyent l’Eglise par leur tyrannie, et cent ans estoyent escoulez depuis le Concile de Constance. En la fin desquel Jean Hus avoit predict qu’il y auroit tel changement en l’eglise Romaine, qu’il ne pourroit estre destourné par feu ne cruauté quelconque.’²⁴ The depiction of Luther here is highly complimentary, suggesting that he was directly inspired by God. Whilst 1564’s

²¹ Ibid, p. 57 recto. (Confirmed the old idolotries, the errors, abuses, superstitions, & the tyranny of the Pope).

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid. (Brought forth by his infinite mercy Martin Luther, who was of the Augustinian order. Who was of a small but honest household, & without any credit in the world, a man remaining of good spirit & of singular knowledge. God gave him a marvellous courage, & armed him with an incredible constancy. By the means of this, & using the word of God, he untangled all of the greatest difficulties with which the Popes embroiled the poor world).

²⁴ Ibid, p. 57 verso. (There had already been five hundred years that the Popes oppressed the Church by their tyrannies, and one hundred years had passed since the Council of Constance. In the end which Jan Hus had predicted that there would be such changes in the Roman Church, that it would not be diverted by fire nor any cruelty).

edition compared Luther to Augustine, indirectly, that of 1570 made mention of Christ himself:

Luther commenca à guerroyer contre la foire des indulgences, & chassant de l'Eglise de Iesus Christ un tas de marchans, renversa leurs tables, scabeaux & boutiques. C'est-à-dire il commenca a destruire spirituellement les autels des idoles, & par la parolle de Dieu renversa toutes les fanfares des hypocrites, qui se monstroyent avec beau lustre ça & la és temples.^{'25}

At another point he is described as: 'estant touche d'un vray sentiment de la crainte de Dieu, dressa ses positions lesquelles se trouvent au premier Tome de ses œuvres.'²⁶ Luther's battles with Tetzel, the aid of the Duke of Saxony, and his dispute with Erasmus are all recorded. Crespin even found a formula for describing Luther's stance on the Eucharist, a controversial subject with Calvinists, in positive terms:

Dont se sont ensuiyvies les disputes de la difference des loix divines & humaines : de l'exécrable profanation de la Cene du Seigneur : des foires & marchandises des messes, de l'application de la Cene à autre visage qu'elle n'a instituée, comme si elle servoit à autres qu'a ceux qui la recoivent.'²⁷

As a result of this hard work, 'petit a petit l'Eglise du Seigneur print son accroissement & le regne du Pape tomba en decadence...'²⁸ Crespin saw this

²⁵ Ibid. (Luther began to war against the sale of indulgences, & chased from the Church of Jesus Christ a number of merchants, overturning their tables, stools, and stalls. That is to say he began to destroy, spiritually, the altars of idols, & by the word of God overturned all the fanfares of the hypocrites, who themselves showed with pretty lustre here & there in temples).

²⁶ Ibid. (Touched by a true sentiment of the fear of God, established his positions which are found in the first Volume of his works).

²⁷ Ibid, p. 58 recto. (Which did follow the disputes about the difference of human and divine laws : of the execrable profanation of the Eucharist of the Lord : of the fair and sales of masses, of the application of the Eucharist to another use for which it had not been instituted, as if it served others than those who received it).

²⁸ Ibid. (Little by little the Church of the Lord tightened its grip, and the reign of the Pope fell into decadence).

moment as the distinct re-emergence of the Gospel: ‘ceste lumiere Evangelique redonnée en ce temps, & le remercions de ce qu’il luy a pleu donner des claires fontaines de l’Evangile après le borbier de la doctrine monastique’.²⁹ He gives credit, however, to those who fought to keep it alive through the dark ages, comparing them to Moses:

‘Et n’estimons point que ce soit moindre miracle d’avoir maintenu l’Eglise contre le tyrannie du Pape, & tant de haines, menaces & violence des Rois de toute l’Europe qu’a este la deliverance du peuple d’Israel de la servitude d’Egypte. Croyons aussi que le restitution de la pure doctrine apres un tel abysme de tant de superstitions & opinions d’hommes, est autant ou plus miraculeuse que la deliverance & conduite dudit peuple par la mer rouge & par les deserts, a la terre de promission : combien que les choses corporelles esmeuvent davantage nos sens.’³⁰

The section ends with a prayer, asking for the Word and the Church to be preserved.

This passage puts into place more clearly than any other Crespin’s conception of the history of the Church and the place of the Reformation within it. He had described a dark age of five hundred years, during which the Popes tyrannically oppressed the Church, which had to survive underground, like the tribes of Israel wandering in the desert, oppressed by the temporal powers of Europe. The miraculous maintenance of the Church through these years was due to the groups Crespin had just finished depicting- the Lollards and Hussites, as well as more isolated figures like Savonarola. The Vaudois had not yet been discussed by

²⁹ Ibid, p. 58 verso. (This Evangelical light regiven in this time, & thanks that it has pleased him to give the clear fountains of the Gospel after the swamp of monastic doctrine).

³⁰ Ibid. (And do not believe that it was less a miracle to have maintained the Church against the tyranny of the Pope, & so much hatred, threats, & violence of Kings of all Europe than was the deliverance of the people of Israel from the servitude of Egypt. Believe also that restitution of the pure doctrine after such an abyss of so many superstitions and opinions of men, is as much or more miraculous than the deliverance & steering of the said people by the Red Sea & by the deserts, to the promised land: how more bodily things move our senses more).

Crespin, but they too had played a role in this dark period. However, with the actions of Luther (and the ‘autres Docteurs’, who are briefly named), this period had ended. Whatever else Crespin might think about Luther, he had played a decisive role in the restoration of the Word of God, and this was a different achievement to that of the Vaudois, who held on to a faith that was imperfect, but better than that of the Catholics.

Conflict between denominations

This positive view of Luther is the more remarkable considering the tensions that existed between Lutherans and Reformed at the time that Crespin was compiling his martyrology. The central debate was one over the exact nature of the Eucharist. The Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation still required the Real Presence to which the Catholic Church held, but which the Zwinglian and Calvinist thinkers rejected.³¹ Instead, Zwinglians held a commemorative view of the sacrament, and Calvinists subscribed to an idea of ‘spiritual eating’.³² Thus there was a rift between those who believed that the celebration of the Eucharist required Christ to physically descend from heaven to be really present in the bread and wine, and those who argued that he remained at the right hand of God at all times until the day of judgement. When defined this way, Lutherans found themselves on the same side of the debate as the Catholic Church; as a result, many Reformed attacks on Catholic doctrine were also inherently critical of Lutheran positions.

The dispute had surfaced in 1524, when Luther denounced the Eucharistic views of Zwingli, Jud, and soon Oecolampadius, believing them to be derived from

³¹ Alister McGrath. *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 189.

³² Gunther Schnurr. ‘Eucharist’, in *Encyclopedia of Christianity*, Vol 2. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 171.

those of Karlstadt; his principal test being that of the Real Presence.³³ The derivation from Karlstadt placed the Swiss reformers in the company of Müntzer and the Zwickau prophets, and effectively beyond the pale.³⁴ This view shaped events at the Colloquy of Marburg, where Luther famously chalked ‘*Hoc est Corpus Meum*’ on the table before Zwingli.³⁵ Later, in the seventeenth century, this debate would become central to the controversy between denominations over the rite of *fractio panis*, a Calvinist breaking of the bread to deny the Real Presence.³⁶ Calvin, in the *Institutes*, argued strongly against the idea of consubstantiation, which to his mind: ‘admits that the bread of the Supper is truly the substance of an earthly and corruptible element, and cannot suffer any change in itself, but must have the body of Christ inserted under it.’³⁷ He attacked the Lutheran stance for its failure of comprehension: ‘they cannot conceive any other participation of flesh and blood than that which consists either in local conjunction and contact, or in some gross method of enclosing.’³⁸ Indeed, ‘they leave nothing for the secret operation of the Spirit, which unites Christ himself to us.’³⁹

This was of course an extremely important issue. An entire section of Chapter XVII of Book IV of the *Institutes* was devoted to answering those who, following Luther, objected on the grounds of ‘This is my body’. Above all, though, both doctrines of the Real Presence, the Catholic and the Lutheran, demanded a ubiquity of Christ: ‘unless the body of Christ can be everywhere without any boundaries of space, it is impossible to believe that he is hid in the Supper under the

³³ Mark Edwards. *Luther and the False Brethren*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 82-3.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Wandel, Lee Palmer. *The Eucharist in the Reformation- Incarnation and Liturgy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 95-6.

³⁶ See Bodo Nischan, The ‘*Fractio Panis*’ in *Church History*, 43:1 (1984), pp. 17-29.

³⁷ Jean Calvin. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book IV, Chap. XVII, 16. (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1958), p. 569.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid, Chap. XVII, 31. p. 587.

bread.’⁴⁰ This, in Wandel’s words, ‘denied Christ the integrity of his person, as well as of his body.’⁴¹ Calvin posited, instead, that

‘though he withdrew his flesh from us, and with his body ascended to heaven, he, however, sits at the right hand of the Father; that is, he reigns in power and majesty, and the glory of the Father. This kingdom is not limited by any intervals of space, nor circumscribed by any dimensions. Christ can exert his energy wherever he pleases, in earth and in heaven, can manifest his presence by the exercise of his power, can always be present with his people, breathing into them his own life, can live in them, sustain, confirm, and invigorate them, and preserve them safe, just as if he were with them in the body; in fine can feed them with his own body, communion with which he transfuses into them. After his manner, the body and blood of Christ are exhibited to us in the sacrament.’⁴²

This language should clarify the use of a phrase which continually appears throughout the *Livre des Martyrs*, where under questioning martyrs would denounce the Catholic institution of the Eucharist on the grounds that Christ was at the right hand of God. Or they might even mention that belief in an introductory phrase, a statement of Christology from which other conclusions could be drawn. They often mimic Calvin’s own words: ‘we deem it unlawful to draw him down from heaven.’⁴³ The notices of Pierre Bruly, Claude Monier, Pierre Escrivan, Charles Favre, Godefroy de Haemelle, Bernard Seguin, Pierre Naviheres, Denis Peloquin, Claude de Canestre, and Jean Rabec, amongst others, contained some variation on the declaration that: ‘Christ est monte au ciel, & qu’il est assis a la dextre de Dieu le Père’.

⁴⁰ Ibid, Book IV, Chapter XVII, 30, p. 585.

⁴¹ Wandel, p. 162.

⁴² Calvin, *Institutes*, Book IV, Chapter XVII, 18, pp. 570-571.

⁴³ Ibid, 31, p. 587.

It was not necessary for the martyrs to have read the *Institutes* to have absorbed this lesson; similar critiques appear in the French Confession of 1559, which has been attributed to Chandieu, and was based on a Genevan draft which was probably the work of Viret, Beza, and Calvin.⁴⁴ This stated that Christ:

... feeds and nourishes us truly with his flesh and blood, so that we may be one in him, and that our life may be in common. Although he be in heaven until he come again to judge all the earth, still we believe that by the secret and incomprehensible power of his Spirit he feeds and strengthens us with the substance of his body and of his blood. We hold that this is done spiritually...⁴⁵

This is much stronger language than that of the Genevan Confession of 1536, in which Calvin had also played a part. That document makes no mention of the whereabouts of the body of Christ, though it stresses that the Supper is a 'true spiritual communion'.⁴⁶ In 1541, Calvin's *Petit traicte de la Cene* argued that:

'c'estoit une lourde fault de ne recognoistre point ce qui est tant testifie en l'Ecriture, touchant l'Ascension de Jesus Christ, et qu'il a este receu en son humanite au ciel, la ou il demourerea jusques a ce qu'il descende pour juger le monde.'⁴⁷

This document pointedly traced the history of the dispute between the denominations, as well. Calvin wrote :

Luther thought [Zwingli and Oecolampadius] meant to leave nothing but the bare signs without their spiritual substance. Accordingly he began to resist them to the face, and call them heretics. ... It was Luther's duty first to

⁴⁴ Arthur Cochrane. *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, (London, 1966), p. 138.

⁴⁵ Trans. Cochrane, p. 157.

⁴⁶ Cochrane, p. 124.

⁴⁷ Calvin, *Petit Traicte de la Cene*, in Higman, F (ed). *Three French Treatises*. (London, Athlone, 1970), p. 128. (It was a serious fault not to recognise that which is so well testified in the Scripture, touching the Ascension of Jesus Christ, and that he had been received in his humanity to heaven, where he remains until he descends to judge the world).

have given notice that it was not his intention to establish such a local presence as the Papists dream: secondly, to protest that he did not mean to have the sacrament adored instead of God... after the debate was moved, he exceeded bounds as well in declaring his opinion, as in blaming other with too much sharpness of speech.⁴⁸

In his private writings, Calvin had also expressed some ambivalence about Luther and his legacy. In a 1545 letter to Melanchthon, Calvin wrote of Luther: ‘we must always be on our guard, lest we pay too much deference to men. For it is all over... when a single individual, be he whosoever you please, has more authority than all the rest’ before referring to his ‘overbearing tyranny’⁴⁹ Writing to Bullinger in November, 1544, Calvin struck a balance between annoyance at Luther’s attacks on Bullinger over sacramental matters, and respect for his achievements:

I do earnestly desire to put you in mind... that you would consider how eminent a man Luther is, and the excellent endowments wherewith he is gifted, with what skill, with what efficiency and power of doctrinal statement, he hath hitherto devoted his whole energy to overthrow the reign of Antichrist, and at the same time to diffuse far and near the doctrine of salvation. Often I have been wont to declare, that even though he were to call me a devil, I should still not the less hold him in such honour that I must acknowledge him to be an illustrious servant of God. But while he is endued with rare and excellent virtues, he labours at the same time under serious faults... I wish, moreover, that he had always bestowed the fruits of that vehemence of natural temperament upon the enemies of truth, and that he had not flashed his lightning sometimes also upon the servants of the Lord.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Calvin, *Petit Traicte de la Cene*, in Dillenberger, J. *John Calvin: Selections from his Writings*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 538- 95

⁴⁹ Letter to Melanchthon, June 28, 1545. *Letters of John Calvin, Selected from the Bonnet Edition*. (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh 1855/ 1980).

⁵⁰ Calvin to Bullinger, 25 November, 1544. Jules Bonnet (ed) *Letters of John Calvin*. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication [1858]). Vol. 1, pp. 433-4.

Calvin concluded by warning Bullinger against exposing to their opponents any divisions: ‘you will do yourself no good by quarrelling, except that you may afford some sport to the wicked, so that they may triumph not so much over us as over the Evangel.’⁵¹ Calvin’s attitude towards Luther was complex, therefore, reflecting annoyance with the German’s fractiousness, and disagreement with his doctrine, while at the same time showing respect for the man and his achievements. Above all, was a concern not to engage in open conflict with him, for the sake of the wider Protestant movement. Crespin seems to have been sensitive to Calvin’s approach on this subject, for the *Livre des Martyrs* follows exactly this line.

In his *Petite Traicte de la Cene*, when trying to explain how the division between the denominations had arisen, he felt that: ‘Luther failed on his side... it was Luther’s duty first to have given notice that it was not his intention to establish such a local presence as the Papists dream’. Yet Crespin equally admits that Zwingli and Oecolampadius were also at fault for the disagreement, for they had ‘laboured more to pull down what was evil than build up what was good; for though they did not deny the truth, they did not teach it so clearly as they ought to have done.’⁵²

The argument had existed before Calvin, as well. The famous placards of 1534, as reproduced in Crespin, carried many of the same ideas:

‘faususement on a donne a entendre, que sous les especes de pain & de vin, Jesus Christ est contenu & cache corporellement, reellement & personnellement, en chair & en os...le sainte Escriture & nostre foy ne nous enseigne pas : mais est du tout contraire, car Jesus Christ apres sa

⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 434.

⁵² Calvin, ‘3 Forms of Exposition’, in Dillenberger, J. *John Calvin: Selections from his Writings*, p. 540.

resurrection est monte au ciel, & est assis à la dextre de Dieu le Père tout-puissant, & de la viendra juger les vifs & les morts.⁵³

Although not aimed at the Lutherans, this was a statement which set the two groups sufficiently apart that Francois I was able, the next year, to grant conditional pardon to the non-sacramentarians in his kingdom, while redoubling his efforts against the Reformed.⁵⁴

In addition, Protestants of various stripes were referred to as Lutherans by the authorities, a habit which seems to have been resented by several of the heretics in the *Livre des Martyrs*. Martin Gonin was depicted as objecting to the term in 1536 on the grounds that: ‘ne suis nullement Lutherien, ny ne ly voudroye estre, attendu que Luther n’est point mort pour moy, ains Jesus Christ, duquel je porte le nom, & pour lequel je veux vivre & mourir.’⁵⁵ This was not an objection to the idea of Lutheranism, so much as the use of a term which sought to depict the martyr as part of a small sect, rather than a true Christian. Godefroy de Haemelle elaborated on the idea, and objected less to the title, when requesting his interrogators not to refer to him as heretic or schismatic: ‘mais pource pecheur Chrestien s’il vous plaisoit.’⁵⁶ To be referred to as Lutheran was part of the experience of martyrdom in France, up to the early 1560s.

Crespin was certainly aware of these differences and arguments. He was strongly involved in the printing of theological polemic—a quarter of his titles,

⁵³ Crespin, 1570, p. 80 recto. (Falsely have given to understand, that under the types of the bread & of the wine, Jesus Christ is contained & bodily covered, really & personally, in flesh & in bone... the holy Scripture & our faith do not teach this: but is totally contrary, for Jesus Christ after his resurrection ascended to heaven, & is seated at the right hand of God the Father almighty, & will come to judge the living & the dead).

⁵⁴ William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trial by Sixteenth-Century Parlements*, (London: Harvard University Press, 1999) p. 55.

⁵⁵ Crespin, 1570, p. 87 verso. (I am not a Lutheran, nor do would I be, for Luther did not die for me, as did Jesus Christ, for whom I named, and for whom I wish to live and die).

⁵⁶ Crespin, 1554, p. 310. (But rather a poor sinning Christian, or Lutheran, if you would not like to call me otherwise: however I would not like to be called Lutheran nor heretic, but poor Christian sinner, if you please).

making up eight per cent of his total printed volume, were of this genre—and several of these engaged with the Lutherans.⁵⁷ In total, Crespin published twelve titles arguing against the Lutherans on the subject of the Eucharist, double the number he had published against Catholic doctrine on the same subject.⁵⁸ His authors included Calvin, Bullinger and Beza, and lesser-known figures such as Pincier, Simone Simoni and Eraste. These appeared in Latin and in French (in one case, producing parallel editions in each language) against Westphal, Andrae, Flacius and Schegk, amongst others.⁵⁹ These were mainly produced in the 1560s and 1570s, following an earlier burst of printing on the subject of Nicodemism in the first half of the 1550s.⁶⁰ Crespin also published works which addressed controversy against the Lutherans on other grounds: in 1558, Crespin was denied permission by the council of Geneva to print a work by Utenhove. The work in question complained at Utenhove's treatment at the hands of Danish and Northern German Lutherans, who on his expulsion from Marian England, had turned him away for his 'heretical opinions'.⁶¹ Calvin later explained to Utenhove that this had been done to 'calm the controversy between Lutherans and Calvinists'.⁶² Controversy between the denominations, then, was significant enough to be of concern to the Genevan council, and Jean Crespin was involved as one of the more prolific publishers on the Reformed side. These divisions were of course well known amongst Catholics, as well. Jean Vernou's letter to the Ministers of Geneva, printed in the *Troisieme*

⁵⁷ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, p. 146.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 147n.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 147. Gilmont, *Bibliographie* vol I.

⁶⁰ Gilmont, *Bibliographie* vol. I.

⁶¹ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, p. 141.

⁶² Ibid.

Partie describes an interrogator who: ‘savait bien le difference de Luther, Zuingle & Oecolampade, & qu’il avoit veu les livres de nos Docteurs.’⁶³

On the other hand, Crespin also published works by Luther: the first work Crespin produced on his own, without the assistance of Claude Baudius was an edition of Luther, and in the late 1550s Crespin translated and published five of Luther’s biblical commentaries.⁶⁴ Luther even made it into Crespin’s polemical publishing on other subjects: 1558’s *Conseils et advis sur le process des temporiseurs*, for example, used content taken from the German reformer.⁶⁵ He also published more sensational works. Crespin’s shop was responsible for the French edition of Luther and Melanchthon’s work on the two miraculous monsters the ‘Monk-Calf’ and the ‘Papal Ass’.⁶⁶ Crespin did most of his printing of Lutheran works by the end of 1558, and almost all of his counter-Lutheran polemics were published after 1560. The Genevan Council seems to have similarly set itself against Luther at that time, refusing to license a 1559 reprinting of Melanchthon’s *Lieux communs*, and then allowing a translation of the Magdeburg Centuries to be made on the condition that it was done without ‘the doctrine of the Lutherans and Germans which they have collected’.⁶⁷ Crespin’s activity translating Lutheran texts into French was influential enough that W.G. Moore suggested one could refer to the post-1550 era of Lutheran translation as that of Jean Crespin.⁶⁸

As had been the case with the representation of the Vaudois faith, which was depicted with more accuracy and less criticism in Crespin’s historical works, the representation of Lutheranism in the *Livre des Martyrs* was shaped by the demands

⁶³ Crespin, 1556, p. 199 (Knew well the differences of Luther, Zwingle, & Oecolampadius, & that he had see the books of our Doctors)

⁶⁴ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, p. 141.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 125.

⁶⁶ Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, pp.82-3.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p 128.

⁶⁸ Moore, WG. *La Reforme allemande et la literature Française*.

of the martyrological format. In so far as he was depicted at all, Luther was to be seen as a praiseworthy individual, a prime mover in the Reformation, and a reformer whose doctrines were notably purer than those who had come before. The differences of opinion between Lutherans and the Reformed Church were generally effaced, but in such a way as to give prominence only to the Genevan interpretation of such matters. On the most important, and thus most controversial issue, that of the Eucharist, the differences between the denominations were largely not explored. Instead, the Lutherans were depicted without expressing any views on the subject, while from the Reformed side martyr after martyr put forward his (and occasionally her) doctrine in a formula which implicitly denied the Lutheran stance as well as the Catholic. This was not a practice restricted to Crespin, either. On the other side of this confessional divide, Ludwig Rabus is known to have edited out a positive reference to the Genevan leadership when reproducing the account of the murder of Juan Diaz, and he avoided citing Crespin in the fifth volume of his *Historien der Martyrer*, despite drawing large amounts of the material in it from the French martyrology, decisions Kolb attributes to confessional rivalry.⁶⁹

These conflicts and issues played out in Crespin's depictions of his martyrs. There were relatively few Lutherans included in the *Livre des Martyrs*, most of them figures who were executed in the 1520s. As we have seen, Luther came to be portrayed as a key figure in the return of the true faith in Crespin's scheme. The Lutheran martyrs were of course part of that world-historical movement, but on a more prosaic level, they formed the spine of the martyrology's coverage of the events of the 1520s. Most of the major Lutheran martyrs Crespin presented were executed between 1523 and 1529, and he included very few distinctively Lutheran

⁶⁹ Robert Kolb, *For all the Saints*. (Macon: Mercer, 1987), pp. 55-6.

martyrs from after the Placards of 1534. As the Vaudois and the Lollards connected the sixteenth-century reformation to the primitive Church, so on a much smaller scale the Lutherans of the 1520s provided a link between the Reformed and the more recent past. These accounts were primarily added in the first three editions, from 1554 to 1556, and were mainly composed of information found in pamphlets published in the 1520s in Germany. Some of the pamphlets were written, or contributed to, by major figures such as Luther himself; in consequence most of Crespin's German martyrs were relatively well-known before he included them in the *Livre des Martyrs*.

The Lutheran Martyrs: Voez and Esch

Henry Voez and Jean Esch were considered by many to be the first Lutheran martyrs, executed in Brussels in 1523. Members of Antwerp's Augustinian community headed at one point by the future martyr Heindrichs van Zutphen, they were arrested along with the rest of their monastery for their Lutheran preaching.⁷⁰ They and Lambert Thoren (or Thorn) were the only members who refused to recant, and thus headed to the stake. They were included by Crespin in the first edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*, though after Heindrichs van Zutphen and Leonard Keiser. Their account seems to have been based on a number of contemporary pamphlets.⁷¹ One of them was a short German language work which purported to have been composed only four days after the event.⁷² This was reprinted at least sixteen times in the same year, and must be judged to have been a successful work.⁷³ Another was a longer (thirty-two page) pamphlet, the *Historia de Duobus Augustinensibus...*

⁷⁰ Luther, *Works*, Vol. 53, p. 211.

⁷¹ *Bibliographie des martyrologes protestants neerlandais*, Vol 1. (Ghent: 1890). p. 473.

⁷² Ibid, p. 473. See also TAMO, 'German Martyrs'.

⁷³ Ibid. Marcus Gielis, Leuven theologians as opponents of Erasmus and of humanistic theology in Rummel (ed), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 61.

written in Latin, which included a long discussion of the articles of faith professed by Henry Voez. Luther published a letter of consolation to his followers in the Low Countries on the occasion, which was included in a pamphlet alongside a dialogue purportedly between the martyrs and their accusers. This work, *Die artikel warumb die zwen Christliche Augustiner munch zu Brussel verprandt sind, sampt eyenem sendbrieff an die Christen ym Holland und Braband*, saw at least two printings.⁷⁴ In addition, Luther himself wrote a ballad of the Brussels martyrs, entitled *Eyn newes lyed eyr heben an*; it was his first musical work.⁷⁵

Crespin used the *Historia de Duobus Augstinensibus* as the main source for his section on the two men. In the 1554 edition, Voez and Esch were introduced with their own title, proclaiming them to be ‘De Deux martyrs executez a Bruxelles.’⁷⁶ In contrast, the account of Heindrichs van Zutphen, which preceded them, did not have its own title. Furthermore, Crespin did not shy away from describing them as members of the Augustinian order. No context or background is given, but the reader is told immediately that the two were : ‘desgradez & despouillez de leurs propres habits des moynes, & ce a la poursuite de l’Inquisiteur de la foy & des Theologians de Louvain, pource qu’ils ne s’estoyent point voulu desdire ne retracter de leur opinion.’⁷⁷ They were said to have written their opinions for all to read, but ‘le plus grand erreur dequoy ils estoyent accusez, c’estoit qu’il fallout croire en un seul Dieu, pource que l’homme ment & trompe en toutes ses paroles & oeuvres...’⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Gielis, p. 62.

⁷⁵ A New Song Here Shall Be Begun. Luther, *Works*, Vol. 57, p. 212.

⁷⁶ Crespin, 1554, p. 152.

⁷⁷ Ibid. (Degraded & stripped of their habits as monks, & this at the pursuit of the inquisitor of faith & the theologians, because they had not denied or retracted their opinion).

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 153. (The greater error of which they were accused, is that he must believe in only one God, because man is lying and mistaken in all his words and deeds).

The two went to their deaths joyfully, proclaiming that they were dying as good and faithful Christians.⁷⁹ They made light of their burning, and ‘ces deux serviteurs de Dieu receverent la coronne de martyre.’⁸⁰ After this narration, Crespin returns to the question of their beliefs, though only in a short paragraph: ‘Henry entre autres choses fut interrogué, si Luther ne l’avoit pas seduict. Ouy, dit-il, comme Iesus Christ avoit seduict ses Apostres.’⁸¹ He also protested that it was against divine right that clerics should be exempt from temporal jurisdiction, which attacked to some degree the very system which was then trying him.

In 1555, this account was moved earlier in the book, in accordance with chronology.⁸² Voez and Esch were now the first full Lutheran account in the *Livre des Martyrs*. The first paragraphs, introducing the two martyrs and their defrocking, were unchanged. Partway into the second paragraph, however, the account has been expanded. The arguments of Voez and Esch were elaborated upon between the 1554 and 1555 editions. Where in 1554 they were depicted as protesting that they died as good Christians, in 1555 they insisted that: ‘ils mouroyent pour la gloire de Christ, pour la doctrine Evangelique, & pour les escrits Apostoliques, comme bons & vrais Chrestiens, et non comme heretiques ou payens...’⁸³ Their courageous behaviour at the stake is elaborated upon: now they are described as reciting the Symbol of Faith (Nicene Creed) ‘pour tesmoignage & confession de leur foy.’⁸⁴ This edition also allowed Henry Voez to explain the high spirits of the pair to a witnessing doctor who was puzzled by them. As throughout the rest of the 1555 edition, the references

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 154. (These two servants of God received the crown of the martyr).

⁸¹ Ibid. (Henry among others was interrogated, if Luther had not seduced him. Yes, he said, as Jesus Christ seduced the Apostles).

⁸² Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. 146.

⁸³ Ibid, pp 146-47. (They died for the glory of Christ, for the Evangelical doctrine, & for the Apostolic writings, as good and true Christians, and not as heretics or pagans).

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 147. (For testimony and confession of their faith).

to ‘martyrs’ are removed. Instead of ‘ces deux serviteurs de Dieu receverent la coronne de martyre’, the deaths of the two are now given in the rather more succinct form: ‘les suffoca.’⁸⁵

In 1564, the two were again included very early in the depiction of the Reformation. This revision retained and added to the original narrative of the executions, while adding after them a series of supporting letters, confessions and other documents. This expanded section was placed in the first book, shortly after the introduction of Martin Luther there. A short sub-headline gives context that had been missing from the two previous editions, explaining that : ‘De tous les Augustins qui de la ville d’Anvers furent menez prisonniers a Villevord, ville renommée pour la prison ordinaire de Brabant, il y en eut trois qui pour la profession de verité furent long temps detenus. Le martyre des deux est icy descrit.’⁸⁶ This is the first mention of a third prisoner, whom we know from the pamphlets to be Lambert Thoren.⁸⁷ The position of Voez and Esch as the first martyrs of the Lutheran era is recognized by the long paragraph of historical context which appears here for the first time in Crespin. This starts by placing them within the movement:

‘Quand Luther eut commence de publier sa doctrine par livres imprimez, plusieurs les leurent & en firent fort bien leur proufit avant que les adversaires en essent procure la defence. Les Augustins d’Anvers ne furent des derniers : d’autant que Martin Luther estant encore de l’ordre ne leur estoit suspect, mais plus tost agreable’⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Compare Crespin, 1554 p. 154 with Crespin, 1555, Vol 1, p. 147.

⁸⁶ Crespin, 1565, p. 87. (All the Augustinians of the city of Antwerp were made prisoners at Villevord, a city renowned for the main prison of Brabant, there were three who for the profession of the truth were long detained. The martyrdom of two is here described).

⁸⁷ *Bibliographie des Martyrologes*, 473.

⁸⁸ Crespin, 1565, p. 87. (When Luther had begun to publish his doctrine by printed books, they lured many, & did well in their favor before their adversaries had readied a defence. The Augustinians of Antwerp were not the last: for all that Martin Luther was also from the order he was not suspected, but quickly agreeable).

Most of these monks were summoned to Brussels by the Bishop of Cambrai to give confessions of faith, but three were more constant, and sentenced to death.

The narrative of their defrocking and execution contains elements used in the 1554 and 1555 editions. Crespin took time to outline the hearing that the three men faced, and the ceremonies surrounding their trial. The youngest of the three, presumably Thoren, was separated from the other two; his fate is not entirely clear, but Luther wrote to him the next year, so he was not executed with the others.⁸⁹ When describing the fate of the remaining two, Voez and Esch, the account rejoins the version of events seen in the two earlier editions. While some elements are new, for example, the two request to be delivered from the ‘fausse & abominable prestise’ they believe in the ‘sainte Eglise universelle’, rather than the ‘du Fils de Dieu’, the bulk of their narrative is the same as before.⁹⁰

Crespin then explicitly added to the main account by adding a short paragraph after the execution described as: ‘Autre tesmoignage de la constance de ces deux Augustins, extraict d’une autre Epistre.’⁹¹ This simply, as promised, attested to the behaviour of the two men, and listed their judges. A further, and more substantial addition, again after the execution, was the nearly two-page confession of faith entitled: *Les articles du Promoteur, maintenus par frère Henry & ses compagnons*, which contained forty-eight separate articles derived from that appearing in the *Historia de duobus Augustinenensibus*. These were generally simply stated as professions of belief, though a couple of articles reveal the ultimate origin of this list in the interrogation of Henry Voez: the sixteenth article begins:

‘Ayant este souvent interrogué quelle opinion il avoit de Martin Luther...’; the

⁸⁹ Kolb, *God’s Gift of Martyrdom*, p. 402 records one such letter from 1524, a year after the burning of Voez and Esch.

⁹⁰ Crespin, 1565, p. 88. Compare with Crespin, 1555, Vol 1, p. 147. (False and abominable priesthood... the holy universal Church).

⁹¹ Ibid. (Other testimony of the constancy of the two Augustinians, taken from another letter).

seventeenth: ‘Estant semblablement interrogué s’il a opinion qu’il ait quelque difference entre les prestres & les laics...’; these were forms taken from the original text.⁹² Crespin omitted twelve of the original sixty-two articles due to their being, as Brad Gregory has suggested: ‘insufficiently derogatory of Catholic errors for a 1560s Calvinist. Others were too patently Lutheran’.⁹³ The changes he effected were to articles touching on purgatory, the Mass, and the adoration of the saints.⁹⁴

Certainly, Crespin excluded the first article found in the Latin edition, which had argued that no-one could be banned from reading the works of Luther (‘Nemo obligatur ex mandato pontificis seu imperatoris, abstinere a legendis libris Luther.’)⁹⁵ He also cut a series of three articles pertaining to the Eucharist, numbered from 16 to 18 in the Latin text. These argued that the Mass should be considered as a sacrifice of Christ, but rather a commemoration; that the mass was entirely symbolic, and done as a memorial; and that he does not know if the bread remains after the consecration, admitting to doubts over the exact mechanism of the sacrament, and nature of the Host.⁹⁶ The thirty-ninth article also touched on the sacraments, and was also excluded; this had argued that only the recipients of the mass benefitted from its celebration (as opposed to, for example, the dead).⁹⁷ Similarly, the fifty-third and fifty-fourth articles were removed, which each dealt with the requirement for the mass to be served to the people *sub utraque specie*, in

⁹² Ibid, p. 89. (Had been often asked what opinion he had of Martin Luther... being similarly interrogated if he held the opinion which it had some difference between priests & the laity)

⁹³ Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, p. 185.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Compare Crespin, 1565, p. 88 to *Historia de duobus Augustinen*, p. 9. (No one is bound by Imperial or Papal mandate, to abstain from reading the books of Luther).

⁹⁶ *Histoire de duobus Augustinen*, p. 4. (‘In missa non offertur corpus Christi ab homine, quia quod sibi est datum in remedium & commemorationem, non offertur’) (‘Interrogatus, an verba Canonis missae sint falsa quicquid sit, inquit, de verbis Canonis, non offertur corpus Christi in missa, sed solum sumitur in memoriam eius’) (‘Ignorat an maneat panis in sacramento Eucharistiae post consecrationem Christi & cum adductus esset textus. C. Damnamus de sum tri & si ca respondit: Si habeatur in sacris literis, tunc credi hoc, & alias non’).

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 12.

both kinds, insisting in fact that to refuse to do so was against divine law and the teachings of Christ.⁹⁸ Running contrary to the trend established to this point of omitting discussion of the Eucharist, Crespin chose to retain the forty-third article, which denied any sacrificial utility of the Mass, as Christ's sacrifice on the cross had been sufficient.⁹⁹

These critiques of the Eucharist ran contrary to Catholic opinion, but were not entirely in line with Reformed belief, either, especially in their expressed doubts over the exact nature of the sacrament. There is some degree of contradiction between them, as well, with the Zwinglian argument that the Mass is purely symbolic found in the seventeenth article, and the eighteenth article's implicit argument that there was some change to the substance of the bread.

Other articles which were removed were the twenty-fourth, which argued that there was an equality before God of laity and clergy, a stance with parallels to Luther's priesthood of all believers: ('Si hactenus omnes bene reputassent, omnes laici reputati fuissent sacerdotes sicut consecrati ab ipsis'), and the thirty-fifth, which denied the supremacy of the papacy by recourse to questioning St. Peter's mission from Christ.¹⁰⁰ The twenty-sixth article was another interrogation of the role of the sacraments in the era of a priesthood of all believers, and downplayed the importance of clerical consecration.¹⁰¹ These points all dealt with the powers and status of the established Church, and some of the areas of concern, if not the exact doctrines suggested, are reminiscent of the trial of Jan Hus at Constance.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 13.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 12. ('Sacramentum Eucharistiae non habet in altari oblationem, sed in cruce tantum semel oblatione facta est').

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 12. ('Romanus pontifex, Petri successor, non Christi vicarius super omnes totius mundi Ecclesias ab ipso Christo in beato Petro instituit, quia Christus non viarum, sed ministerium instituit summum pontificem').

¹⁰¹ Ibid, pp. 10-11. (est sumere corpus Christi, quod omnibus si delibet competit, quam consecrare, quod duntaxat in ministerium ipsius sacramenti. Non tamen intellexit, utrum, si episcopus eceret laico, consecres, laicus sine alia ordinatione consecraret corpus Christi').

Another group of articles which were removed from the *Livre des Martyrs* dealt with other sacraments. The forty-first article was also removed, this expressed doubt as to whether or not there was a purgatory.¹⁰² The forty-fourth rejected the idea of ecclesiastical judgement for private sins, arguing instead that the process of confession and absolutism were the only parts of penance, leaving no space for the system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence.¹⁰³ Finally, Crespin's version of the articles omitted the fifty-fifth and fifty-sixth ones, which respectively stated that the consecration of the mass must be offered in a high, clear voice; and a refusal to answer any questions about the veneration of the saints.¹⁰⁴ This last, might be considered, given the circumstances, as an indication that Voez did not subscribe to that particular view, or simply as an instance of happenstance, an indication that he had tired of his interrogation. Given his willingness to criticise so many other aspects of the Catholic cult, however, it might also suggest to a reader that Voez was conflicted about the point, or that he lacked the conviction of his beliefs in this one field.

After this extensive exhibition of the faith for which the two men died, the compendium editions were further expanded by the addition of a six-page (in folio) section entitled: 'Complainte Chrestienne faite contre quelcun, qui par la tyrannie des infidels & par la crainte & horreur de la mort, fut contraint de nier finalement la verite, de laquelle il avoit fait profession'.¹⁰⁵ This was taken from a later part of the *Historia De Duobus Augustinensibus*, a more than 16-page (in quarto) section which

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid, pp. 12-13. ('Postquam peccator est confessus et absolutus, non obligatur jure divino ad aliquam poenam duns modo non offendat fratrem scandalizando aut ecclesiam aliquo crimine publico, vel privato & ergo sunt solum duae partes poenitentiae').

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 14. ('Interrogatis an liceat sanctos adorare, dixit se nolle amplius respondere'). ('Verba consecrationis debent alte proferri').

¹⁰⁵ Crespin, 1565, p. 90. (Christian complaint made against one, who by the tyranny of infidels & by the fear & horror of death, was finally constrained to deny the truth which he had professed).

concludes that pamphlet. In this, the unidentified author, whom we are presumably meant to identify with either Voez or Esch, lodges complaint against his companions who have apparently abjured. The text is laden with scriptural references, which were cited in the margins, along with small pieces of commentary indicating the direction of the argument. Although the references themselves had been present in the Latin pamphlet, these glosses were inserted by Crespin.

The text is presented in the form of a letter to those who had abjured, hoping to impress upon them the error of their ways, and justifying the decision of the author to defend his faith at the risk of the stake. Drawing upon the ideas of St Augustine, who is cited at length in the first pages, the letter contrasts the worldly benefits of abjuration against the spiritual costs, ending with a quotation (uncited) from Matthew 16: What shall it profit a man if he gains the world, but at the loss of his soul?¹⁰⁶ Its author is frequently scathing towards his former colleagues, figuring them as the heirs of Judas, and lamenting the opportunity their failure has given to the Antichrist.¹⁰⁷ The letter ends with an enjoinder to turn towards God, and a request that: ‘vous nous advertissez par lettres comment vous estes de votre conscience.’¹⁰⁸ This was the conclusion of their section; there was no afterword or conclusion, their deaths having been described before the insertion of the confession of faith and the correspondence. Crespin kept this format in the 1570 edition, which saw no major changes to the account of the two Augustinians.

Heindrichs van Zutphen appeared in the first, 1554 edition as part of the introduction Crespin presents to the Reformation era, which follows the sections on Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, and was thus in that edition the first Lutheran martyr

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. This phrase from Mark 8 frequently appears uncited in Crespin, being an understandable favourite of his subjects.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, pp. 91-92.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 96. (Tell us by letters how your conscience is).

to be included.¹⁰⁹ He did not receive a heading of his own, but was introduced after the paragraph telling of the constancy of martyrs in ‘these times’, showing that the ‘persecutions de la primitive Eglise ont recommence.’¹¹⁰ It is depicted as a time of mass conversion, for ‘le nombre des fideles multiploit de jour en jour.’¹¹¹ Still in this narrative mode, Crespin tells us that van Zutphen, whom he rendered as ‘Henry Supphen’ was an excellent martyr, and died at Dietmar (in modern Schleswig-Holstein). Gaspar Tambard and ‘un autre nomme Jean’ are also introduced at this point.

Returning to van Zutphen, we find he originally preached at Autdorff, and had links with Meldorf, which seems to have been the major religious centre for the region, and was an important site for reformers.¹¹² He had been the head of the Augustinian monastery in Antwerp through its more Lutheran period, when the monks were arrested, and Henry Voez and Jean Esch were burned at the stake.¹¹³ This Augustinian connection is not mentioned by Crespin, perhaps understandably; more curiously, he does not mention the link to the two martyrs of Brussels, either. None of the future editions of Crespin made this link. Van Zutphen was burned by a mob supposedly stirred up against him in late 1524 by the local ecclesiastical authorities.¹¹⁴ Van Zutphen was known personally to Luther, who lamented his death in a pamphlet entitled *The Burning of Brother Henry*, published in early 1525.¹¹⁵ This text was addressed to van Zutphen’s congregation in Bremen, frequently referring to them in the second person.

¹⁰⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 144.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. (The persecutions of the primitive Church had recommenced).

¹¹¹ Ibid. (The number of faithful multiplied day by day).

¹¹² Crespin, 1554, p. 146.

¹¹³ Luther, *Works*, Vol 53, p. 211. Vol. 32, p. 263.

¹¹⁴ Crespin, 1554, p. 146.

¹¹⁵ Luther, *Works*, Vol 32, p. 264.

Despite strong thematic similarities, Crespin's introduction does not rely entirely on Luther's, though there are some borrowed elements. Luther's pamphlet began with an introduction explaining the exceptional nature of the times, stressing that 'in many places both preachers and hearers are daily being added to the number of the saints'.¹¹⁶ The theme of a return to the primitive church was introduced by Crespin, while two mentions of 'the saints' are omitted. Like Luther, he uses the introduction to mention in passing John and Henry at Brussels (this is Voez and Esch, though Crespin seems to conflate the two Henries) Gaspard Tamber (or, in Luther, Casper Tauber), George ('Buchfuhrer') in Hungary, and an unnamed ex-monk, in Prague.¹¹⁷ This is followed, in each version, by more praise for the importance of these martyrs, though Crespin follows a different rhetorical line to Luther. Where Luther expresses confidence that: '[t]hese are the ones who, with their own blood, will drown the papacy and its god, the devil', Crespin opts for the less combative: 'Cest une chose bien certain, que tous ceux cy, & ceux qui souffrent une telle mort, endurent une passion vrayment Chrestienne, & non point une telle mort qu'endurent les larrons & brigands.'¹¹⁸ Similarly, both narratives go on to praise the institution of martyrdom, Luther stressing the legitimacy that martyrs gave to his cause: 'we read of no instance where a Christian died for the doctrine of free will and of works, or for anything but the Word of God', and that 'to die for God's Word and faith is a priceless, precious, and noble death'.¹¹⁹ Crespin stresses the suffering of the martyrs as part of 'the people of God', and the mockery 'pour le nom du Seigneur Jesus' before setting up an awkward comparison with Moses, who was

¹¹⁶ Luther, *Burning of Brother Henry*, trans. Steinhauser, revised Forell, in *Luther's Works*, Vol. 32, p. 265.

¹¹⁷ Crespin, 1554, p. 145. Compare to Luther, *Burning*, p. 266.

¹¹⁸ Luther, *Burning*, 266. Crespin, 1554, p. 145. (It is a very certain thing, that all these & others who suffer such a death, endure a passion which is truly Christian, & not such a death as thieves and brigands endure).

¹¹⁹ Luther, *Burning*, 267.

honoured in Egypt.¹²⁰ The two accounts then diverge further. Luther addresses the congregation of Bremen, and explains his purpose in publishing the pamphlet, which is to commemorate van Zutphen, and to hope that his death spurs more conversions, as God must have intended ‘to use this murder for the benefit of many in that land and by it lead them to eternal life’.¹²¹ He then gives a short, 20-point exposition on the Ninth Psalm (which in the pamphlet Luther erroneously cited as the Tenth).¹²² At the same juncture, Crespin gives his account of the executions of Voez and Esch; the section on the psalms was omitted entirely. Some pages later, the two accounts address the same material again.

For this section, the actual narration of the death of Heindrichs van Zutphen, Crespin follows Luther’s pamphlet relatively closely. Both accounts introduce him as arriving (only Luther specifies that it is in Bremen) in 1522, having been expelled from his previous post. In Luther this is given as Antwerp, in Crespin, it is Autdorff.¹²³ Luther spends much time describing how the Bishop of Bremen attempted to have Henry arrested, but was defeated by Henry’s learning and procedural manoeuvring, all of which Crespin omits.¹²⁴ In 1524, citizens from Meldorff (near Dithmarschen, in Schleswig-Holstein) approached Heindrichs and asked him to preach there. Both accounts make it clear that Heindrichs asked the permission of his Bremen parish before leaving; again, Luther’s account is longer, and devotes more time to Henry’s discussions with his parishioners, presenting genuine cases for and against.¹²⁵ Having accepted, and moved to Meldorff, van Zutphen came to the attention of the local Jacopins, who came to agreement with the

¹²⁰ Crespin, 1554, pp 145-6.

¹²¹ Luther, *Burning*, pp 267-8.

¹²² Ibid, 265n.

¹²³ Ibid. Crespin, 1554, p. 146.

¹²⁴ Luther, *Burning*, p. 276.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 278.

forty-eight regents or governors of the district to ‘put this heretic monk to death’ in Luther’s words, or as Crespin has it, they: ‘prendre secrettement de nuict ce bon personage Henry, & sans aucun delay le faire brusler, avant que les gens du pais en peussent estre advertis.’¹²⁶ This embellishment by Crespin aside, it is Luther’s account, again, which goes into detail about the meeting of the regents, and the specific dates and places of events. The order to have Heindrich arrested took nearly a week to be acted upon, partly because the population of Meldorff rejected it; in the meantime he was able to preach several sermons, whose subjects are related. Van Zutphen apparently preached especially on justification by faith, using text from Matthew 1, and Hebrews 7, which contained themes of rejection of the existing priestly orders.¹²⁷ Crespin, again, cut all mention of this delay and of the sermons, let alone their content, and instead follows the initial decision with action: ‘environ cinq cens paisans, qui s’assemblerent a une demie lieue pres de Meldorff’, apparently initially reluctant, move on the town.¹²⁸ From this point on, when the primary action is the capture and death of Heindrichs, the two accounts are much closer in content.

Both versions are careful to detail that the Jacopins themselves had taken an active role in preparing the mob, ‘fourni de torches & flambeaux pour leur esclairer’, and giving them ‘trois pipes de biere de Hamelburg.’¹²⁹ The mob’s pillaging and destruction of the curate’s house is also emphasized in each. Henry was soon dragged naked into the street, bound. Crespin omits passages from Luther describing Heindrichs’ long night locked in a cellar while the crowd grew drunk and

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 279. Crespin, 1554, p. 146. (Took secretly by night this good person Henry, & without any delay burned him, before the men of the country could be alerted).

¹²⁷ Luther, *Burning*, p. 280.

¹²⁸ Crespin, 1554, pp. 146-7. (Around five hundred peasants, whom they assembled a half-league from Meldorf).

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 147. (Furnished with torches & light for their lighting... three casks of beer from Hamelburg).

boisterous.¹³⁰ In the morning, he was condemned to be burned alive (Luther notes that he had not even had a hearing, while Crespin does not) by a bribed magistrate. Heindrichs van Zutphen was accused of ‘presche contre la foy Chrestienne, & contre la mere de Dieu.’¹³¹ At the site of the execution, the crowd became uncontrollable, attacking Heindrichs before he could be burned. This torture lasted for two hours (Luther notes that the fire would not light) before he was finally led up a ladder to be thrown into the fire. At this point Luther tells us that Heindrichs began to recite the Creed, while Crespin simply says that he was ‘invoquant le nom de Dieu.’¹³² With van Zutphen still alive, one of the mob attempted to strangle him, while another’s halberd slipped and pierced his chest before he was finished off by a man with a club. Crespin reproduces all of these painful details from Luther, though the description of this botched killing as a ‘fin glorieuse’ is his alone. Luther’s description in the final lines of Heindrichs as a ‘holy martyr’ is retained as ‘bien-heureuse martyr’ in Crespin’s rendering, though it would soon be changed.¹³³

The depiction of Heindrichs van Zutphen remained stable throughout its publication in four editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, although there were alterations to the format in which it was presented. The 1555 edition was divided more clearly into sections, and the early mentions of other martyrs were separated from the story of Heindrichs van Zutphen, with a separate header reading ‘Gaspar Tamber et Autres’. This gap is further expanded by the insertion of the account of the deaths of Henry Voez and Jean Esch.¹³⁴ When van Zutphen was mentioned again, he was granted his own title, and header. Numerous minor changes were made to the text in

¹³⁰ Luther, *Burning*, 284.

¹³¹ 1554, p. 148. (Preaching against the Christian faith, and the mother of God).

¹³² Luther, *Burning*, 286. Crespin, 1554, p. 149. (Invoking the name of God).

¹³³ Luther, *Burning*, 286. Crespin, 1554, p. 150.

¹³⁴ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. 146.

1555, perhaps the most notable of which was the change of the final line from describing Henry as a martyr, as would be expected from this edition.¹³⁵

In 1564, more substantial changes were made, most of them small cuts with the result that the account is noticeably shorter. Much of van Zutphen's brutal treatment at the hands of the mob was removed from this edition: the specific claim that the people 'ne cessoyent de le frapper avec piques & hallbardes' becomes 'ne cessoyent de le tormenter en toutes sortes.'¹³⁶ However, the designation of Heindrichs van Zutphen as a martyr was restored. The 1570 edition changed very little from this version, though it emphasized that the mob was initially forced to march on Meldorff, and a line which underlined their later hostility towards Heindrichs was omitted.¹³⁷ These changes suggest Crespin was concerned with portraying him as a pure martyr, brought down by plotting Dominicans and corrupt magistrates, and not the victim of a lynch mob.

Overall, Crespin drew the major events of van Zutphen's death from Luther, but on almost every subject he seems to have lost specificity. Luther's text named a great number of the actors in it, gave dates, details of Heindrichs' preaching, and much more information about the various discussions which took place (most notably, the mission by the mob to arrest van Zutphen, and the various manoeuvres undertaken by the Dominicans to have him arrested). These changes are perhaps explicable given the different contexts of the two works. Luther's was written in Germany, within a couple of years of the events depicted, and such naming and shaming gave the work more veracity, but would also have increased its impact. Crespin's work, a generation later, and in another country, would have had less

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 152.

¹³⁶ Compare Crespin, 1555, Vol 1, p. 151 to Crespin, 1565, p. 98. (Did not cease to hit him with pikes and halbards... did not cease to torment him in all ways).

¹³⁷ Crespin, 1570, p. 91 verso.

interest in naming names. In addition, though not surprisingly, Luther's entire exposition on the Ninth (mislabeled Tenth) Psalm was removed. This makes the account of Heindrichs van Zutphen's martyrdom a much more narrative-based passage, and one which is very light on any sort of doctrinal content. In addition, some of the omissions and alterations seem to have been made to no clear purpose, such as the alteration of Antwerp to Autdorff. Crespin would have known Antwerp, and may well have already associated van Zutphen with it, so the reasons for the name being changed remain unclear. This and other small errors and omissions may well be the result of an intervening work or translation which transmitted Luther's pamphlet to Geneva, providing Crespín with a rather different text.

Leonard Keiser

Another well-known Lutheran martyr to be included in Crespín's first edition was Leonard Keiser, a former student of Luther's who was burned at Passau in 1527. Luther had written about Keiser, and to him as well, and his writing was included as a postscript to the German-language pamphlet produced about Keiser's martyrdom in 1527: *Histori oder das warhaftig geschicht, des leydens vnd sterbens Lienhart Keyzers seligen, etweñ Pfarrers zü Waytenkirchen, von des heyligen Euangelij vnd Götlicher warheyt wegen zü Passaw verurteylt, vnd zü Scherding verbrandt, am Freytag nach Laurentij, im jar MDXXVII.*¹³⁸ The Lutheran pamphlets of 1527 seem to have been the original source material for the narrative which appeared in the *Livre des Martyrs*. These saw multiple publications in multiple

¹³⁸ Robert Kolb "Kaiser, Leonhard" *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. Ed. Hans J. Hillebrand. (Oxford University Press, 1996, 2005). The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation: (e-reference edition). Oxford University Press. [19 August 2011] <http://www.oxford-reformation.com/entry?entry=t172.e0756>.

locations, all dated 1527; their content was consistent, even through changes in printing format.¹³⁹

At least one hostile pamphlet was produced as well. Johann Eck, who had been one of Keiser's interrogators, published in 1527 a pamphlet in quarto entitled: *Warhafftige handlung, wie es mit herr L. Käser zu Schärding verbrent ergangen ist wider ain falsch, erdicht und erlogen büchlin vormals dar von, in namen des dichters aussgangen*, but it would appear that Crespin made no attempt to engage with this work, even to rebut it.

Given the nearly thirty-year interval and the linguistic divide between these works and Crespin, it is also quite possible that there was an intermediary work. The pamphlet briefly explains that Keiser, from Raab, near Passau, became a student at Wittenberg (he apparently held holy orders). On being informed that his father was dying, he returned home, where he was arrested, tried and executed. The focus, however, is on the trial of Keiser, and on his pronouncements at the time of execution; the trial begins on the third page of the octavo edition, and runs until the twelfth, including within it a detailed confession of faith. The final three pages of the pamphlet are given to a document which is titled: *Eyn trostbrieff Doctor Martini Luthers/gemeltem Lienhart Keyser seligen in seynem gefenctnus zugeschickt*.¹⁴⁰ This was the letter of consolation to Keiser, which Luther wrote to him in prison.

The main narrative makes clear how seriously the authorities took the trial of Keiser: listed as attending are the Bishop of Passau, the *Weybischoffs* of Passau and Regensburg, two abbots, two provosts and assorted other ecclesiastical figures.¹⁴¹

The central section of the pamphlet focuses on Keiser's confession of faith,

¹³⁹ Quarto and octavo editions of the same text were printed in 1527 in Nuremberg and Wittenberg. As many as nine editions in total may have been produced.

¹⁴⁰ *Histori, oder das warhaftig geschicht des leydens und sterbens L. Keyser's seligen* (Wittenberg, 1527).

¹⁴¹ *Histori...L. Keyser* (Wittenberg), p. 4.

presented in eighteen separate articles. These were wide-ranging, and though clearly protestant in inspiration, also betray a radical, perhaps Anabaptist element to Keiser's thinking. Uncontroversially for a Protestant, he argues that man is justified solely by belief in God (article 1), that only the sacraments of baptism and of the Eucharist should be accepted (article 2), that the sacrament in both kinds, the *Sacrament zu Wittenberg* as he termed it, was appointed by Christ (article 5).¹⁴² The third article attacks the Eucharist quite strongly, arguing that the Mass is no sacrifice for the living, and cannot help the dead.¹⁴³ The fifteenth article stated that Christ was the sole intermediary between man and God. Several more argue for clerical marriage. Others, however, were less conventional: the eighteenth argued that 'man has no free will in divine matters', the sixteenth, in phrasing very similar to Jerome of Prague's, rejected holy days, and perhaps even the Sabbath, by declaring that 'all days are the same before God'.¹⁴⁴

Crespin's account, which remained stable throughout the editions, is significantly shorter than that of the pamphlets. Of the three paragraphs, one is dedicated to the arrest of Keiser, and one to his execution. This leaves little room for his trial, which made up the bulk of the original source, but which in Crespin only took the third paragraph. Instead of the eighteen articles included in the German pamphlets, Crespin gives four articles of faith confessed by Keiser. These are first, that faith alone saves, which matches the first article in the German pamphlet. The second is that works are the fruits of faith. The third is that the Eucharist is neither an offering, nor a sacrifice, which may be a truncated reading of the third article. Fourth, that there are three kinds of confession (of faith, of charity, and to solicit council and consolation), a statement which has no obvious counterpart in the

¹⁴² *Histori...L. Keyser* (Nuremburg), sig. A (iii) recto.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. A iii verso.

original.¹⁴⁵ The majority of Kaiser's articles have been removed, and some of those listed by Crespin are a departure of sorts from those listed in the 1527 pamphlets. Not all of the articles which Crespin removed were necessarily ones which might be expected to cause trouble for his project. Many were benign from his point of view, such as the second article, arguing for only two sacraments. Yet he changed Keiser's confession out of all recognition, in distinct contrast to his handling of the confession of Heinrich Voez.

Crespin made editorial decisions as well. The consolatory letter by Luther, which concluded the pamphlets, was never included in Crespin, despite Luther's commentary on Keiser being alluded to in the introductory sentence. The scene of Keiser's burning, too, was altered. In Crespin, Keiser's execution was depicted as being somewhat botched. 'Et pource qu'il n'y avoit pas grand feu, le bourreau tira son corps demi brusle de dessus le bois d'avantage: puis luy fait passer sa perche & derechef le jetta au feu: & en ceste sorte l'acheva de brusler. Voilà la fin des jours de ce bon Martyr Keyser mourant pour le tesmoignage de la verite du Fils de Dieu'.¹⁴⁶ This is a rather toned down version of what had appeared in the pamphlet, which described Keiser's body refusing to burn, necessitating the executioner to cut the martyr to pieces while still alive.¹⁴⁷ This may reflect a move away from the depiction of the miraculous and providential by Crespin, who did occasionally distance himself from tall tales told about the deaths of his martyrs. It is also a decision which finds parallels in the toning down of the depiction of the gory end of Heindrichs van Zutphen in later editions of the martyrology.

¹⁴⁵ Crespin, 1570, p. 69 verso.

¹⁴⁶ Crespin, 1554, p. 152. (And because it was not a large fire, the executioner threw his body, half-burned, on the wood more: then he put his pole & again case into the fire: & in this way completed the burning. See the end of the days of this good Martyr Keyser, dying for the testimony of the truth of the Son of God)

¹⁴⁷ This is described in RW Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther' in *Past and Present* 110 (1986), pp. 42-43, in addition to the pamphlets, pp. 11-13.

The presentation of Keiser's notice was little changed between the 1554 and 1555 editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*. Alterations were made to the first line of the account, which changed from 'le martyre de M. Leonard Keyser' to 'la constance de M Leonard Keiser.' Other similarly small changes were made to the language: the early description of Keiser as 'bon et saint' becomes simply 'bon', and a second mention of him as a 'martyr' was removed in accordance with the changes ordered by the Council of Geneva.¹⁴⁸ In 1554 Keiser was introduced, without separation from the account before (of Heindrichs van Zutphen), as 'Leonard Keyser, dict l'Empereur'.¹⁴⁹ In 1555, that was retained, but a title was added, which read 'Leonard l'Empereur'.¹⁵⁰ The account itself was newly placed in the 1555 edition, appearing after the material on the Peasants' War, as Keiser's death in 1527 would demand.

In 1564, the account was again altered. The introductory line, in keeping with the increased emphasis given to historical context in the folio editions, read: 'Du commencement que l'Alemagne fut cultivée par la parole de Dieu, elle a donne de grans personages, qui non seulement ont enseigne icelle verite, mais aussie ont este cruellement meurtris par les Princes tenans le party contraire a icelle.'¹⁵¹ In 1570, the introductory line was expanded to explain the source of the information about Keiser: 'Martin luther [sic] & autres rendent tesmoignage au present Martyr.'¹⁵²

George (Winckler), Ministre de Hall was first included as a sort of footnote to Heindrichs van Zutphen in 1554's edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*. Van

¹⁴⁸ Compare Crespin, 1554, p. 151 with Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. 200.

¹⁴⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 150.

¹⁵⁰ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. 200.

¹⁵¹ Crespin, 1565, p. 109. (Since Germany has been cultivated by the word of God, she has given great persons, who not only have taught this truth, but also have been cruelly killed by the Princes holding to the party contrary to it).

¹⁵² Crespin, 1570, p. 68 verso. (Martin Luther and others render witness of the present martyr).

Zutphen's notice had concluded with a single paragraph noting that 'en ce mesme temps plusieurs furent noyez secrettement pour la parole de Dieu, tant en la riviere du Rhin qu'es autres rivières, dedans lesquelles les corps mortels d'iceux depuis ont este trouvez.'¹⁵³ Among them was a certain M. George, who preached at Hall.¹⁵⁴ All we are told of his preaching in this edition is that he administered communion in both kinds, which enraged the priests enough that they incited 'brigands and murderers' to beset him, giving an example 'de quelle rage sont menez ceux que l'Antechrist a à ses gages, pour se bander contre l'Evangile.'¹⁵⁵

The changes of 1555, which added titles and discrete sections to the accounts, did not touch Winckler, who remained in the final paragraph of Henry's account, just before the title for Jean Castellan.¹⁵⁶ Winckler is deployed to stand in as an example for these supposed masses, a technique of synecdoche which Crespin used elsewhere. 'Et entre autres il y eut un certain maistre George, qui preschoit a Hal; lequel d'autant qu'il bailloit la Cene sous les deux especes, fut chevallé par des brigans & meurtriers appostez par les prestres, & villainement occi assez pres d'Aschembourg'.¹⁵⁷ This short account remains the same in the compendium editions as well, changing only a final line which refers to the rage of the Antichrist against the Gospel, and, in the final edition, *brigans & meurtriers* becomes *brigans & voleurs*.¹⁵⁸

It would appear that George of Hall was George Winckler, for whose sake Luther had written another tract, *Trost-brief an die Christen zu halle*, which was

¹⁵³ Crespin, 1554, p.150 (In this same time many were secretly drowned for the word of God, as in the Rhine river as in other rivers, in which the dead bodies of those have since been found).

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. (Of what rage leads those that the Antichrist has in his pay, to band against the Gospel).

¹⁵⁶ Crespin, 1555, Vol 1, p. 152.

¹⁵⁷ Crespin, 1554, p. 150. (And among others there was a certain master George, who preached at Halle; which especially that he gave the Eucharist in the two kinds, was [hunted] by the brigands & murderers appointed by the priests, & villainously killed near to Aschembourg).

¹⁵⁸ Crespin, 1565, p. 98. Crespin, 1570, p. 62.

published in 1527 in at least three locations. It initially ran to fourteen pages, and saw multiple editions printed at Wittenberg and elsewhere.¹⁵⁹ Winckler had been a priest, and when he began serving the mass *sub utraque specie* and married, he was brought for a hearing before the Archbishop of Mainz in Aschembourg.¹⁶⁰ Winckler was released, and on his trip back to Halle, murdered. Luther argued in his pamphlet that ‘it was the tyrants of the chapter in Mainz who perpetrated Winckler’s murder’.¹⁶¹ Even more than his account of the death of Heindrichs van Zutphen, Luther’s commentary on Winckler only contains minimal mention of the narrative of his killing. Luther gives a lengthy defence of communion in both kinds, which is many times the length of the narrative directly relating to M. George. More minor points of contention argued that ‘if he could choose to be restored to life or to have remained alive, he would reject both and rebuke us for such thoughts’ for it is better that he died than that he risked falling into error, and the apocalyptic hint that the deaths of martyrs suggests that ‘a great catastrophe is at hand’.¹⁶² It is an interesting, and probably instructive point to note the emphasis that Luther placed on the comfort his readers could take from the fact George was killed ‘while obeying those in authority’, even making a virtue of co-operation with the Catholic bishop during the Peasants’ War ‘and opposed the rebels with all his might, to the admiration and love of the bishop’.¹⁶³

Crespin does not appear to have used much of this material, if at all; only the location of Winckler’s death, and his doctrine of the communion in both kinds, are included in the account. Much of Luther’s text would not have been usable for his purposes, being theological argument by the German reformer; there is no

¹⁵⁹ Luther, *Works*. Vol. 43, p. 144.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 141.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 147.

¹⁶² Ibid, pp. 160-2.

¹⁶³ Ibid, p. 149.

confession of faith from George himself. Combined with the paucity of information provided on the martyrdom, as well, it is unsurprising that George's account in Crespin is so short. However, it also has to be considered that Crespin probably drew his information from an intermediary source. It would be difficult to understand why he might omit useful pieces of information such as George's last name, or the fact that he had been called before the Archbishop, if they had not previously been omitted or muddled in some fashion. It also seems clear that whatever Crespin's initial source, he did not update it at any point.

In his 1556 edition, Crespin added only two German martyrs. These were included together as the first two accounts in the volume, possibly on the grounds of chronology, or geography. They were also listed alongside each other in the index, which was arranged by country of origin.

George Carpentier

George Carpentier was the first martyr to appear in the 1556 edition, and was given five octavo pages. His account is apparently that of Jorgen Wagner, given here under an altered or misunderstood name.¹⁶⁴ Wagner's story was given shortly after his death, in a 1527 German-language pamphlet entitled *Eyn new warhafftig vnd wunderbarlich geschicht oder hystori von Jörgen wagner zu München in Bayern als eyn Ketzer verbrandt im Jar M.D.xxvij*, printed possibly at Nuremberg. This six-page work focussed primarily on his confession of faith, which consisted of four articles. These were all included, modified to varying degrees, by Crespin; they are a critique of the Catholic sacraments. Carpentier/Wagner denied that priests could absolve as part of confession, and that God had any Real Presence in the

¹⁶⁴ Thomas Freeman. 'Text, Lies and Microfilm', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30 (1999), p. 34 n.

bread of the Eucharist. Most strikingly, he questioned whether one could become blessed through baptism.¹⁶⁵

In Crespin's rendering, a short subtitle immediately makes a claim for Carpentier; he was: 'd'Emering, qui fut brusle en Munchen, ville de Bavieres, pour la doctrine de l'Evangile'; this was expanded in 1564 to include 'par laquelle il surmonta les astuées de quelques sages mondains, qui subtilement l'abordèrent pour le faire fleschir'.¹⁶⁶ The passage begins with a claim about German Protestantism which places Germany at the centre of the battle for the truth in these years: 'Plusiers excellens personages se sont trouvez au pais d'Alemaigne, par lesquels le Seigneur a voulu, non seulement manifester sa verite, mais aussi par l'effusion de leur sang la testifier & confirmer.'¹⁶⁷ When the reader is first introduced to Carpentier in 1527, he has already been imprisoned, and 'ne peut divert de la vraye doctrine, tellement qu'il ne fut question sinon de proceder a sa condemnation.'¹⁶⁸

Without any description of a hearing, accusation, or trial, we are told that the sentence of death was pronounced against him, and he was taken to be executed. It was at this stage that his articles were read to the crowd.¹⁶⁹ Crespin included these, from 1564 describing them in the margin as 'Sommaire du proces de Carpentier.'¹⁷⁰ The first held that he did not believe the priest could, through confession, pardon sins.¹⁷¹ The second, that he did not 'croyoit que l'homme puisse faire descendre

¹⁶⁵ Eyn new warhafftig vnd wunderbarlich geschicht oder hystori von Jörgen wagner zu München in Bayern als eyn Ketzer verbrandt im Jar M.D.xxvij. 1527. P. 2.

¹⁶⁶ Crespin, 1556, p. 5. P. 1565, p. 110. (By which he surmounted the wit of some worldly sages, who subtly approached him to bend).

¹⁶⁷ Crespin, 1556, p. 5. (Many excellent persons have been found from the country of Germany, through which the Lord has willed, not only to manifest his truth, but also by the effusion of their blood, witness it, & confirm it).

¹⁶⁸ Crespin, 1565, p. 110. (Could not stray from the true doctrine, such that there was no question of not proceeding to his condemnation).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Crespin, 1556, p. 6.

Dieu du ciel.¹⁷² The third argued that he: ‘ne croyoit que Dieu soit enclos dedens le pain, que le prestre manie vire & revire en l’autel.’¹⁷³ These first three were very similar to their presentation in the German pamphlet. The fourth article, as presented by Crespin, stated that : ‘il ne croyoit que le Baptesme d’eau puisse de soy-mesme faire l’homme bien heureux.’¹⁷⁴ This had, originally, been rendered as: *Glaub er auch nicht das der Tauff des wasser jemandt selig macht*, claims that Baptism of water does not make a man blessed.¹⁷⁵ Crespin’s rendition, as noted by Gregory, is subtly but significantly softened, by claiming that baptism with water in itself does not make a man blessed.¹⁷⁶ Carpentier’s views on baptism were potentially Anabaptist, and his death was indeed used in Anabaptist songs.¹⁷⁷ His critiques of the Eucharist were also radical by the standards of 1520s Protestantism, verging towards that used by Karlstadt or Zwingli’s conception of the Eucharist as a symbolic gesture, but they were acceptable, even useful, to 1550s Reformed thinking.

The second half of his account shows Carpentier challenged by a Master Conrad Sceitter, apparently the vicar and preacher of the community. Carpentier turns down a chance to return to his home and his family, and is enjoined to: ‘croyez le sacrement de l’autel, & non seulement le signe.’¹⁷⁸ He also offers a line-by-line commentary on the Lord’s Prayer and the Nicene Creed as it is read at his execution. Some of these interjections reiterate his Protestant themes, as when he replies to Conrad’s invocation of ‘Donne-nous aujourd’huy nostre pain quotidien’,

¹⁷² Ibid. (Believe that man could make God descend from heaven).

¹⁷³ Ibid. (Did not believe that God was enclosed in the bread, that the priest kneads, turns, and re-turns, at the altar).

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. (He does not believe that the Baptism of water itself can make a man blessed).

¹⁷⁵ *Eyn new warhafftig vnd wunderbarlich geschicht oder hystori von Jörgen Wagner zu München in Bayern als eyn Ketzer verbrandt im Jar M.D.xxvij.* [Nuremberg 1527], p. 2. (He also does not believe the christening of the water makes one blessed).

¹⁷⁶ Gregory, p. 185.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Crespin, 1556, p. 7. (Believe the sacrament of the altar, & not only the sign).

with: ‘Que Jesus Christ le vray pain soit aujourd’huy ma viande.’¹⁷⁹ Other parts of it are less doctrinal in inspiration; Carpentier replies to Conrad’s ‘delivre du mal’ with a plea to God: ‘sans aucune doute tu me deliveras: car j’ay en toy seul fiché mon esperance.’¹⁸⁰ Finally, offered a mass to pray for his soul, Carpentier requests that the onlookers pray for him until his death (that is, during the burning), rather than after, for when: ‘l’ame sera separée du corps, je n’en ay plus besoing’, an implicit denial of the power of intervention, as well.¹⁸¹ This line-by-line commentary on the Lord’s Prayer and formal process against Carpentier, which became part of his running debate with Sceitter, is also present in the original. In this case, however, Crespin seems to have made a number of cuts which reduced this section, noting about the comments on the Creed that the remainder: ‘Ce qui seroit par trop long a descrire.’¹⁸²

The case of Carpentier/Wagner shows Crespin acknowledging, and indeed even promoting, the importance of the German contribution to the opening years of the Reformation, while at the same time obscuring some of the exact details of the doctrine being contested. In this instance, only one of Wagner’s four articles was obnoxious to Genevan understanding, and therefore had to be changed.

Pierre Flistede and Adolph Clarebach

Flistede and Clarebach (Clarenbach) were executed in Cologne in 1529. They first appear in Crespin in 1556, on page 10, making them the second entry in this edition after Carpentier. The account was fairly straightforward. The two were arrested because they ‘ne consentoyent avec les Papistes, touchant le Cene du

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 8. (Give us this day our daily bread... That Jesus Christ the true bread is today my food).

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 8. (Deliver from evil... without any doubt you deliver me: for I in you alone fix my hope).

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p. 9. (The soul wil be separated from the body, I shall have no need).

¹⁸² Ibid, p. 8. (This would be too long to describe).

Seigneur & les autres points.’¹⁸³ After being imprisoned for a year and a half, they were finally executed with ‘grand regret, gemissemens, & compassion de plusiers.’¹⁸⁴ Crespin’s account suggests that the clergy of the city –the ‘theologians’—were commending this sentence as necessary to appease God in the face of a new sweating sickness currently spreading, ‘appeloit vulgairement la maladie d’Angleterre’, as well as the assaults of the Turks.¹⁸⁵ At their death the two men were said to have defended their faith ‘par textes & tesmoignages de l’Ecriture.’¹⁸⁶ Clarebach, especially, is mentioned for his youth, eloquence and learning.¹⁸⁷ In 1564, and 1570, the two appear again, the only alteration being the addition of some marginal notes, and a sub-title explaining that ‘le commun populaire imputoit les playes que le pays d’Alemagne soustenoit lors, au changement de la Religion.’¹⁸⁸ Clarebach and Flistede had appeared (with the emphasis on Clarebach) in a pamphlet of 1528 entitled *Ernstliche handlung zwischē den hochgelerten Doctorn inn der gotheyt, als mann sie zu Cölln nennt, oder ketzermeyster, vnnd eynem gefangnen genant, Adolph Clarenbach, geschehen zu Cöln erstlich vff Franckenthurn*. This work does not seem to have been consulted at all, however. The two also appeared in Book IV of Rabus’ martyrology, along with many of the other German martyrs included in Crespin; Book IV was published in 1556, making any usage of it by Crespin possible but difficult.¹⁸⁹

Crespin’s approach to these German martyrs was driven by the established tradition concerning them. These were figures who had already been given attention

¹⁸³ Ibid, p. 10. (Did not agree with the Papists, concerning the Eucharist of the Lord and other points).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. (Great regret, lamentation, & compassion of many).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. (Commonly called the English sickness).

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 11. (By texts and testimonies of the Gospel).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Crespin, 1565, p. 111. (The common populace imputed the plagues, which the country of Germany sustained then, to the change of Religion).

¹⁸⁹ Rabus, IV, p. 488 recto, according to Kolb, *For all the Saints*, p. 164. Kolb, *For all the Saints* p. 82.

by major figures of the Reformation, often in widely distributed and reprinted pamphlets. There was little scope for Crespin to uncover new Lutheran martyrs, or to receive first-hand accounts of them; instead he was editing the martyrological efforts of others. As has been seen, he was not averse to making dramatic changes to these accounts, especially what might be regarded as their most important content: the confessions of faith. However, Lutheran doctrines were not the only reason he might alter the account of a German martyr of the 1520s. The German Peasants' War of 1524-5 also revealed a deep unease about insurrection and violence amongst those who attacked the Catholic Church.

Jean Crespin and the Peasants' War

The German Peasants' War of 1524-6 had been a subject of controversy, especially amongst Protestants, since the day it began. The question of the role played by the Reformation in sparking the unrest was immediately raised by Catholic controversialists such as Cochlaeus, and is still a topic of academic debate.¹⁹⁰ Luther's *Admonition to Peace*, a response to the Twelve Articles of the peasantry, was written early in 1525, in part to answer the peasants, who had promised to withdraw any articles found to be against the word of God. Luther felt compelled, as a leader of the Reformation, to give his opinion: 'I do this in a friendly and Christian spirit, as a duty of brotherly love, so that if any misfortune or disaster comes out of this matter, it may not be attributed to me, nor will I be blamed

¹⁹⁰ Cochlaeus, *Historia Martini Lutheri* (Ingolstadt, 1582). See Oberman, H. The Gospel of Social Unrest, in *The German Peasant War of 1525- New Viewpoints* (eds Scribner and Benecke) (1979) which argues that Lutheran ideas of godly law were essential to the beginning of the revolt. Blicke, From the Communal Reformation... (Trans. Kumin, 1998) argues that 'The divine law of the peasants derived from the Reformation...not in Luther's Wittenberg, but among the Christian humanists around Zwingli, who trusted the gospel's capability to improve the ways of the world.' p. 160. Hans J Hillerbrand, 'The German Reformation and the Peasants' War', in LP Buck and J. W. Zophy (eds), *The Social History of the Reformation*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1972).

before God and men because of my silence'.¹⁹¹ Although not unsympathetic to the demands of the peasants (the *Admonition* told the princes and lords that 'The peasants have just published twelve articles, some of which are so fair and just as to take away your reputation in the eyes of God and the world), Luther's advice to the rebels was to act temperately, and avoid violence, so as not to threaten their standing before God, advice which also had the effect of drawing a clear line between himself and the rebels.¹⁹²

When the uprising continued to grow, and became associated with religious radicalism, as well, Luther took a further step, and sided decisively against the rebels with 1525's *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*. As they had broken their vows to their rulers, started a campaign of rebellion and pillage, and falsely called themselves 'Christian brethren', Luther decided that the peasants must be crushed: 'I will not oppose a ruler, who, even though he does not tolerate the gospel, will smite and punish these peasants without first offering to submit the case to judgment.'¹⁹³ He even figured the conflict as a holy war: 'anyone who is killed fighting on the side of the rulers may be a true martyr in the eyes of God... anyone who perishes fighting on the peasants' side is an eternal firebrand of hell, for he bears the sword against God's word.'¹⁹⁴ These strong views were hardly retracted in the same year's *An Open Letter on the Harsh Book Against the Peasants*.¹⁹⁵ Blicke considered this stance vital to the success of Lutheranism within the Holy Roman Empire: 'Ideologically, Luther defeated Bucer and Zwingli... After this date, Zwinglianism was linked with upheaval and forced to surrender its

¹⁹¹ Luther, *Admonition to Peace: A reply to the twelve articles of the peasants in Swabia*, in *Works*, vol. 46, p. 17.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, p. 22.

¹⁹³ Luther: *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes*, *Works*, vol. 46, p. 53.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁹⁵ Luther, *Works*, Vol. 46, pp. 63-85.

bastions.’¹⁹⁶ Subsequently, religious policy became entwined with concerns for order and fears of another uprising.¹⁹⁷

Luther had not entirely escaped accusations of responsibility for the rural uprisings, however. Cochlaeus, in his 1527 *Answer to Luther’s Treatise against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*, blamed Luther’s conception of Christian freedom for giving the peasantry ideas that they were beyond the law.¹⁹⁸ Emser, with whom Luther was already engaged in a long polemical rally, offered five proofs that Luther had incited the Peasants’ war.¹⁹⁹ These argued that Luther had wrongly juxtaposed the secular and spiritual estates, had attacked human laws and the Catholic hierarchy, committed *lèse majesté* against secular authorities (by criticizing interventions in spiritual affairs), and incited rebellion through his incendiary language.²⁰⁰ The debate continued for years: Coclaeus’ 1529 *Siben kopffe Martin Luthers, von sieben sachen das Christlichen glaubens*, argued that ‘There were many peasants slain in the uprising, many fanatics banished, many false prophets hanged, burned, drowned, or beheaded who perhaps would still all live as good obedient Christians had Luther not written’.²⁰¹

French Protestants had largely been spared direct involvement in these events, but one legacy of peasant revolt was to place popular involvement in reform movements under grave suspicion from the authorities, and even from some higher-status Reformers. It also made the task of the martyrologist difficult. From Crespin’s point of view, it was imperative to prove that anyone who was included from that

¹⁹⁶ Peter Blickle, *From the Communal Reformation to the Reformation of the Common Man*. (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 200.

¹⁹⁷ Blickle, 1998 cites Wohlfeil’s studies of the Imperial Diets to 1530.

¹⁹⁸ Mark Edwards, *Printing, propaganda, and Martin Luther*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), p. 155.

¹⁹⁹ Edwards, p. 150. The Emser tract is 1525’s *Answer to Luther’s ‘Abomination’ Against the Holy secret prayer of the Mass, also how, where and with which words Luther urged, wrote, and Promoted rebellion in his books* (Dresden, 1525).

²⁰⁰ Edwards, pp. 151-3.

²⁰¹ Edwards, p. 149. Cochlaeus’ tract was published at Dresden, 1529.

period had been killed for the correct reasons, and if possible, in the correct manner. The death of a rebel would obviously be disqualified, but it could also be difficult to prove the motivations behind the killing of a pastor in the heat of combat, or a convert caught up in a wave of reactionary violence.

Crespin included only a handful of figures involved in the Peasants' War, which he described in the 1564 and 1570 editions:

les paysans eussent commence d'estrivier à cause des charges dont ils se plaignoyent estre grèvez, grande sedition s'esmeut contre les prelates Ecclesiastiques & plusieurs gentils-hommes d'Alemagne, sous couleur de defender la doctrine de l'Evangile & de se mettre en liberte. Outre le meutre & degaste qu'apporta ceste tempest populaire, elle fit de grands prejudices à la cause de l'Evangile & à plusieurs bons Ministres qui commencoyent de l'annoncer.²⁰²

Three martyrs were included in the 1554 and 1555 editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, with two of them continuing into the 1564 and 1570 volumes, vague accounts which do not name their subjects, and in two cases, do not even specify a location. An attribution of these accounts to Oecolampadius is given at the beginning of the first of the three accounts, in a small italicized header that was maintained through each successive edition, though with some modification. In 1554 and in 1555, this read: 'L'histoire a este redigee par escrit par Iean Ecolampade.'²⁰³ In the octavo editions, the accounts were grouped together; each had its own title, and was a distinct entity, grouped with the others and preceded by the note about Oecolampadius. In 1564, only two accounts were included, as *Recits*

²⁰² Crespin, 1570, p. 63 verso (The peasants had begun to argue because of the charges which they complained were grievous; great sedition was launched against the great Ecclesiastical prelates & many gentlemen of Germany, under colour of defending the doctrines of the Gospel & to set them at liberty. In addition to the murder & damage which carried this popular tempest, it caused great prejudice to the cause of the Gospel & to many good Ministers who began to announce it).

²⁰³ Crespin, 1554, p. 158. Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 164. (The history has been drafted in writing by Oecolampadius).

d'Histoire, presented separately from each other, and introduced with a claim that they were 'attributed' to Oecolampadius.²⁰⁴ In this version, Oecolampadius' credentials are burnished: 'instauratuer de la vray Religion en la ville de Basle', and Crespin explains why he has included the accounts in this fashion :

'pource que la peine ne fait point le Martyr, mais la cause, laquelle en ces narrations est meslée avec faits qui la pourroyent rendre suspecte & non pure, nous les avons icy inserez par forme de récit d'histoire, comme du commencement en ceste edition nous avons proteste de faire, quand la mort n'est pas du tout pour la cause de la Religion, ains est meslée avec autre accusation.'²⁰⁵

In 1570, this became: 'la peine ne fait point le martyr, ains la cause, laquelle en ces trois est meslée avec quelques occasions de faictes peu convenables aux martyrs du Seigneur, nous les avons ici inserez par forme de recit d'histoire, comme du commencement en cest edition...'²⁰⁶

Suspicion of the content of the three martyrs' beliefs, and their possible activities during the Peasants' War, was seemingly the cause of this demotion in status. We cannot know whether some change of opinion occurred between 1555 and 1564 which caused Crespin to re-evaluate his view of these three accounts, or whether it was the development of the *Recit d'Histoire* format which spurred this change.

²⁰⁴ Crespin, 1565, p. 100. (Founder of the true religion in the city of Basel).

²⁰⁵ Ibid. (Because the punishment does not make the Martyr, but the cause, which in these narrations is mixed with facts that could render it suspect & not pure, we have inserted them here in the form of a narrative of the history, as at the beginning of this edition we have promised to do, when the death is not for the cause of Religion, but is mixed with another accusation).

²⁰⁶ Crespin, 1570, p. 63 verso. (The punishment does not make the martyr, but the cause, which in these three is mixed with some occasions of facts little suitable to the martyrs of the Lord, we have here inserted them in the form of a narrative of the history, as in the beginning of this edition).

These martyrdoms appeared in John Foxe's editions from 1563 onwards, credited, as in Crespin, to Oecolampadius.²⁰⁷ There are few major differences between the accounts in the two martyrologies: part of Crespin's version of the second account, describing the ominous approach of troops to arrest the pastor of Birsigoye, does not appear in Foxe. Similarly, two sections describing the depredations of soldiers suppressing the Peasants' War in the third of the Oecolampadius notices were omitted from the English work: Foxe appears to have shied away from representing such military action in these cases. From 1570 onwards, Foxe seems to have gained access to information which Crespin did not have. In that year, he was able to put a name to the second martyr, the 'pastor of Birsigoye', who was apparently a Peter Spengler, of the village of Schlatt, in Württemberg.²⁰⁸ The name was apparently added after consulting Pantaleone's *Martyrium Historia*.²⁰⁹

Given a separate title in the early editions: *De la Mort Cruelle d'un certain ministre ou pasteur, lequel fut injustement occi pour avoir maintenu la verite, l'an 1525*, the first of the three subjects is described simply as a pastor, 'vrayment faisant office de pasteur', who at the time that: 'que les paisans avoyent esmeu sedition, feit quelque chose qui n'estoit pas de grande importance comme ceux le cognoissoyent, ont bien seu rapporter', which is as close as Crespin gets at this stage to an admission of wrongdoing.²¹⁰ In return, his prince, (who is not identified) annoyed at an unspecified transgression, condemns him to death, despite 'combien que tout cela

²⁰⁷ John Foxe. *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (1576 edition). Editorial commentary and additional information, re. 1563 edition, pp. 483-87. (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> [Accessed: 08.08.11].

²⁰⁸ Ibid, 1570, p. 1052. [Accessed 8/08/11].

²⁰⁹ Ibid, Apparatus, German Martyrs [Accessed 10/08/11].

²¹⁰ Crespin, 1554, pp. 154-55. Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, pp. 164-65. (Faithfully performed the office of pastor... that the peasants having being moved to sedition, did something which was not of great importance, as those who know, have well related).

ne meritat auncune punition.²¹¹ In 1564, the prince's reaction is modified, in that in his condemnation of the preacher 'oubliant tout amite & la reverence qu'il avoit de tout temps portée audit Pasteur.'²¹² The prince then sends a gentleman and some servants (in early editions the servants appear to be the gentleman's; in 1564 they are the prince's) to the house of the cleric to carry out this sentence, where after debate amongst themselves and with the pastor, who emphasized his role in mitigating the destruction of the peasants:

Il leur proposa l'humanité de laquelle il avoit usé envers tous les Gentiles-hommes du pays: comment ses biens n'avoyent este espargnez pour les recueillir, que maintenant ce seroit une malheureuse recompense, si pour sa benevolence un telle cruauté estoit excercée contre lui.²¹³

His entreaties not having saved him, despite the appeals to the conscience of the gentleman, whom he warns of the perpetual fires of hell.²¹⁴ The pastor's non-violent nature is emphasised by his reaction when his death is near, which offers no resistance:

Qu'ils estoyent ses seigneurs, & le pouvoyent faire mourir s'ils vouloyent : que tout ce que ils faisoyent estoit louable, & n'y falloit aucunement contredire ou resistir: & qu'il machinoit quelque chose en ses sermons, qui bien tost viendrait a une fin malheureuse.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Crespin, 1554, p. 155. (How all this deserves no punishment).

²¹² Crespin, 1565, p. 101. (Forgetting all friendship & the reverence he had always borne the said Pastor).

²¹³ Crespin, 1554, p. 156. (He offered to them the humanity of which he had used against all the gentlemen of the country, how their goods had not been spared for the collection, that now it would be an unfortunate recompense, if for his benevolence such a cruelty was exercised against him...).

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 157. (That they were the lords, & they could kill him if they wanted: that all that they did was laudable, and could not be contradicted or resisted: & that he plotted some things in his sermons, that quite early came to a bad end).

His final words are figured in a traditionally martyrological way: ‘ne dict autre chose, sinon, Iesus Christ, fay moy misericorde: Iesus Christ, sauve moy.’²¹⁶ Crespin concluded his account with a brief note comparing the character of the hangmen-- described as being like Turks in the early editions, and like barbarians in 1564-- with those of the martyrs.²¹⁷ In 1570, Crespin tried to underline the demonstrative value of the account: ‘ceste acte entre autres meritoit d’estre ici recite, pour monstrier la grande cruaute...’, before going on to repeat the quotations about barbarians.²¹⁸

The second of the three Oecolampadius martyrs also had his own title in 1554 and 1555, which was lost in the 1570 agglomeration: ‘*Autre histoire du martyre d’un ministre ou pasteur, lequel fut noyé l’an 1525. Recueille par ledict auteur Iean Ecolampade.*’²¹⁹ This became *Recit d’histoire d’un PASTEUR du pays de Brisgoye* in 1564.²²⁰ In the final edition, in 1570, it has been incorporated into a section entitled *Gaspar Tambar, & autres, executez en diverses lieux.*²²¹

This pastor, who was named by Foxe as Peter Spengler, tended to a village in the Brisgoye (Breisgau) area near Freiburg-im-Breisgau, and is granted high praise by Crespin for being well versed in Scripture, and dedicated to his office, as being ‘courtois, humain, debonnaire.’²²² None of these complimentary adjectives survived in 1564, and indeed, that edition drops all references to ‘le bon’ Pasteur and also omits the line ‘ayant autorité envers tous, & paisaible avec tous ceux, avec lesquels il avoit à faire.’²²³ With the coming of reform elsewhere, he was inspired to

²¹⁶ Ibid, p. 158. (Said nothing else, except Jesus Christ, give me mercy, Jesus Christ, save me).

²¹⁷ Ibid. p. 158. Crespin, 1565, p. 101.

²¹⁸ Crespin, 1570, p. 64. (This act among others merits reciting here, to show the great cruelty...).

²¹⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 158.

²²⁰ Crespin, 1565, p. 107.

²²¹ Crespin, 1570, p. 64.

²²² Crespin, 1554, p. 158.

²²³ Compare Crespin, 1554, p. 158 with Crespin, 1565, p. 107. (With authority toward all, and peaceful with all those with whom he had to deal).

revisit the Gospels, which he had previously read ‘sans aucune intelligence, sans penser aux mots & sentences.’²²⁴ In light of this, Crespin wrote in 1554 and 1555: ‘il entra en soy-mesme, pensant en quelles tenebres obscures, & en quels malheureux erreurs tout l’ordre des Prestres avoit este plonge desia des long temps’, though this was removed from the 1564 and 1570 editions.²²⁵ The account laments the failures of earlier generations to grasp the truth, and the abuses of the established Church in apocalyptic language:

‘Or ce pendant il voyoit, que les Prestres vivoyent en grande prosperité: & nul n’osoit maintenir une sainte & bonne cause contre eux sans grande danger... Il voyoit l’heure estre venue, que l’Evangile depoloyoit grandement sa vertu, que la croix estoit prochaine, que les ennemis de la verité escumoyent leur rage...’²²⁶

The persecutions and executions of the modern era are invoked, and compared to those of the ancients, which spurred the pastor into action: ‘veu que tant de corps de saints & fideles estoyent tous les jours fouettez, battus de verges, bannis, deschirez, decoppez, pendus, noyez & bruslez.’²²⁷ The ‘bon Pasteur voyant donc toutes choses aller c’en dessus dessous (comme aussi pour lors les paysans avoyent esmeu une grande mutinerie)’, took action by taking a wife, to ‘avoid the sin of fornication’, thus definitively breaking from the Catholic Church.²²⁸ The Peasants’ War continued to grow, however, and ‘ils alloyent parmi les monasteres & les maisons des Prestres, comme s’ils eussent entrepris quelque pelegrinage: &

²²⁴ Crespin, 1554, p. 159. Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 168. (Without any intelligence, without thinking of words and sentences).

²²⁵ Crespin, 1554, p. 159.

²²⁶ Crespin, 1555, Vol. 1, p. 169. (Now however he saw, that the priests lived in great prosperity: & no-one dared to keep a holy & good cause against them without great danger... he saw the hour had come, that the Gospel could widely spread its virtue, that the cross was next, that the enemies of the truth frothed their rage...).

²²⁷ Crespin, 1565, p. 107. (Saw that so many of the bodies of the saints & faithful were always whipped, beaten with rods, banished, torn, beheaded, hung, drowned, & burned).

²²⁸ Crespin, 1554, p. 160. Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, pp. 169-70. (Good pastor saw therefore all things went topsy-turvy (as also for then the peasants had raised a great rebellion)).

n'espargnoyent rien de tout ce qu'ils trouvoyent.²²⁹ In time, a group of rebels descended on Breisgau, and took all that he had, as these bands ne faisoient point de difference entre les meschans Prestres & les bons.²³⁰ Spengler tried to use his moral authority to shame his assailants, but to no purpose, and he prophetically warned them that 'les seditions n'eurent jamais bonne issue, lesquelles enveloppent les bons & honnestes personages parmi les meschans...'²³¹ The peasants are accused of betraying the Gospel for which he stands:

tous ces excez & dissolutions sous ombre de l'Evangile... vous proposant la verite de l'Evangile, avez vous out ou apprins de moy, qu'il se fallut ainsi desborder en furie & inhumanite ? Vostre Evangile est plus tost un Evangile du diable, lequel trouble tout a tort & a travers, ravissant & pillant sans avoir esgard a aucune equite.²³²

They taunted him, replying that he had taken money for Masses, and asked when he would repay it.²³³

Having ridden out the local uprisings, which in the Breisgau region mainly took place in the spring of 1525, when: 'la mutinerie de ces paysans fut en partie appesee', the pastor returned to spreading the Word, and was arrested by 'quelques soldats apostez', and taken to prison.²³⁴ There he was tortured, and condemned to death, apparently because of his marriage, though he was treated like a thief or brigand.²³⁵ He denounced the monks for their 'badineries' (later changed to *fausses doctrines*), but mainly sticks to wider terms of debate, introducing ideas such as 'de

²²⁹ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 170. (They went among the monestaries and the houses of the priests, as if they had undertaken some pilgrimage, sparing nothing of what they found).

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid. (Sedition never has a good outcome, which envelops the good and honest people amongst the wicked).

²³² Crespin, 1554, p. 161. (All these excesses & dissolutions under the shadow of the Gospel...you pretend the truth of the Gospel, have you learned from me, that it thus overflows in fury and inhumanity? Your Gospel is sooner a Gospel of the Devil, which troubles all to wrong and to disorder, ravaging and pillaging with having regard for any justice).

²³³ Crespin, 1565, p. 108.

²³⁴ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 171. Scott & Scribner, Introduction, p. vi (The rebellion of the peasants was appeased... some apostate soldiers).

²³⁵ Ibid, p. 172.

ma part, je ne me veux glorifier qu'en le croix de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ', without presenting specifically theological arguments.²³⁶ His sentence was to be executed by drowning in the local river, a fact remarked upon in the introduction to his notice. On being thrown into the water, it became red with his blood, which was apparently taken as a sign that the blood of an innocent man had been shed that day.²³⁷ According to the narrator of this account, this was taken as a potentially providential sign: 'Ceux qui estoyent la presens voyans ce qui estoit advenu, furent tout esbahis, estans marris en eux mesmes, pensans que signifoit ceste eau teincte de sang. Un chacun s'en retourna tout pensif en sa maison, considerant ce qui avoit este faict.'²³⁸

The account ends with the truth-claim that 'J'ay entendu tout ceci par un qui a veu de ses propres yeux ce qui a este cy dessus recite', which in 1564 was underlined by Crespin's addition of a note : 'Ecolampade en la fin de ce recit...' ²³⁹

In 1564, nearly as much space was devoted to documenting the pastor's persecution by the peasants as his persecution by the authorities. His battles against the local uprisings, and victimization at their hands, are central to this account, although they were ultimately irrelevant to his execution. They may thus serve the purpose of acting as a testament to the pastor's holy life, and good conduct at this difficult time: the Peasants' War was in this sense a test of Spengler's suitability for the title of martyr. These themes are stressed by the marginal notes which Crespin added to the 1564 and 1570 editions. Of the ten which Crespin added, only two

²³⁶ Ibid, p. 174. 1554 p. 164 changed to 1565, p. 108. (For my part, I do not want only to glorify the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ).

²³⁷ Ibid, p. 174.

²³⁸ Ibid. (Those who were present saw which had been done, were all dumbfounded, were grieved in themselves, wondering what this water signified, tinted with blood. Each one returned thoughtful to his house, considering what had been done).

²³⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 165. (I have had all of this by one who saw with his own eyes that which has been written above...Oecolampadius in the end of this account...).

marginal notes cite biblical passages. The rest provide commentary on the text. The initial praise of the pastor is marked with a note reading: ‘Marques de bon Ministre’, while the description of the Peasants’ War was annotated: ‘Fureur desbordée des Paysans.’²⁴⁰ Most interestingly, his torture and spell in prison, after his arrest by soldiers, was marked by marginalia reading: ‘Tourment que le pasteur endure des Paysans.’²⁴¹

The third and final of the Peasants’ War accounts also appeared in the first and second edition with its own header, which read: ‘Autre histoire d’un villageois occi a tort, recueille par le mesme auther Ecolampade.’²⁴² Unlike the previous two, who were clergy, this man is described as being a peasant, an : ‘amateur de justice, & ennemi mortel des exactions des Gentils-hommes, lesquels opprimoyent le povre peuple, & le fouloyent plus que de raison, voir plus que les priveleges donnez par les Rois & les Princes ne permettoient.’²⁴³ Holding these somewhat radical views, he was caught up in the Peasants’ War, or its aftermath:

‘Après que le bruit & tumult des paysans fut appaise, cestui-cy fut empoigne: & la raison fut pour ce qu’il avoit crie a l’arme, lor que par tout le pays par les pres & les champs il y avoit nombre de gens a cheval, qui chercoient a grande diligence ceux qui avoyent este auteurs de la sedition : combien qu’il n’eust esmeu persone par son cry a prendre armes.’²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 107. (Marks of the good Minister...overflowing furor of the Peasants).

²⁴¹ Ibid, p. 108. (Torment that the Pastor endured from the Peasants).

²⁴² Ibid, p. 166. Crespin 1555, Vol.1, p. 175. (Another history, of a villager slain wrongly, collected by the same author, Oecolampadius).

²⁴³ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 175. (Lover of justice, & mortal enemy of the exactions of the gentlemen, which oppress the poor people, & trample on more than reason, saw that the privileges given by Kings and Princes did not allow it).

²⁴⁴ Ibid. (After the noise & tumult of the peasants was appeased, this one was seized: & the reason was, that he had cried to arms when in all the nearby country & fields there were numbers of horsemen who searched with great diligence those who had been authors of the sedition: how that he had not moved people by his cry to take arms).

It seems that everyone had believed that they were in danger: a village had already been burned, and many were fleeing their homes for the forests.²⁴⁵ The knights killed all who they found, so that all in the area were afraid of them (it was this section which was omitted from Foxe).

Meanwhile, the peasant was apparently persuaded to surrender by promises and tricks, in the face of which he consented to their demands, thinking he would avoid the gallows.²⁴⁶ He was tortured in a variety of ways, and incarcerated, seemingly with the aim of getting him to sign a confession that he steadfastly denied.²⁴⁷ His captors eventually suborned a witness to testify that : ‘il estoit digne de mort, d’autant qu’il avoit crie a-larme après que treues furent donnees, & avoit voulu esmouvoir nouvelle sedition.’²⁴⁸ He was sentenced to death, and the reader is given a detailed rendering of the ceremonies around this peasant’s final hours.

Crespin depicts the man as having some religious motivations. He accuses the monk who accompanies him to the scaffold, at some length, of ‘having the heart of a fox’, and of deceiving simple folk, the peasant decries the wooden crucifix as being ‘ton marmouset de bois: mon Sauveur habite au ciel’.²⁴⁹ The villager denies the need to confess to the monk, insisting that he has already confessed his sins before God himself.²⁵⁰ His confession was read aloud, containing nothing other than the statement that: ‘cest homme avoit este seditieux, & que du temps des treues il avoit crie a-larme, voire de nuict, cependant que les autres reposoyent en leurs

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 175.

²⁴⁷ Crespin, 1554, p. 168.

²⁴⁸ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 177. (He is worthy of death, all that he had cried the alarm after that truce was given, & had wanted to raise a new sedition).

²⁴⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 170-1. (Your doll of wood: my Saviour lives in heaven).

²⁵⁰ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 179.

licts.²⁵¹ Demanding the right to speak, the villager launched into a monologue defending himself:

il y eust de gens de cheval, qui empoignoient plusieurs gens de bonne vie & simplicitie, ainsi qu'ils labouroient, semoyent, tailloyent les vignes, dormoyent de nuict avec leurs femmes & enfans, & ne pensoyent a rien moins qu'a telles surprinces : de ma part i'amassay aucuns de mes parens & amis en ma maison, pour me defendre de ceste violence & oppression, & non point pour esmouvoir sedition...²⁵²

(This, passage, like the others dealing with civilian fear of the knights, did not make it into Foxe). He insists again and again that he is innocent of the charges, that he has been set up by the gentry and the judges in collusion, before returning to the question of his role in the uprisings:

J'ay este adherent au bruit & tumult des villageois, comme ont faict tous les autres qui habitait a l'entour d'icy. Mais quoi? N'y a-il pas eu aussi beaucoup de gentils hommes, qui ont suivy l'armee des paisans, & beaucoup de villes fortes qui se sont allies avec eux? Je n'ay ester autheur d'aucune mutinerie, laquelle j'ay tourjours mortellement haye... je n'ay jamais seu quelles estoyent les Articles, lesquels on a publiez.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Ibid, pp 179-80. (This man had been seditious, & the in the time of the truce he had cried the alarm, indeed at night, while the others rested in their beds).

²⁵² Ibid, p. 180. (There were horsemen, who seized many men of good life & simplicity, whether they laboured, sowed, cut the vines, slept at night with their women and children, & did not think of such surprises: for my part I gathered all of my parents & friends in my house, to protect them from this violence & oppression, & not to stir up sedition).

²⁵³ Crespin, 1554, pp 173-4. (I have been adherent to the noise & tumult of the villagers, as did everyone else who has lived around here. But so what? Have there not been many gentlemen who followed the army of peasants, & many strong towns who have allied with them? I have not been the author of any rebellion, which I always mortally hated... I never knew what was in the articles which were published).

He asks: 'Pourquoy donc m'a on prins comm un brigand ? Pourquoy m'a on fait endurer tant de tortures ? La cause principale c'est pour ce que j'ay adhere aux paysans.'²⁵⁴

After the prisoner gave a long speech along these lines, the judge ordered the executioner to behead the condemned man, in order to curtail his harangue: 'sa langue se remua dedans sa bouche assez long temps, pour la vehemence des paroles qu'il avoit proferées.'²⁵⁵ This case stands apart from the other two, as an example of a layman executed for a seemingly seditious act. His defence was not to deny the charge, but to try to justify it, and to mitigate his actions. At no point was there an indication that his religious views were relevant to the trial, or to his actions. As such, this peasant can be said to fail to fulfil most of the criteria for martyrdom suggested by David El Kenz; certainly it would appear that Crespin had second thoughts on the topic.

In 1564, and in 1570, this account was removed from the martyrology, despite the introductory note before the first Oecolampadius notice, which, though downgrading the three from the status of martyrs, promised: 'l'histoire de trois qui avoyent este cruellement tyrannisez durant les temps de la sedition des Rustiques au pais d'Alemagne.'²⁵⁶ This was the most significant of the changes which Crespin made in 1564 to his depiction of the Peasants' War, but it was part of a pattern of downplaying the importance of the Peasants' War. In 1564 and 1570, the Oecolampadius accounts, in addition to being quietly reduced from three to two, were changed from full martyr-accounts to *Recits d'Histoire*. The first notice, the

²⁵⁴ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 183. (Why have I been held like a brigand? Why have I endured such torture? The principal cause is that I adhered to the cause of the Peasants).

²⁵⁵ Ibid. (His tongue moved in his head for a long time, from the vehemence of the words which he had given).

²⁵⁶ Crespin, 1565, p. 100. (The history of three who were cruelly oppressed during the times of the sedition of the Peasants of the country of Germany).

minister attacked in his home, was prefaced with a short note alluding to this change. As described above, Crespin explained that these three accounts had been changed because one could not be certain that their deaths had been purely for religious reasons, and not ‘meslée avec autre accusation’.²⁵⁷ That Crespin felt compelled to make this lukewarm defence of these accounts even after excluding the one most liable to be accused of sedition suggests an ambivalence towards these figures, and a sense of concern about the association with the Peasants’ War.

The *Recit* introducing the Peasants’ War, however, only includes the first of Oecolampadius’ martyrs before ending; the 1564 edition then moves on to the separate (but contemporary) account of Wolfgang Schuch, of whom more later.²⁵⁸ It is only after the lengthy section on Schuch, and a very brief one on Gaspar Tambar, that the second of the three is included, under the title *Recit d’histoire d’un PASTEUR du pays de Brisgoye*.²⁵⁹

When Crespin started his martyrology in 1554, he used three martyrs relayed to him by Oecolampadius. In 1555, he reprinted those stories unchanged. When the time came for him to collect his works into a compendium, in 1564, we find that he has separated the stories they have become *Recits de Histoire*, and therefore not true martyrdoms. The third story, which had contained the least theological bearing, and which seemed to associate its protagonist most closely with the action of the peasants against the authorities, was dropped entirely. Crespin did not often entirely remove items from the *Livre des Martyrs*, nor did he cut the length of the items too much from edition to edition. This makes the cuts to Oecolampadius’ account of deaths in the Peasants’ War especially interesting. The way in which the accounts were given a lower-status inclusion in 1564 than they had previously held, and the

²⁵⁷ Ibid. (Mixed with other accusations).

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 101.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 107.

ambiguous language that Crespin introduced to describe their doctrinal positions, seem to show a growing squeamishness about associating with the memories of the violence of 1525, even forty years after the fact. As far as the writing of a Protestant history was concerned, the Peasants' War held the wrong connotations.

Crespin's interventions show a clear desire to avoid identification of his martyrs with the Peasants' War. His inclusion of two of the Oecolampadius martyrs as *Recits d'Histoire* is coupled with an acknowledgement that their deaths might have been for reasons other than simply their beliefs; his exclusion of the third is a *de facto* admission that the man was executed for his deeds, not his doctrine. The pastor of Brisgoye, however, was portrayed as being in conflict with the rebels, who robbed, mocked and abused him. His case was an excellent example of a virtuous protestant beset by both Catholic authorities and rebellious peasants, and yet Crespin continued to treat it with great caution.

The actual events of the war are mostly disregarded. The rise of the peasantry is hardly discussed at all, and their suppression heavily downplayed, with the exception of Oecolampadius' third martyr. We are told that the pastor of Brisgoye was arrested 'après que le mutinerie de ces paysans fut en partie apaisée'; in the third notice, which depicts heavily armed men punishing the peasants, the end of the Peasants' War was still described as an 'appeasement', rather than a putting down.²⁶⁰ The martyrology reveals fears that the war will affect the perception of the Reformation as a whole; the preacher of Brisgoye reproaches the peasants that: 'Vostre Evangile est plus tost un Evangile du diable'...²⁶¹ Obedience to authority, on the other hand, had already been praised in the case of George Winckler, whom Luther made a point of commending. Even the third Oecolampadius martyr,

²⁶⁰ Crespin, 1565, p. 108. Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 175. (After the mutiny of the peasants had been partly appeased).

²⁶¹ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 170. (Your Gospel is sooner a Gospel of the devil).

accused of fomenting revolt, protested: ‘Je n’ay ester autheur d’aucune mutinerie, laquelle j’ay toujours mortellement haye... je n’ay jamais seu quells estoyent les Articles, lesquels on a publiez.’²⁶² This is the only mention in Crespin of the Twelve Articles of the peasants. There is no attempt to engage with the uprisings, and why they happened; they were a piece of history outside of the lives of the martyrs, and thus a subject more suited for pure histories, rather than the martyrology.

Wolfgang Schuch

The Peasants’ War was similarly unaddressed in the account of Wolfgang Schuch, a minister executed in early 1525, in an area of Alsace which was affected by the Peasants’ War that same year. This account first appeared towards the end of the 1554 edition, away from the other victims of the 1520s, on page 627 of 687. This suggests that he was a late addition, as does the short length of the passage itself, which is only thirty-three words long. It sits as the first of the final section of the *Livre des Martyrs*, which is titled ‘S’enfuit une declaration d’aucuns autres Martyrs, qui ont aussi endure constamment pour la confession d’une mesme doctrine de Iesus Christ & ce en divers lieux & temps, & par diverses sortes de tormens: des quelques gens fideles & dignes de foy ont rendu certain tesmoignage, & attestation veritable.’²⁶³ The entry is restricted to the bare facts, telling us simply that: ‘Wolfgang Schuch pasteur de la ville de Saint Hippolite en Lorraine, ayant fidelement annoncé, & constamment soustenu la doctrine du Fils de Dieu, fut bruslé a Nancy, au moys de Juin, 1525.’²⁶⁴ This is remarkably terse, for we know that a

²⁶² Crespin, 1554, pp. 173-4. (I have not been the author of any rebellion, which I always mortally hated... I never knew what was in the articles which were published).

²⁶³ Ibid, p. 627. (Being a declaration of some other Martyrs, who have also endured constantly for the confession of one same doctrine of Jesus Christ & this in diverse places & times, & by many sorts of torments: of some faithful men & worthy of faith have rendered certain witness, & true authentication).

²⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 627. (Wolfgang Schuch, pastor of the town of St. Hippolite in Lorraine, had faithfully announced, & constantly sustained the word of the Son of God, was burned at Nancy, in the month of June, 1525).

French-language pamphlet about Schuch's death was issued at Strasbourg in 1526; an example tentatively dated 1527 exists at the British Library.²⁶⁵ There is also work by the historian to the Duke of Lorraine, Nicolas Volcyr.²⁶⁶ This was introduced by a Theodulus Philadelphus (possibly an alias for François Lambert), in a sixteen-page passage preceding the seventeen-page letter, and followed by an untitled three-page afterword.²⁶⁷

Crespin received this information within months, it would seem, for in the 1555 edition we find a much-expanded account- more than fourteen octavo pages (the 1555 sextodecimo incorporated the information less fully- the letter was included, but only at the end of the book). While most new additions in 1555 were added to the *Deuxieme Partie*, Schuch's account was moved forward to sit just after those of Oecolampadius, fitting with other accounts from 1524 and 1525, placed shortly after Jan Hus and the earliest Lutheran martyrs. Indeed, he is introduced by a block of text smaller and less bold than most others, reducing the sense of separation from the previous section. He does, however, have his own running headers to set him apart.²⁶⁸

In its 1555 incarnation, Schuch's account consists entirely of a letter of January 1525 written by him to Antoine, the imperial Duke of Lorraine (and thus a cousin of the Guise clan), and a short afterword informing the reader of Schuch's fate.²⁶⁹ The letter itself, which would remain the mainstay of the account in all later versions, is a defence by Schuch of his actions as the pastor of St. Hippolyte (St. Pilt

²⁶⁵ Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, p. 411 (note to p. 143.)

²⁶⁶ Coquerel, *Vie et mort du martyr Wolfgang Schuch BHSPF*, Vol. 2, 1852, p. 634. Volcyr's work is the *L'bistoire et recueil de la triumpante et glorieuse victoire obtenue contra les seduyclz et abusez Lutheriens mescreans du pays d'Aulsays et autres*. (Paris, 1526).

²⁶⁷ Wolfgang Schuch. *Epistre Chrestienne envoyée a très noble Prince monseigneur le duc de Lorayne*, Theodulus Philadelphus (ed). ([Strasbourg?, 1527])

Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, p. 411.

²⁶⁸ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, p. 184.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, pp 198-99.

in German), a village between Strasbourg and Mulhouse, and dominated by the castle of Haut-Konigsbourg. The text is very similar in content to that of the letter printed in the 1526 publication, but different in almost every particular of language. For example, where in the Philadelphus version Schuch arrives to minister to ‘peuple comme brebis errantes’, Crespin has it as ‘un peuple vagabond & errant’; where in the earlier version, ‘royaume de dieu estoit pres’, in Crespin ‘le royaume des cieux estoit prochain.’²⁷⁰ It is possible that the two accounts represent parallel French translations of an original document, perhaps in Latin or German (Crespin claims in a later version that Schuch did not speak any Latin).²⁷¹ Kolb regards it as ‘remotely possible’ that Rabus drew his account of Schuch not from Crespin but from a common source; the differences between Crespin and the 1526 document suggest that such a source at least existed.²⁷²

As the address of the letter to the Duke had been set as a sort of title, Schuch’s letter begins *in media res*, explaining that when he arrived in St. Hippolyte, he found ‘un peuple vagabond & errant comme brebis sans pasteur, & estant miserablement perdu par plusier abominations d’erreurs & superstitions.’²⁷³ He moved to ‘desmolir, dissiper, & destruire toute hautesse & munition dressée contre la doctrine de Dieu.’²⁷⁴ That these changes were essentially Protestant in nature is indicated by his stinging condemnation of works, and of traditional religion: ‘Dieu condamne & juge les mauvais qui l’ont craint par commandement & doctrin d’hommes’, which evolves into a wholesale attack on the theology and the

²⁷⁰ Schuch 1527, B[1] recto. Crespin, 1570, 102 recto. (A people like lost sheep... a people wandering and lost... kingdom of God is near... the kingdom of heaven is near).

²⁷¹ Crespin, 1565, p. 106.

²⁷² Kolb, *For All the Saints*, 65. Kolb regards it as more likely that Rabus’ fourth volume, published 1556, simply drew upon Crespin’s 1555 edition.

²⁷³ Crespin, 1555, Vol.1, pp 184-5. (A people wandering & lost like sheep without a pastor, & miserably lost by many abominable errors & superstitions).

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 185. (Demolished, dissipated, & destroyed all highness & weapons laid against the doctrine of God)

practice of the Catholic Mass, which degrades the proper Eucharist by being ‘vendu pour un quotidien sacrifice, contre la tressalutaire institution de Christ’ (the word ‘quotidien’ does not appear in the Philadelphus version).²⁷⁵

All of this defence of his reforming project, however, is preparation for a plea for mercy. Although the letter contains no direct allusion to the accusations faced by Schuch, a sense of the issues at stake is given: ‘Ils n’ont que faire de pretendre faussement que le peuple est esmeu par la predication de l’Evangile à sedition & desobeissance, a contemner les Princes & Magistrats.’²⁷⁶ Keen to prove his own loyalty to the *Prince tresclement* Schuch reiterates the importance of rendering what is Caesar’s unto Caesar and deploys Romans 5 (noted in marginalia also found in the Philadelphus tract) to deny that there is anything in scripture that might incite a population to rise up against temporal rulers (though he does make sure to remind the Duke that no-one is bound to obey orders against the rule of God).

In the 1555 martyrology, the only information given outside of the letter was a short afterword, stating that Schuch was taken by a ‘un gentil-homme de Lorraine, nomme Gaspard d’Hanssonville, gouverneur de Blamont’ to Nancy, where he was burned in August 1525.²⁷⁷

The later editions, although still centred on Schuch’s letter, provide more context on his execution. In the 1564 *Livre des Martyrs*, Schuch retained his place amongst the Peasants’ War martyrs, placed after the first of Oecolampadius’ martyrs (the pastor hanged at his house). It was prefaced with a single paragraph introducing Schuch and his situation. This appears to be distinct from the introduction supplied in Philadelphus’s tract. Philadelphus’ introduction had contained a long meditation on

²⁷⁵ Ibid, pp. 189, 192. (God condemns & judges the damned who have believed by commandments & doctrines of men... sold for a daily sacrifice, against the most salutary institution of Christ).

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 194. (They do not care to pretend falsely that the people are moved by the preaching of the Gospel to sedition & disobedience, to disdain the Princes & Magistrates).

²⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 199. (A gentleman of Lorraine, named Gaspard d’Hanssonville, governor of Blamont)

martyrdom from the time of St Stephen before setting the stage for Schuch's letter.²⁷⁸ In this version of events, Schuch joins the cause of reform publically by marrying, as did the pastor of Brisgoye and more famous figures: 'que en delaissant mariage institue de dieu se tiennent obligez a une manière de faire laquelle jamais dieu ne ordonna et ne pensa.'²⁷⁹ This action seems calculated to set him apart from a failing and corrupt Church, which is infected in even its core mission: 'Na point aussy administre ce noble pain de Jesus Christ infecte du levain pharisaïque comme plusieurs font que de peur de desplaire aux grands de la Sinagogue meslent les doctrines et traditions des hommes avec celle de Jesus Christ.'²⁸⁰

Crespin's 1564 introduction first places Schuch within the martyrology, praising him for being amongst the first in Germany to come to knowledge of the Gospel, and to drive out the idolatries and superstitions of his parishioners.²⁸¹ He acted in a practical fashion, abolishing 'le Quaresme, les Images, & finalement l'abomination de la Messe', an approach which was eased by his education of the people in the Gospel.²⁸² None of these fundamental changes to his church were mentioned in Philadelphus, meaning that Crespin either elaborated on the pamphlet, or that he had another source for the actions of Schuch. These changes led, in turn, to the situation when the letter was written in early 1525: 'Le bruit de ce revoltement de la doctrine Papale, donna occasion aux ennemis de verite de calomnier & accuser ce peuple envers le Prince...'²⁸³ As a result, Antoine of Lorraine reacted violently, 'tellement que la chose vint jusques la que la ville fut

²⁷⁸ Schuch 1527, A- [Aiii verso].

²⁷⁹ Ibid, Aiiii-[Aiiii verso]. (That in abandoning marriage instituted by God, they hold obliged to a manner to do which God never ordained and never thought).

²⁸⁰ Ibid, [Aiiii verso] (Do not also administer the noble bread of Jesus Christ infected with the pharisaic leaven as many do from fear of displeasing the grandees of the Synagogue mix the doctrine and traditions of men with those of Jesus Christ).

²⁸¹ Crespin, 1565, p. 101.

²⁸² Ibid, p. 102. (Lent, Images, & the abomination of the Mass).

²⁸³ Ibid, p. 102. (The news of this revolt of the Papal doctrine, gave occasion to the enemies of truth to slander and accuse them before the Prince).

menace par le Prince d'estre mise a feu & a sang', and Schuch responded with the letter, in order to 'assure le Prince du bon vouloir & de obeissance du peuple envers luy.'²⁸⁴ This respect for authority was an attitude approved by Luther in his account of George Winckler, but it also may be seen as a placatory move in the context of the Peasants' War, which reached its peak in Alsace a few months later in the spring of 1525, before being crushed by Duke Antoine.²⁸⁵ Crespin's introduction differs from the more contemporary Philadelphus' on the matter of the reforms which Schuch had introduced to St. Hippolyte—it describes attacks on a much wider range of Catholic practices, including the Eucharist.

1564 saw an even greater expansion in the concluding section to the notice. This was expanded from a few dozen words to almost a full page in folio.²⁸⁶ It describes how, the letter having had no effect on the Duke, Schuch: 'voyant que le duc Antoine persistoit en ceste volonte de faire saccager la ville de saint Hippolite, se vint rendre a Nancy...' ²⁸⁷ There is no longer any mention of his arrest by d'Hanssonville, and Schuch is now portrayed as acting in a spirit of heroic self-sacrifice. Schuch's interrogation is described, being undertaken by the Duke's grand confessor. The Duke, so respectfully addressed by Schuch, is now attacked by Crespin as 'ignorant', one who would: 'exterminer toutes gens savans de sa cour & de ses pays,' and who remarks 'Qu'il sufusoit savoit Pater noster & Ave Maria: & que les plus grans docteurs estoyent cause de plus grans erreurs & troubles.'²⁸⁸ The Duke personally attended some of the questioning, and himself 'dit qu'il ne fallout

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 102. (Assure the Prince of the good will & obedience of the people towards him).

²⁸⁵ Tom Scott and Bob Scribner (eds). *The German peasants' war: a history in documents* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1991), pp. 44, 48.

²⁸⁶ Crespin, 1565, p. 106.

²⁸⁷ Ibid. (Seeing that the Duke Antoine persisted in this willingness to sack the town of St. Hippolyte, he went to Nancy).

²⁸⁸ Ibid. (Exterminate all wise men of the court & of his country... that it suffices to know the Paternoster & Ave Maria: & that the greatest doctors were the cause of the greatest errors and trouble).

plus disputer, mais qu'il estoit besoin de proceder a execution contre luy, puis qu'il nioit le sacrement de la Messe.²⁸⁹ It is worth noting that the Philadelphus tract contained no such emphasis on the Mass. Instead, the three concluding pages in that work discussed the meaning of martyrdom, and the importance of spreading the faith by words, not conquest. Again it becomes clear that for the passages on the life and death of Schuch, outside of the letter to the Duke, Crespin must have been drawing on another source.

The account concludes by describing Schuch's execution, which followed the traditional pattern. His books were burned, and he declared his faith that God would see him through the ordeal.²⁹⁰ He clashed with the monks over what he perceived as their idolatry, and sang psalms at the stake. A sort of divine stamp was placed on things with the final sentences of the notice, which explain that the judge in Schuch's trial, and an abbot, the suffragant of Metz, both died suddenly, soon after the execution. The marginal note suggests that this was: 'Exemple du jugement de Dieu sur ses ennemis.'²⁹¹ Schuch's was a much more official, and more orthodox, execution than the lynchings and drowning which had characterized the deaths of the Oecolampadius martyrs. This official condemnation of Schuch, combined with this conclusion's strong emphasis on his sacrifice, his doctrinal stubbornness, and the doctrines for which he was condemned, helped paint Schuch as a strongly conventional martyr, in word and in deed. In both the introduction and conclusion added in 1564, Schuch's opposition to idols and to the Mass are stressed, in a way in which Philadelphus, for example, does not. Indeed, it was his answers on the Mass which eventually led the Duke to condemn him to death. Where the 1564

²⁸⁹ Ibid. (Said that he did not argue more, but he needed to proceed to execute him, moreover, that he denied the sacrament of the Mass).

²⁹⁰ Crespin, 1565, p. 106.

²⁹¹ Ibid, p. 107. (Example of the judgement of God against his enemies).

edition had played down central aspects of the Oecolampadius accounts, it played up several of Schuch's attributes.

Conclusion

The Lutherans as a group were not central to the *Livre des Martyrs*. There were relatively few of them, appearing in shorter accounts, and of course, these accounts depicted events which had happened decades ago. They are, however, revealing of Crespin's attitudes on a range of issues. Firstly, it is clear that he regarded the Lutherans as part of the same Church as himself, and Luther as an instrumental figure in the history of that Church. Luther was depicted as the 'grand restaurateur de l'Evangile', a figure who helped to put an end to centuries of abuse and darkness before him, and who was compared to Saint Augustine.²⁹² This, and the cautious approach taken towards Lutheran doctrine, accords with Bodo Nischan's view that 'Calvinists... interpreted [Luther's] earlier reforms in historical, evolutionary terms; Luther's own disciples, by contrast, were wont to dogmatize and absolutize the reformer's achievements.'²⁹³ That Luther should be regarded as so important, and yet not appear in any meaningful way before 1564, was a reflection of the change in direction which Crespin took after the *Cinquieme Partie*. This more historically-minded approach was borrowed from Foxe and from Rabus, who led Crespin in including not only more pieces of context, but in including amongst the martyrs, major 'confessors', who had advanced the faith in other ways. Crespin added very few historical elements to the *Livre des Martyrs*, but he inserted Luther into a prominent role at his earliest opportunity. Other leading figures, Lutheran or

²⁹² Crespin, 1555, p. CXXXIII, Crespin, 1565, p. 85.

²⁹³ Bodo Nischan, *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalisation*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), P. xi.

Reformed, such as Zwingli, Melanchthon, or Bucer, were not included in the historical sections, even in the guise of confessors.

In addition to Crespin's inclusion of Luther as a pivotal figure in history, he took care to present Lutheran martyrs as holding entirely acceptable doctrine. Whereas the Vaudois were depicted with caveats about the quality of their beliefs, Lutherans were not identified as such, and their beliefs were transmitted as holding the same value and importance as those of any other martyr in the book. Crespin took this line despite his participation in a major, and long-standing, polemical battle against the Lutherans on a central issue of doctrine. To do so meant that in many cases he omitted parts of their confessions of faith. In the case of Henry Voez, this meant omitting ten of the sixty-two articles of faith. Leonard Keiser's eighteen articles were reduced to four, one of which does not bear resemblance to anything which appears in the original confession. The primary target for these was naturally the areas where the martyrs did not agree with Reformed doctrine, chief among them, the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, a subject which Crespin might be expected to understand in some detail, due to his polemical work on the subject. Discussion of other sacraments was also subject to intervention, as the editing of George Wagner's comments on baptism show. Other subjects were edited for reasons which are less clear, such as Crespin's removal of Henry Voez' article stating that no-one should be banned from reading Luther; Crespin, of course, was a publisher of Luther himself, and presumably in agreement with Voez on this point.

This sensitivity to Lutheran doctrine seems to have extended to some of Luther's writings about the martyrs. Crespin certainly used some of Luther's work. As we have seen, he was an influential printer of Luther in other fields, and he relied on Luther's *The Burning of Brother Henry* for his account of van Zutphen's

martyrdom, and pamphlets which had included Luther's writing for his accounts of Voez and Esch, and for Leonard Keiser. However, the martyrology only used parts of those documents; the parts most prominently by Luther—even when not dealing with serious theological topics—were often omitted. Luther's letter to Keiser, the *Trostbrieff Doctor Martini Lutheri gemeltem Leinhart Keiser*, was excluded from the *Livre des Martyrs*, despite the section advertising Luther's testimony in the passage.²⁹⁴ Luther's letter of consolation to the people of the Low Countries on the occasion of the deaths of Voez and Esch was never published in Crespin, and his devotional passages which had accompanied *The Burning of Brother Henry* were excluded, and if Crespin had access to any of Luther's writing on the death of George Winckler, he used almost none of it. Most of this Lutheran writing which Crespin excluded was not central to the telling of the martyr's story; instead it consisted of letters to congregations and communities after the martyrdom, or letters of consolation to the martyr himself. Much of it was devotional in content, rather than doctrinal, or narrative. Nonetheless, the *Livre des Martyrs* included several such letters by other reformers in other contexts, most notably those of Calvin.

It seems that Crespin worked in an entirely different way regarding the Lutherans compared to other Protestant groups, such as the Vaudois, to whom he granted a separate identity. His objective seems to have been to create an image of a coherent and united Protestant movement; the changes and omissions he made to the Lutheran martyrs were largely made in order to efface differences between the denominations, which were operating in theological and political debates. The various critiques of the Real Presence made by numerous martyrs were never directly aimed at the Lutherans, but instead at Catholics, though the effect was still

²⁹⁴ Crespin, 1570, p. 68 verso.

to assert and to teach Reformed doctrine over all others. His approach appears to have closely matched that recommended by Calvin himself in his 1544 letter to Bullinger: to avoid conflicts which would give Catholic opponents an opening of the sort Bossuet exploited a century later, while at the same time advancing Reformed teaching.

Crespin had to balance these priorities largely through the editorial process, as his source material consisted primarily of pamphlet literature published by Lutheran authors. While there must have been many decisions which remain opaque to us today, which resulted in his choosing the works that he did, and omitting others of which we are not aware, comparison between the successive editions, and to their original sources where possible, shows a great deal of editorial interference in the text. The alterations, and they almost always involved the removal of text, reflected the Genevan approach to the differences between the major Protestant denominations.

‘Si peu de vraye lumière qu’ils avoyent’: The Vaudois in history and martyrology

For Crespin, the Vaudois had a different status from the other groups of martyrs that he discussed. In his first comments on them, introducing an account of a series of massacres in Provence, he felt compelled to defend his decision to include them:

‘l’histoire de ceux de Cabrières & de Mérindol il n’est pas question de deux ou de trois, qui ayent enduré la mort: mais d’un peuple & d’une infinité de personnes’.¹

Before the advent of the *Recit d’Histoire* in the editions published in 1563 and 1564, writing the story of a massacre was a technically difficult task. The usual sources, such as trial records, personal letters, or eyewitness accounts, were unavailable.

Writing the history of a people required the tools of history, not martyrology.

Further complicating Crespin’s task were the numerous problems which the Vaudois posed to his conception of what a martyr should be. Crespin held to the Augustinian maxim that a martyr was made by his faith, but the Vaudois held doctrines which set them apart from his Genevan orthodoxy. The best way to prove that someone had died for his faith was for him to have been condemned for such by a magistrate or a court, but the most notable actions against the Vaudois he depicted were large-scale, even military in nature.² Any suspicion that someone had been punished for actions against established authority would invalidate them as a martyr, and the Vaudois had a reputation for vigorous self-defence which verged on

¹ Jean Crespin, *Recueil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment enduré la mort pour la nom pour la nom de N.S. Jesus Christ*, ([Geneva: J. Crespin], 1554), p. 656. (‘The history of those of Cabrières and Mérindol is not a question of two or three who have endured death, but of a people and an infinity’).

² David El Kenz, *Les bûchers du roi : la culture protestante des martyrs (1523-1572)* (Paris : Seyssel, 1997), pp. 127-8.

rebellion. In the years before the 1545 massacres, the Vaudois raided a monastery before retreating behind their fortifications.³

The Vaudois people presented a real challenge to Crespin's conception of his project, yet he persisted in including them in his martyrology. In the case of the Provençal Vaudois, he did so by stressing their doctrinal purity, by denying the authority of those who had moved against them, by focussing on individual cases which more closely resembled his other martyrdoms, and by heightening the parallels between the ordeal of the Vaudois and the more usual narrative of a single martyr. In the other major Vaudois narrative, which described the struggles of the Piedmontese community against Savoy in 1560-1, Crespin presented the Vaudois in an historical section, which allowed him to avoid the question of their qualifications as martyrs, focussing instead on their success in defending themselves and their faith.⁴

Crespin's work was an early entry in Reformed literature on the subject of the Vaudois. For the section that represents the largest portion of his discussion of the group, the history of Cabrières and Mérindol, he seems to have been the first to publish most of his material. His work on the Vaudois in Piedmont drew more heavily on the work of others, such as Scipione Lentolo's *Histoire Memorable*, or the *Histoire des Persecutions*, but was still published within two decades of the events in question.⁵ Unlike Lentolo, who used the tribulations of the Vaudois to show them the error of their ways, an approach that inevitably emphasised the faults

³ Marc Venard, *Réforme protestante, Réforme catholique dans la province d'Avignon au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1993), p. 316.

⁴ Jean Crespín, *Cinquième partie du recueil des martyrs*, ([Geneva]: Jean Crespín, 1563), p. 31. Jean Crespín, *Actes des Martyrs*, ([Geneva], Crespín, 1565), p. 870. Both sections are titled *Touchant l'église des fidèles in Piedmont*. The pages were headed *Histoire de l'église en Piedmont*.

⁵ Jean-François Gilmont, 'Aux origines de l'historiographie vaudoise du XVI^e siècle: Jean Crespín, Étienne Noël et Scipione Lentolo', *I Valdesi e l'Europa* (Torre Pellice: Claudiana, 1982), p. 198. Gilmont here attributes the *Histoire des Persecutions* to Etienne Noel.

of the Vaudois, and their divergences from the Reformed mainstream, Crespin's approach was aimed at incorporating them into the wider canon of Protestant martyrs.⁶ He stressed their ancient roots and their longstanding opposition to the 'innovations' of the Papacy, and when they were discussed alongside the reformers of the early Sixteenth century, Crespin largely emphasised their points of agreement. This approach, which emphasised the Calvinist elements in their creeds, and held them as long-standing opponents of the excesses of the Catholic Church, was to prove influential- large passages of Crespin appear to have been copied into the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, and from there, entered into the standard narrative of the French Reformed Church.⁷ The Vaudois were not only a group well-known for their sufferings at the hands of Catholic authorities, but they also represented an answer to the old jibe: 'where was your church before Luther?' This was a question which the Reformed Churches were become increasingly interested in answering.⁸ The Vaudois history reaching back to the twelfth century, or perhaps even as far as antiquity—as Crespin suggested it did-- would provide some counter to the 'spiritual lineage' of the Papacy.⁹ What is more, they provided French roots for reform, an appeal which may do much to explain the French protestant interest in the Cathars slightly later.¹⁰ As enshrined in the leading Genevan martyrology, and later in the definitive history of the Reformed Church, Crespin's stance would have a reach and authority within the French Protestant community that no other work on

⁶ Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 232.

⁷ Théodore De Bèze, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Vol. 1. Baum and Cunitz (eds) (Nieuwkoop : De Graaf, 1974), pp. 1, 30-45.

⁸ Yves Krumenacker, 'La geneologie imaginaire de la Reforme protestante' in *Revue Historique*, 638, (2006), p. 263.

⁹ S.J. Barnett, 'Where was your Church Before Luther? Claims for the Antiquity of Protestantism Examined', *Church History*, 68 (1999), p. 24.

¹⁰ Krumenacker, p. 260.

the Vaudois could match. Certainly, in the decades after Crespin's first publication on them, the Vaudois found their reputation amongst the Reformed much improved.

The Vaudois have been the subject of increasing study in the last few decades, including monographs by both Euan Cameron and Gabriel Audisio. Almost all of this work has drawn, to some degree, on Crespin for information about the events of the mid-sixteenth century. This period is often treated as an endpoint of Vaudois history, as the Vaudois merged into the wider Reformed Church after three centuries of independence; several histories end in the mid-sixteenth century.¹¹ Cameron's *The Reformation of the Heretics* suggests a similar loss of Vaudois identity in its study of the process whereby the Vaudois came to join the Reformed Church. This work, which has sought to argue that the existing evidence has been interpreted to show more Vaudois support for a union with the Genevan Church than was the case at this time, has met with strong resistance from French scholars in the field, including Audisio and Gilmont.¹² Much of the debate has centred on Cameron's doubts as to whether the Synod of Chanforan, where an agreement to merge was supposedly reached in 1532, ever actually took place, with Audisio and Gilmont especially critical of his use of sources.¹³ As one of very few available for this time and place, Crespin's writings on the Vaudois have been regularly used in regard to this question. Both Cameron and Audisio have had occasion to draw upon the martyrology, especially the 1565 state of his 1564 *Actes des Martyrs*, but full use has not yet been made of Crespin's work. Audisio does not cite Crespin in the bibliography to *Les Vaudois*, and though he does refer to the 1565 printing in the

¹¹ The chapter in Audisio's *Les Vaudois* which cover the sixteenth century is titled *Mourir: une solution d'avenir*.

¹² Gabriel Audisio, *Les Vaudois : Histoire d'une dissidence XII^e-XVI^e siècle* (Paris : Fayard, 1998), p. 241. Gilmont in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 1988, pp 69-89.

¹³ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, pp 138-44. Jean- François Gilmont, 'Les Vaudois des Alpes : mythes et réalités', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 83 (1988), p. 74.

text, he makes no reference to other versions.¹⁴ Cameron cites the 1565 state, and the Goulart-edited 1619 edition in his bibliography, as well as the 1556 edition of the *Histoire Memorable*, though he does not directly reference this earlier work. This means that there has been little secondary literature on some of the rarer documents presented in Crespin, most notably the longer version of the 1541 Confession of Faith, which only appeared in full in 1555's edition of the *Histoire Memorable*. In 1982, Jean-François Gilmont identified ten separate versions of the massacre of Mérindol and Cabrières appearing in Crespin's work between 1554 and 1570, and outlined the relationships between them.¹⁵ However, since then, there has not been a detailed comparison of these editions, and the sometimes significant differences between them; several histories of the Vaudois still refer to 'Crespin' as a single work, rather than a series encompassing two genres and containing three separate confessions of faith.

Otherwise, Crespin's later work on the Vaudois, which covers the Piedmontese branches of the group, and the battles leading to the Capitulation of Cavour, intersect with and borrow from the works of other contemporary historians, including several by Lentolo, which has led to attention being paid to these sections by Gilmont, Balmas, and others.¹⁶

Leading reformers took an interest in the conversion of the Vaudois, and were invested in the success of the project. Through the 1530s and into the 1540s Calvin and Farel corresponded on the subject, and tried to intervene with various governments on behalf of them. Farel and Viret attempted to rally support for the Vaudois amongst the Swiss Protestant cantons in 1535, and Calvin seems to have

¹⁴ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, p. 258.

¹⁵ Gilmont, 'Aux Origines de l'Historiographie Vaudoise', p. 193.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 177n.

tried to build opposition to the French attack on the Vaudois in the 1540s.¹⁷ In a letter to Bullinger of 1544, Calvin wrote that ‘There are brethren in Provence, for whom you are aware that we have always taken much pains. Nor were they in any way undeserving that we should do so...’¹⁸ He praised their high standard of conduct (a common compliment paid to the Vaudois), and emphasised that there was a duty to try and protect them.¹⁹

However, the reformers were sometimes cautious of their new allies, often choosing to avoid the terms ‘Vaudois’ or ‘Waldensian’ in favour of ‘our friends’ or ‘the Provençals’.²⁰ They seem to have had suspicions about the habits the Vaudois had developed; their secrecy of worship earned them a rebuke from Oecolampadius, who regarded it as tantamount to Nicodemism.²¹ Centuries of persecution had given the sect a reputation for defying authority, and the long period of isolation had made some of their views suspect. It was only in the 1550s that enough Genevan-trained ministers began to enter Piedmont to reassure the nervous that reliably Protestant doctrine was being preached there. Indeed, these missions were very closely supervised by Genevan authorities, and took an often aggressive approach to reforming and leading their communities.²²

The Reformed orthodoxy of the Vaudois was an important issue in Crespin’s coverage of them, being essential to not only how he wrote about them, but to whether he wrote of them at all, and their ‘conversion’ was still a work in progress during the years that Crespin was active. Crespin used the term ‘Vaudois’

¹⁷ C. Schmidt, ‘Aktenstücke besonders zur Geschichte der Waldenser’ *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 22 (1852) pp. 252-256. Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 190.

¹⁸ Calvin to Bullinger, 25 November, 1544. Jules Bonnet (ed) *Letters of John Calvin* Vol. 1 (Philadelphia, [1858]) p. 430.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 432.

²⁰ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 187.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 203.

²² *Ibid*, p. 193.

throughout his works, though many of the documents which he cited used phrases like ‘ceux de Mérindol’ or ‘ceux des Valleees’; Crespin usually made it clear to his readers that the reference was to the Vaudois. He did, however, allow doubts about the Vaudois claims to true Christian knowledge to enter his martyrology at several points, offering direct commentary on their imperfection, and editing away some of their more striking divergences from Genevan orthodoxy. Although Geneva led the way in the Reformation of the Vaudois (to use Cameron’s phrase), Calvin’s attitude was such that Cameron has described him as being: ‘consistent, and consistently patronizing. He would take the heretics’ side as long as they followed him in doctrine’²³. While the Vaudois might have had a long and honourable tradition of dissent, discussion of doctrine with Geneva was one-way. This attitude can be seen in Crespin’s work, as well, since he was occasionally dismissive of Vaudois doctrine that was incompatible with his own, and for viewed the Reformed Church as the only coherent opposition to the Catholic Church.

The Vaudois had deep roots, and seem to have poorly understood their own origins. Rival theories existed as to the date of their foundation, with some arguing for the time of the Apostles (which would of course leave them free from the taint of having grown out of the Catholic Church), some the time of Constantine the Great and St. Sylvester, in the fourth century.²⁴ In this theory, which appeared in a Vaudois fragment from the early-fifteenth century, the Vaudois broke away from the imperial Church, to maintain the poverty and simplicity of the primitive Church; Waldo in this scheme was a twelfth-century restorer of the movement.²⁵ Later theories would argue that their origin was associated with the ninth-century Bishop

²³ Ibid, p. 191.

²⁴ As discussed in Cameron, *Waldensians*, pp. 46-7 and Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular movements from the Gregorian reform to the reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 157.

²⁵ Lambert, p. 157. Schmidt, pp. 239-242.

of Turin, Claudius, whose attacks on ritual and authority made him an attractive figure to co-opt. Cameron associates this theory with Protestant historiography above all.²⁶ The most commonly accepted origin for them lies with a twelfth-century Lyonnais merchant by the name of Waldo, or Valdensus, who took up a life of mendicant poverty, and who had portions of the Bible translated into the vernacular for his own purposes.²⁷ In this they resembled many of the other preaching groups, heretical and orthodox to emerge in the same era, such as the Petrobrusians to the Dominicans. Indeed, like the Dominicans, much of their early energy was devoted towards anti-Cathar activity, even after the Papacy withheld permission for their lay preaching in 1184; in subsequent decades they moved underground.²⁸ In the following centuries, they spread across large parts of Europe, gaining large followings in the South of France, the Danube valley, Bohemia and Moravia, and as far as the Baltic.²⁹ Another group crossed the Alps into Piedmont in the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth established a few small settlements as far away as Calabria and Apulia, where in some remote areas they were perhaps able to practice openly.³⁰ Vaudois habitation spread across both sides of the Alps, with large settlements in Provence and in Piedmont. In the fifteenth century, some Vaudois seem to have made contact with the Hussite movement of Bohemia, probably with the more radical Taborite faction; there may have been some discussion of unification, though it came to nothing.³¹ These links may have contributed to the suspicion with which they were regarded, however: a Crusade was launched against the Vaudois of the Dauphiné in 1487.

²⁶ Cameron, *Waldensians*, 11.

²⁷ Audisio, *Les Vaudois* pp 20-26.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 25.

²⁹ Cameron, *Waldensians* 98, 17.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 204.

³¹ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, 112-122.

The beliefs of the Vaudois are not fully understood, and much of what we do know is taken from hostile or otherwise unrepresentative sources; they probably varied from region to region and over time. They participated in the services of the established Church, while at the same time maintaining some distinctive doctrines. They were less inclined to establish perpetual masses for the dead than was usual, for they rejected the Catholic conception of Purgatory; instead they placed more emphasis on bequests for the poor.³² They do not seem to have mixed much within communities, instead forming their own villages when they immigrated into an area (as in Provence or Calabria) and travelling to other Vaudois settlements in order to marry within their own group.³³ As a result, distinctive Vaudois family names can be identified, and their partial rejection of the Catholic cult can be traced in notarial records. There are places where they have left their name on the landscape to this day, as in the two towns in Calabria, San Sisto dei Valdesi, and Guardia Piemontese, which feature in Crespin. There remains debate on whether this insular community represents a 'sect' which sought to 'un-church' the Catholic majority, or whether the Vaudois were content to co-exist with the Church; whether, in Peter Biller's phrase, the Vaudois were a religious order or a church. In Audisio's view, though Protestant historians have sought to emphasise the rupture between the Vaudois and Catholics, we still must regard the Vaudois as a sect, a group that separates itself from the world, and society, and is in many ways exclusive and independent.³⁴ This would place them necessarily in opposition to the Catholic Church. Cameron, for his part, argues that the Vaudois of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries did not

³² Gabriel Audisio, 'How to detect a clandestine minority: the example of the Waldensians', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXI (1990), p. 214.

³³ Ibid, 212.

³⁴ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, p. 304.

‘un-church’ Catholics, and did not believe that only they, the Vaudois were saved.³⁵ They remained, to some degree, in affiliation with the institutional clergy, reliant on them for the application of sacraments, while criticising their morals and practice.³⁶ This view would place the Vaudois closer to their original reforming mission. The two views are, of course, not mutually exclusive- it is possible to imagine an insular Vaudois sect that still maintained some ties with the Catholic Church, despite the claims of later Protestant writers.

Like many minority groups of the period, most of our knowledge of the Vaudois comes to us from hostile sources like inquisition records, and this remains true up to the period of the Reformation. Many of the documents Crespin presents, such as the longer version of the 1541 Vaudois Confession of Faith, cannot be found in any place or form before he published them, which makes his account both important and hard to verify.³⁷ Similarly, there exists a good deal of scholarly debate on the basic elements of Vaudois history in the sixteenth century, as evidenced in the debate over Chanforan, and over the place of what documents we do possess.³⁸

Crespin had included information on the massacre of the Provinçal Vaudois in what appears to be a late addition to the 1554 first edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*- the section appears out of the general chronology, at the end of the book, occupying pages 656-66 in a 687-page volume. He repeated this information in the 1555 edition, though this time it was better integrated into the body of the text, falling between pages 239- 49. In each case, this was a ten-page account outlining the massacres at Mérindol and Cabrières in Provence. This account was also

³⁵ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 75.

³⁶ Cameron, *Waldenses*. p. 189.

³⁷ Lentolo’s history, for example, derives much from Crespin. Cf. Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 231.

³⁸ The attitudes of Vaudois scholars to the varying confessions of 1541 being the most germane example. See below.

reprinted as part of 1555's sextodecimo-format martyrology, one state of which includes an account of the Provençal massacres, separate from the main text, entitled: *Histoire Memorable de la persecution... de Mérindol et Cabrières*.³⁹ 1555's martyrology also saw the addition of individual Vaudois martyrs- Martin Gonin and Estienne Brun in this instance. In the same year Crespín published a stand-alone work in octavo, bearing the same title. 1555's *Histoire Memorable de la Persecution & saccagement du peuple de Mérindol & Cabrières & Autres circonvoisins, appelez Vaudois*, to give it its full title, is a self-contained book independent of the *Livre des Martyrs*. Crespín had hinted at such a publication in the Vaudois section of 1554's *Livre des Martyrs*, writing that the current section contained 'la plus nécessaire pour l'instruction des fidèles, jusqu'à ce que plus amplement toute l'histoire en soit rédigée par escrit, comme elle en est trèsdigne'.⁴⁰ The *Histoire Memorable* was clearly on his mind even as he was completing the first edition of the martyrology. Indeed, in some examples, a first edition of each work was bound together to create a portmanteau book, reinforcing the status of the *Histoire Memorable* as a companion to the *Livre des Martyrs*. The *Histoire Memorable* was reprinted the next year, in 1556, and cut back in length to some degree- Gilmont estimates by approximately 4,000 words, or ten per cent of the earlier edition.⁴¹ These cuts were made, as we shall see, to some of the most doctrinally sensitive portions of the text. Having produced a martyrological and an historical account of the massacres in Provence, Crespín did not update this text for several editions. The Latin editions of the martyrology, published in 1556 and 1560, effectively translated what had been previously published in French, though the

³⁹ Gilmont, *Aux origins de l'historiographie...* 193.

⁴⁰ Crespín, 1554, p. 656. (The most necessary for the instruction of the faithful, until the whole story is composed more fully in writing, as is very worthy).

⁴¹ Gilmont, *Aux origins de l'historiographie* 193.

1560 edition also included one new document.⁴² The 1556 and 1561 editions passed without mention of the Vaudois, but in 1563's *Cinquieme Partie*, the last quarto edition, Crespin included a number of Piedmontese Vaudois martyrdoms: Bathelemy Hector, Geoffrey Varagle, Jean-Louis Pascal, and a section on the persecutions in Piedmont in 1556. These were incorporated into 1564's compendium edition, along with a version of the events in Provence that struck a balance between the content of the martyrology and the history. 1570 saw the reproduction of all of these, and the addition of a section on the Capitulation of Cavour, the peace treaty that granted some rights to the Vaudois within Savoy.

The Vaudois thus appear in both their own historical work and in successive issues of the martyrological series. Within that, they appear in both the more familiar martyr's accounts and in narrated histories. Indeed, the history of Mérindol and Cabrières in the earlier editions in many ways anticipates the use of the *Récit d'histoire* format in later editions.

The Massacres in Provence

From its first edition, Crespin's martyrology included the story of the massacre of the Provençal Vaudois of Mérindol and Cabrières by an army of French and Papal soldiers. He found the topic important enough to produce a separate historical volume on the subject in 1555, which allowed him more rein to discuss historical topics than the martyrology then did. The migration of material from this work to the *Livre des Martyrs* marks a major step in the evolution of Crespin's approach to the writing of history, as the martyrology was allowed to absorb some of the information and functions of the discrete historical work. The tensions between his desire to include the Provençal Vaudois in the *Livre des Martyrs* and

⁴² Ibid, 194.

his difficulty in doing so are evident from the beginning, and this prompted major changes in the material from edition to edition.

The narrations of the massacres of Mérindol and Cabrières began with introductory passages; evidently it was not certain that the reader could be expected to have a firm knowledge of the Vaudois. In these introductions, Crespin tried to make clear his conception of who the Vaudois were, and how they fitted into the pattern of his wider work. It was in the introductions that he had to make the case for his subjects' inclusion alongside more traditional martyrs, and so he begins by trying to establish their Reformed (or at least anti- Catholic) credentials. The section in 1554 was introduced by a paragraph where Crespin defends his inclusion of the Vaudois, and explains their placement so late in the volume. Because:

n'est pas question de deux ou de trois, qui ayent enduré la mort: mais d'un peuple & d'une infinité de personnes, tant hommes que femmes & enfans, qui ont enduré toutes cruauz & toutes especes de mort pour cest mesme doctrine: nous les avons icy reservez pour la fin de ce premier volume, pour en toucher comme en passant ce que est à present le plus nécessaire pour l'instruction des fideles...⁴³

Crespin thus prepares his readers to expect the forthcoming *Histoire Memorable*, and makes further excuse for the unusual nature of the inclusion of the Vaudois massacre; in this case, the story simply needed to be told. The account would work to justify the inclusion of the Vaudois in other ways, as well, by portraying them as worthy martyrs, as well as notable victims.

The first two pages are dedicated to introducing the Vaudois to an audience

⁴³ Crespin, 1554, p. 656. (It is not a question of two or of three who have endured death, but of a people and of an infinity of persons, as much men as women and children, who have endured all cruelties and all manner of death for this same doctrine: we have here reserved for the end of this first volume, to touch, as in passing, what is at present the most necessary for the instruction of the faithful).

not already familiar with them, describing them thus:

La plus part de ceux de pais de Provence ont donne tousjours a ce peuple cest louange & tesmoignage, qu'ils estoyent gens de grand travail, & que depuis environ deux cens ans, ils s'estoyent retirez du pais de Piedmont pour habiter en la Provence abundance de bleds, vins, huiles, miel, amandes, & grand bestial, dont tout le pais en estait grandement soulagé'.⁴⁴

This ability to make previously desolate lands bloom, reminiscent of the Israelites in Isaiah, would endear them to their landlords, as we will see.⁴⁵

These people were dispersed here and there, being 'forced to live amongst wild beasts' due to the scorn that the world held for them. In France, Crespin tells us, they were called the Poor of Lyons, in Poland and Livonia the same group were called Lollards; in Flanders and Artois, Turrelupins; in the Dauphiné, 'par un extreme mespris *Chaignars*'.⁴⁶ In the compendium editions, this section is annotated in the margin: 'La tour des Lollars a Londres'.⁴⁷ The *Livre des Martyrs* here is emphasizing the geographic spread of the Vaudois (as we have seen above, they were indeed widely dispersed), and also bringing several pre-Reformation dissident groups under the umbrella of the Vaudois. Having given space to the Hussites, and later the Lollards in the martyrology, Crespin gave structure to the world of pre-Lutheran opposition to the Catholic Church. He next associates the Vaudois (and all of their other guises, therefore) with the Reformation: 'La plus vulgaire appellation de Vauldois leur est demeuree, jusqu'a ce que le nom de Lutherien est venu en

⁴⁴ Ibid ('The most part of those of the country of Provence had given always to these people this praise and testimony: that they were men of great work, and that around two hundred years ago, they had left Piedmont to live in Provence', and subsequently, despite many setbacks, made their new home 'abundant in wheat, wines, oils, honey, almonds and great livestock, in which the entire country was greatly eased).

⁴⁵ Isaiah 35

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 657. (By an extreme contempt). While Crespin may be exaggerating the degree, there was some co-operation between the Vaudois and the Hussites in the fifteenth century. See Audisio, *Vaudois*, pp. 118-121.

⁴⁷ Crespin, Crespin, 1565, p. 189.

avant, qui a surmonte en horreur toutes autres injurmes & opprobres'.⁴⁸ This association of the Vaudois with a wide, putatively 'proto-Reformation' movement is one used by a succession of Protestant historians hoping to give their faith deeper historical roots.⁴⁹ It also identifies almost all pre-Reformation opposition to the Catholic Church as belonging to a coherent movement, one which would eventually make the Reformed Church its heir.

Distinguished by such integrity that 'their life preaches', the Vaudois demonstrated that faith in God is strong among them (that this is the correct sort of belief is implied). Crespin did not wish to claim they were perfect, however. Having established the basic worthiness of the Vaudois, the *Livre des Martyrs* moved to denigrate their inherited creed: 'Si peu de vraye lumière ils taschoyent de l'allumer d'avantage de jour en jour'.⁵⁰ Although Crespin is careful not to claim that the doctrines of earlier Vaudois were correct, his general praise of their rustic virtues, and pre-Lutheran opposition to the Catholic Church echoes the view of the Vaudois put forward in 1535 by Farel and Viret, in a letter to German Protestants.⁵¹

The narrative continues; when in 1530 the Vaudois heard that the Word was being preached in Germany and Switzerland, they sent two envoys to ask questions of Oecolampadius, Capito, Bucer and Haller. These returned (to Mérindol) enlightened, saying that: 'barbes: qu'en plusieurs sortes & facons ils erroient grandement: & que leurs anciens ministeres (lesquels ils appelloient Barbes ou Oncles) les avoyent faict sourvoyer du droict chemin'.⁵² Thus the Vaudois take the decision to join the Reformed Church, according to Crespin. This

⁴⁸ Crespin, 1554, p. 657. (The most vulgar name of Vaudois remained theirs, until the name of Lutheran came forward, which surpasses in horror all other injuries and shame).

⁴⁹ Barnett.

⁵⁰ Crespin, 1554, p. 657 (What little of the true light they had they strove to increase day by day).

⁵¹ Schmidt, p. 250. *Die Waldenser der Provence und die deutschen Protestanten, 1535*.

⁵² Crespin, 1554, p. 658 (Barbes: that in many ways and fashions they erred greatly, & that their old ministers (which they called Barbes, or Uncles), had surveyed the correct path).

introduction, which would remain only slightly altered in the martyrology until 1570, was the introduction not only to the Vaudois of Provence, in this section, but the Vaudois in total- none of the other Vaudois entries would discuss the history or the doctrines of the group in any sort of detail.

It seems likely that Crespin had to hand the raw material that would make up the much longer *Histoire Memorable* at the time he compiled the second edition of his martyrology, as the two books were published within months of one another.⁵³ Whatever information he had in 1555, and however much of that was new to him, the 1555 edition's text on the massacre of Vaudois of Provence is identical to 1554's, again stretching to only 10 pages. The only difference is the headline and sub-headline which in 1554 read : 'Touchant les Martyrs de Iesus Christ, appelez les Vauldois, executez en grand nombre a la journee de la destruction & saccagement de Cabrières & Mérindol, & autres lieux au pais de Provence.'⁵⁴ This, in 1555, reads 'Ceux de Mérindol & Cabrières, appelez les Vaudois', with the smaller italic text below reading: 'C'est une histoire fort Memorable, advenue, l'an M.D.X.L.V.'⁵⁵ Crespin has here abandoned the characterization of the Vaudois as 'martyrs' (and indeed, *de Iesus Christ*) as they appeared in the first volume. The use of the word 'executez', evoking as it does judicial killing, complements the case for Vaudois martyrdom. 1555's description of the passage as 'une histoire fort Memorable' omits the usual language of the condemned martyr; a *histoire* could be used to describe the cruelty of the Catholics without bestowing the approval of the Reformed Church on its martyrs. In this, the 1555 *Livre des Martyrs* presages the

⁵³ Gilmont, *Bibliographie*, pp. 57-59.

⁵⁴ Crespin, 1554, p. 656 (mislabelled 956) (Touching the martyrs of Iesus Christ executed in large numbers in the day of the destruction of Merindol and Cabrieres, and other places of the country of Provence).

⁵⁵ Jean Crespin, *Recueil de plusieurs personnes qui ont constamment enduré la mort pour la nom pour la nom de Nostre Seigneur* ([Geneva] : Jean Crespin 1555) p.239 (Those of Merindol and Cabrieres, called the Vaudois).

approach of the later, compendium, editions' use of the device of *Récit d'Histoire*, into which the Vaudois would be placed in the 1564 and 1570 editions. The formula of 'une histoire fort Memorable' suited Crespin's approach enough that he would use it as the title of his separate work on the Vaudois, also published in 1555.⁵⁶

The introduction to 1555's *Histoire Memorable* has similar priorities to that of the martyrology's treatment, but uses very different material. This version was quickly abandoned, and the subsequent editions of the history and the martyrology used the first formula. Crespin again begins his discussion of the Vaudois with an account of their origins. It does not, however, touch on the Vaudois links to other heterodox groups like the Lollards. Instead, the narrative starts with the poor condition of the Church, which since the days of the primitive Church had slipped into pagan idolatry and such disgraceful 'badinerie' as applauding a particularly good sermon.⁵⁷ Having rehearsed the decline of the church to this time, Crespin continues by highlighting Vualdo's story:

Dieu suscita un personnage, lequel touché d'un autre esprit que ses Caphards, monstra assez l'ingratitude & rebellion des hommes, envers le devine visitation & les salaire de ceux qui s'employant à avancer la verité, au salut & profit d'Eglise. Ce personnage estoit nomme Vualdo, grande riche marchand de Lyon.⁵⁸

Vualdo had scripture and then the church doctors translated, and began to remake the form of the religion. His followers built a good reputation, which in turn led to more people joining the sect. Crespin writes in broad strokes here,

⁵⁶ Jean-François Gilmont, *Bibliographie des éditions de Jean Crespin, 1550-1572 Vol. I* (Verviers: Gason, 1981), p. 59. An edition of this work was published in 1556.

⁵⁷ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable de la persecution de Merindol et Cabrieres* ([Geneva] 1555) sig. iii recto.

⁵⁸ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable* ...1555, sig. iii verso. (God raised up a character, which was touched by another spirit than these Caphards, that showed the ingratitude and rebellion of men, against the divine visitation & the wages of those who were working to advance the truth, to the salvation & benefit of the Church. This person was named Vualdo, a very rich merchant of Lyon).

emphasising only doctrinal points that are clearly in line with Genevan teaching, and excluding those which retained elements of the Catholic cult, or the common practice of what Calvin would call Nicodemism.⁵⁹

The new movement attracted the attention of the papacy, which was actively hostile, and was forced to go underground, which led to the instituting of the barbes:

‘et pour faire entrent envoyent quelques enfans de bon esprit qui après leur servoyent de Ministres: ausquels devant toutes choses ils faisoient apprendre par coeur l'Evangile selon S Matthieu, & le premiere Epistre de S Paul a Timothee. L'Evangile pour instruire le peuple; L'Espistre pour savoir comment il se devoit conduire en sa charge’.⁶⁰

In comparison to the slighting references in the martyrology, this account stresses certain praiseworthy elements of their attempts to retain their knowledge. A history of persecution and violence against the Vaudois is mentioned:

comme on avoit faict les Chrestiens en la primitive Église, lesquels aussi convenoyent en secret. Ils ont este estimez du vulgaire, incestueux, sorciers, enchanteurs, & du tout dédiiez aux diables... Voilà comme les serviteurs de Christ sont diffamez. Voilà comme le monde s’informe de la vérité, appellant la lumière tenebras, & tenebras lumière.⁶¹

In this comparison to the slanders against the early Church, Crespin provides an early example of a Protestant defence against many such accusations.⁶²

Crespin then defends their behaviour through reference to outside authorities who

⁵⁹ Cameron, pp. 71, 93.

⁶⁰ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* 1555, sig. iiii recto. (Send some children of good spirit, who afterwards served the Ministers, who before all things taught them by heart the Gospel of St Matthew, & the first Letter of Paul to Timothy. The Gospel to instruct the people, the letter to know how they must conduct that in their charge).

⁶¹ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 34. Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* 1555, sig. iiii verso. (As the Christians in the primitive Church had done, which also met in secret. They have been considered vulgar, incestuous, sorcerers, enchanterers, and of all dedicated to devils... See how the servants of Christ are defamed. See how the world informs itself of the truth, calling the light darkness, and the darkness light).

⁶² Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print, Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity During the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 61-4.

might be considered hostile, and thus credible: ‘Entre les autres on peut bien recevoir le testemoigne de Maistre Claude de Seisel, Archévêque de Thurin, homme de grand scavoir pour son temps’, who wrote a tract against their beliefs in 1520, but admitted their good conduct.⁶³ In another bolstering of the respected status of the Vaudois, Crespin states that the massacres were committed ‘against the wishes of the King’, a claim he would soon abandon in the sextodecimo edition of 1556’s *Histoire Memorable*. This information bolsters our sense of the Vaudois as an independent community, identifiable to outsiders, as Audisio’s work has suggested.

The 1556 edition of the *Histoire Memorable* was somewhat cut down from the previous edition: Gilmont estimates it as being 36,000 words in total, as opposed to the 40,000 of the 1555 edition.⁶⁴ This is despite the book actually having more pages (152 to 135) than the previous edition-- the 1556 *Histoire Memorable* appears to have been printed on paper slightly narrower than would be normal for the octavo format.⁶⁵ The most significant changes were made to the introduction, and in the Confession of Faith; in both cases there were more cuts than additions. Much of the introduction, complaining of the state of the Church before Vualdo, has been cut, and in another place inserts the section from the martyrology about the Lollards, Turrelupins, and Saramatiques. This restored the link between the Vaudois and wider opposition to the established Church, although it did not go so far as to repeat the negative comment about the Lutherans.⁶⁶ In 1554 and 1555, Crespin had presented two separate views of the history of the Vaudois. The first one, which

⁶³ Jean Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* 1555, sig. iiii verso, Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 77. (Among the other one may well receive the testimony of Master Claude de Seisel, Archbishop of Turin, a man of great knowledge, for his time).

⁶⁴ Gilmont, *Aux origins de l'historiographie*, p. 194.

⁶⁵ The British Library example measures 89 mm across, compared to 97mm for an example of the 1556 Latin martyrology. This very rough metric fails to take into account the size of margins, font, and other factors which could and did vary considerably.

⁶⁶ Jean Crespin, *Histoire Memorable de la persecuton de Merindol et Cabrieres* ([Geneva] : Jean Crespin, 1556), p. 3.

discussed their spread, and their persecution, was ultimately chosen over the one which gave a fuller account of Vualdo. Amongst a number of other cuts, Crespin removed the claim that the massacres were done against the wishes of the King, and added a more precise date for Vualdo, claiming this time that: ‘en 1217 Dieu suscita un personnage...’⁶⁷

With the creation of the compendium edition in 1564, Crespin was also able to incorporate the information from the writing of the *Histoire Memorable* into the text of his main martyrology, although he did not do so verbatim. This section runs to 32 pages in folio, as opposed to the 10 octavo pages in the 1554 and 1555 editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, and the 135 pages of octavo in 1555’s *Histoire Memorable*. The title of this section in 1564 is : ‘La persecution ets accagement de Mérindol & Cabrières, & c. peuple fidele de Provence’, with a sub-headline that begins: ‘Cest histoire est autant Memorable que chose qui soit advenue de long temps’.⁶⁸ The sub-headline continues by repeating the opening sentence of 1554’s introduction, to the effect that ‘il n’est pas question de deux ou trois’ - though here Crespin inserts the word ‘Martyr’ - ‘qui ayent endure la mort: mais tout un peuple & multitude de personnes, tant hommes que femmes & enfans, qui ont endure tout especes de cruaute’.⁶⁹ There is another difference in this sentence, besides the re-introduction of the word ‘Martyr’ into the equation. The phrase ‘...pour ceste mesme doctrine’ which appeared in the 1555 edition, has been cut, and the sub-headline ends with the claim that ‘il est besoin de la déduire par actes judiciaries car elle servira d’instruction non seulement a tous Fidèles en particulier: mais aussi en general aux peuples & republiques qui ont recue l’Evangile du Seigneur’, which

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Crespin, 1565, p. 189. (This history is as memorable as anything which has happened for a long time).

⁶⁹ Ibid. (Who have endured death, but an entire people & multitude of persons, as much men as women and children, who endured all types of cruelty).

does echo the similar claims for the importance of this work as teaching aid seen in the first paragraph of the two previous editions.⁷⁰ With the advent of the *Recit d'Histoire* format, Crespin could have published this account of the Vaudois with a stronger disclaimer than before, as he was to do with three martyrs of the Peasants' War, and include them without any implied approval. Instead, he went the other way, emphasising the right of the Vaudois to be included on their own merit by terming them 'martyrs'.

The body of the 1564 introduction summarizes the earlier edition. With 1554's first paragraph having been subsumed into the sub-headline, 1564 starts: 'Le monde a eu les Vaudois (peuple de religion quelque peu plus nette & pure que la vulgaire) en tel horreur, que toute absurdité d'opprobres leur a esté mis sus.'⁷¹ The section about being dispersed among wild beasts, and bearing a variety of names from Lollard to Lutheran, survives, as does Crespin's claim that 'leur vie preschoit', and demonstrates their love of God. Surviving also is the remark about 'Si peu de vraye lumière qu'ils avoyent', and the Vaudois translation of scripture.⁷² Indeed, the only substantive update Crespin has made to this portion of his introduction is to make reference to the martyrdom of Martin Gonin on his mission to connect the Vaudois and the Reformed communities, which will be discussed below.

1570's version of the Mérindol & Cabrières campaign stretches to 33 pages of folio, uses the same title as in 1564, and very nearly the same sub-headline. The text of the introduction, too, is nearly identical to the previous edition's text, only adding emphasis here and there (words like 'Lollards' and 'Chaignars' are

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 239, p. 189. (There is need of the demonstration by judicial acts, for they serve for the instruction not only in particular to all of the faithful: but also in general to the peoples and republics who have received the Gospel of our Lord).

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 189. (The world has held the Vaudois (a people of a religion somewhat more clear and pure than the common) in such horror, that all absurdity of infamy is placed upon them).

⁷² Ibid.

italicized).

In terms of introducing the Vaudois people to the reader, Crespin seems to have found little need to improve upon his efforts of 1554, despite his work on the much larger introduction to the (better-sourced) *Histoire Memorable*. The interpretations and narrative of his first treatment of the Vaudois in the *Livre des Martyrs* held until his last edition, in spite of the work that was done on the separate volume. Crespin did not let all the hard work that had gone into the *Histoire Memorable* go to waste, however: its copies of documents would be used extensively in the later editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*. The portion of the 1554 and 1555 *Livre des Martyrs* devoted to the actual massacre at Mérindol and Cabrières had previously been rather slim, and could now be expanded. If Crespin was maintaining the separation between martyrology and history which he had originally observed by publishing the *Histoire Memorable*, this would explain his willingness to use large tracts of information from it, while still introducing the Vaudois in the same manner that his martyrologies had always done.

Narrative

The narrative sections, describing the massacre, changed from the first edition of the martyrology to the last far more than had other sections, such as the introductions. Crespin collected a mass of documents for the *Histoire Memorable*, most of which were later used to expand the martyrology. In the 1554 and 1555 editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, the Vaudois experience immediately after their contact with Oecolampadius and other reformers is one of persecution. Their contact with the Reformed brought them to the attention of the Parlement: ‘La chose se

mena en telle sorte, que le bruit en vint jusqu'à la congnaissance du Parlement.⁷³ In order to 'informer & saisir au corps tous ceux qui estoient suspects de secte Vaudoise & Lutherienne', the Vaudois have a 'cruel brigand, de la faction des Jacopin' (ie. Dominican) by the name of Jean de Roma set upon them as an Inquisitor.⁷⁴ His cruelty, which includes torture, is such that the Vaudois petition the King, who in turn orders the man imprisoned for his abuses.⁷⁵ Returned to Avignon, de Roma soon dies of 'une si horrible & si estrange maladie' that causes his flesh to become 'toute ulceree & pleine de vermines', the condition becoming bad enough that he tries to kill himself, lacking only the strength.⁷⁶ On the same page, Crespin outlines the illness and death of another persecutor, by the name of Meirani, again by a terrible illness.⁷⁷ These two incidents, so close together, suggest a divine providence for which Crespin does not directly argue.

These brief events between the Reformed-Vaudois meeting of 1530 and the military persecution of 1540 appeared again, unchanged, in the 1555 edition. Each of the later editions moves directly from the introduction to the discussion and text of the *Arrest de Mérindol*.⁷⁸ The events of the 1530s were largely excluded; this meant passing over the gradual merger of the two groups, and milestones like the Vaudois subscription to publish the Olivetan Bible, a book whose publication caused a stir in Geneva and had some claim to be the first mass-produced French vernacular Bible. It also means that the Synod of Chanforan, so controversial in Vaudois historiography, is omitted, and with it, discussion of the Vaudois union

⁷³ Crespin, 1554, p. 658. (The thing was done in such a way that the commotion came to the notice of Parlement).

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 659. (To inform and bodily seize all those who were suspected of being of the Vaudois and Lutheran sect).

⁷⁵ Crespin, 1554, p. 659. Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trial by Sixteenth-Century Parlements*, (London: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 78.

⁷⁶ Crespin, 1554, p. 660. (A malady so horrible and so strange ... all ulcerated and full of vermin).

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 660-661.

⁷⁸ Crespin, 1565, p. 190; Crespin, 1570, p. 115.

with the Reformed Church.⁷⁹

The massacres themselves occupy a relatively small proportion of the text—four of the ten pages in 1554 and 1555, and just over two of the more than thirty pages in 1564 and 1570. Crespin had little in the way of eyewitness accounts from Mérindol and Cabrières, and had to rely on official documents for the bulk of his narrative. In the 1554 *Livre des martyrs*, the killings themselves occupy two of the ten pages of the account. Crespin describes how, with the men of Mérindol hiding in the woods to avoid arrest ‘tout le bien que les pouvres gens avoyent sauve fut mis au pillage, les femmes & filles devestues, les unes violees, battues & outrages, les autres vendues & exposee a tout opprobres.’⁸⁰ Also included was an incident which would later have a strong impact on the later repercussions of the massacre – the capture and killing, by firing squad, of a young apprentice, who died piously, and indeed was: ‘martyrizer’.⁸¹ This death among many seems to have had an especial impact: in the aftermath of the massacres, each of the three Commissioners involved in the expedition tried to excuse it; both they and Crespin seem to have seen its potential to discredit the Parlement.⁸²

Cabrières, which was fortified, put up more of a struggle, but here, too, atrocities were committed: ‘environ 40 femmes, entre lesquelles il y en avoit plusieurs enceintes, & les fist enfermer en une grange, & puis fist metre le feu aux quatre coins. Et quand aucunes pour fuir la flame vouloyent sortir, elles estoient a l’environ repousees au feu a grands coups de picques & hallebardes.’⁸³ Crespin

⁷⁹ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, 264-267.

⁸⁰ 1554, p. 663. (All the goods that these poor people had saved were put to pillage, the women and girls stripped, some violated, beaten and outraged, the others sold and exposed to all disgrace).

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Monter, p. 99.

⁸³ Crespin, 1554, p. 664. (Around 40 women, among whom there were several pregnant, & they shut them in a barn, & then set fire to the four corners. And when any to flee the fire would escape, they were pushed into the fire with great blows of pikes and halberds).

presented many martyrdoms without this level of gory detail. In this case, it probably helped to make the case for the exceptionality of the events promised in the first lines of the notice, that this was something worthy of recording.

In the *Histoire Memorable*, the large tranche of new documents to be absorbed means that the massacre was presented even later in the volume: Oppede's troops do not move on Mérindol until page 94 of the 135-page book. The description of the sacking of Mérindol is this time, even shorter, receiving only one page's attention, and losing most of what detail the martyrology had possessed: 'ils entroyent aux maisons, & mettoyent tout a mort, sans espargnet les malades, ny anciens, ny les petis enfans.'⁸⁴ Again, we hear of the young man executed in the orchard, but this time he is not referred to as a 'martyr'; clearly even outside the *Livre des Martyrs*, the ban on that term held.⁸⁵ The assault on Cabrières is similarly brief, and though new layers are added to the depiction of Oppede's treachery, the account is almost exactly the same as before. In this case, the recounting of the massacres themselves only takes five pages, of the book's 135 in total.

From 1564 onwards, the narration is refined: the young man executed by firing squad is placed first, and named as Maurizi Blanc, but the massacre at Mérindol itself is described simply: 'Mérindol prinse, fut pillée, bruslée, saccagée, & rasee par les pionniers.'⁸⁶ The reader is no longer told of the men fleeing to the woods, or the extreme violence against the women. When D'Oppede moves against Cabrières, the emphasis is on the trickery he employs to convince the Vaudois to surrender, before slaughtering many of them. This section has in fact been added to Crespin editorialising ironically on D'Oppede's 'savage courage': 'homme de

⁸⁴ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*, 1555, p. 94 (They entered into houses, & put all to death, without sparing the sick, nor the elderly, nor the little children).

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Crespin, 1565, pp 213-214. (Merindol, taken, was pillagd, burned, sacked & razed by the pioneers).

mauvais vouloir il n'ya ne vérité ne droiture: ainsi ce capitaine monstra par trahison sa fureur.⁸⁷ The twenty-five or thirty men described in 1554 as being 'dismembered' are here: 'tuez & hachez en pieces', while the burning alive of the women, and the massacre at the church (an *église* this time, instead of the previous *temple*) are both retained with few changes.⁸⁸

The Edict

In the first editions of the martyrology, the contents of the arret delivered against the Vaudois are discussed briskly: 'par lequel generalement tous les habitans dudict Mérindol furent condamnez a estre brulez, tant hommes que femmes & enfans: les maisons abbatues & rasees; les arbres du tout coppez, tant Oliviers qu'autres, a 500 pas a la ronde.'⁸⁹ It would seem from this summary that Crespin was working from a report of some sort, rather than from an original copy of the text. Certainly he did not attempt to reproduce the text at this time, and some of the details vary from those in the version he was to publish later. The most egregious and destructive elements of the edict are stressed, while clauses explaining the charges and the judgement are omitted. It is only with the *Histoire Memorable* that we see a proper reproduction of the *Arret de Mérindol*, which would be reproduced in later editions of the martyrology.

The *Arret* and other primary documents were transferred to the later editions of the *Livre des martyrs* from the *Histoire Memorable*, in a way that the introduction, for example, was not. In the 1564 edition, this takes slightly more than a sheet of folio paper. From the beginning it is clear that this is an arrest warrant,

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 214. (A man of ill will he had neither truth nor honesty; thus this captain showed by treason his fury).

⁸⁸ Ibid. (Killed and hacked to pieces).

⁸⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 661. (By which all the inhabitants of the said Mérindol were sentenced to be burned, as much men as women & children: the houses battered and burned, all the trees cut down, olives as well as others, to 500 paces around).

listing more than twenty people on the charge of ‘lèse majesté divine & humaine’, many of them the spouses and children of the named accused.⁹⁰ They had recently, by force of arms, helped a condemned man to escape his death by burning. This was the rescue of a Colin Pellenc, otherwise unnamed by Crespin, a reformer of the Mérindol churches who was in contact with Calvin during this period.⁹¹ For good measure, they burned a mill belonging to his principal accuser.⁹² In the same year a group of up to 500 men from Mérindol and Cabrières raided and pillaged the monastery of St-Hilaire de Menerbes and a church at Lioux.⁹³ This was open resistance to authority, and hardly a philosophical acceptance of martyrdom. It certainly changed the perception of the Vaudois; Calvin expressed ‘consternation’ to Farel on hearing that they were to be charged not with heresy, but with sedition and tumult.⁹⁴ While Crespin may not have mentioned this action in his own narrative of the events, he retained the accusation as part of the edict; a rebuttal was offered in the confession of faith which appeared in the 1564 edition of the martyrology. In addition to the destruction of the town and its orchards for being ‘retraicte, spelonque, refuge & fort de gens tenans telles sects damnées & repouvées’, the surrounding area as well was to be made inhospitable for fugitives.⁹⁵

The arret goes on to condemn the villagers for: ‘tiennent sectes Vauldoises & Lutheriennes, reprovées & contraires à la sainte foy & religion Chrestienne.’⁹⁶ Indeed, the entire place is an ‘ecole des erreurs & faulses doctrines desdictes sectes, gens qui dogmatisent lesdicts erreurs & faulses doctrines, & libraries qui ont

⁹⁰ Crespin, 1565, p. 190.

⁹¹ Venard, p. 316.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Calvin to Farel, 19 February 1541. In A-L Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de Langue Française*, Vol VII (Nieuwkoop : De Graaf, 1965), pp. 25-28.

⁹⁵ Crespin, 1565, p. 191. (Retreat, cave, refuge & strength of the people holding such damned and reprobate sect).

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 190. (Holding Vaudois and Lutheran sects, reprovéd & contrary to the holy faith and Christian religion).

imprimé & vendent livres pleins de telles faulses doctrines.’⁹⁷ Although, understandably, these attacks on the Vaudois did not appear in the early editions of 1554 or 1555, Crespin was happy enough to include them within the context of reproducing the *arret* itself. The confiscation of goods, and the destruction of the houses and trees (to 200 paces, as opposed to the 500 Crespin claimed in 1554) are all present, added at the end of the edict.⁹⁸ There is no mention of Cabrières, which was, of course, in the papally-controlled Comtat Venaissin, and thus outside the jurisdiction of the French authorities.

We should also consider representations of the edict within the context of the criteria to be considered a martyr. The importance of the cause, rather than the suffering, for martyr status made this edict central to consideration of the Vaudois as martyrs. Although not specifically ordering the massacre, the edict is a legal document, full of harsh language, which condemns the town to destruction for reasons of heresy. The role of the Parlement’s leaders in the enforcement of the *arret* can only have reinforced the perception that the massacre was a piece of policy. The edict, unusual and controversial though it had always been, was used by Crespin effectively as though it were a mass death-sentence for heresy. It is a state document that commands collective punishments for religious reasons, and as for Crespin and his readers, would provide some confirmation that the massacres were martyrdoms by the letter of the law.

Into the *Histoire Memorable*, and the succeeding editions of the *Livre des Martyrs* Crespin added much of the politicking involved in the five-year battle to have the edict enforced. In 1554, a few lines had been devoted to the efforts of the Sieur de Langers, (Langey) who was Lieutenant at Turin, to obtain letters patent

⁹⁷ Ibid. (School of errors and false doctrines of these sects, people who dogmatise these said errors and false doctrines, and booksellers who have printed and sold books full of such false doctrines).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

from the King and thereby delay execution of the edict.⁹⁹ This was in fact Guillaume du Bellay, the humanist courtier and diplomat, and brother of the Bishop of Paris, though Crespin never names this powerful ally of the Vaudois. These delays held until Jean Meynier, Sieur D'Oppede, took over as President of the Parlement, and was able to cause the edict to be enforced. In the later versions, the stalling tactics are provided in more detail. Six pages of 1564's edition are devoted to these wranglings, starting with the protests of landowners whose lands the Vaudois had made more valuable, rebutted in turn by local bishops. Much of it is presented as a debate at a banquet, with various landowners (such as the Sieur d'Alene, 'homme craignant Dieu'), expressing their misgivings at the prospect.¹⁰⁰ The first concern seems simply to be that the edict is disproportionate : 'seroit chose desraisonnable, & que les Turcs & les hommes les plus cruels de monde jugeront trop inhumaine & detestable'.¹⁰¹ The main defence of the Vaudois' doctrines on religious grounds comes from a nobleman who refers to them: 'que vous appelez Lutherians, ceux qui preschent la doctrine de l'Evangile.'¹⁰² Many are unconvinced by the arguments: 'Appelez-vous le sang de ces meschans de Mérindol, sang innocent?...appelez-vous l'execution des Lutheriens, effusion du sang innocent?', but the argument centres around the cruelty of the edict.¹⁰³ In later discussion, President Chassane notes that : 'ledit Arest avoit este donne plus pour tenir en crainte les Lutheriens, qui estoient en grande nombre par la Provence, que pour executer de faict le contenu en iceluy.'¹⁰⁴ Crespin follows this scene by showing the ecclesiastical hierarchy,

⁹⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 661. Monter, p. 95.

¹⁰⁰ Crespin, 1565, p. 192.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 192. (Would be an unreasonable thing, & that the Turks, & the most cruel men of the world judge to be too inhumane and detestable).

¹⁰² Ibid. (That you call Lutheran, those who preach the word of the Gospel).

¹⁰³ Ibid. (Do you call the blood of the damned of Mérindol, innocent blood?...do you call the execution of Lutherans, the effusion of innocent blood?).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 197. (The said arrest was given more to hold the Lutherans in fear, who are in great numbers in Provence, than to perform the action contained in it).

including the Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop of Aix, his Prevost and canons, and several Abbots and Priors gathering together to plot the enforcing of the edict of Mérindol. This scene is another that was absent from the first two editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, and was first published as part of the *Histoire Memorable* in 1555. As depicted by Crespin, they are most concerned with the potential loss of their benefices posed by the growth of heresy, and to: 'arracher & destruire, pour perdre & subvertir tout ce qui s'esleve contre l'église', though they also make time for carousing with the young ladies of Avignon.¹⁰⁵ In the *Histoire Memorable* and the two compendium editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, Crespin inserts here the martyrdom of a bookseller, executed in Avignon while this ecclesiastical plotting is taking place.¹⁰⁶ The conflict is depicted as being driven explicitly by the Catholic hierarchy, and resisted by several ranks of the secular one.

The Confessions of Faith (1541)

Crespin included a multitude of documents to illustrate this period of official indecision, ranging from reports by a royal commissioner, to royal letters delaying the implementation of the edict, and supplications by the villagers themselves.¹⁰⁷ The bulk of the documents included in Crespin were generated during this period of petitions and counter-claims. None of these were collected in the first two editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*; almost all of them first appeared in the *Histoire Memorable*. The fact-finders reported, for example, that the Vaudois : 'estoyent gens paisibles, aimez de tous leurs voisins, & gens des bonnes mœurs, gardans bien leurs promesses, en payent bien leurs detes...ils faisoient leurs prieurs sans regarder

¹⁰⁵ Crespin, 1565, p. 194. (Tear and destroy, to lose and subvert all that is raised against the church).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 196.

¹⁰⁷ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*... 1555, pp. 29-31.

les images... & aussi n'adoroyent point les reliques des Saints & Saintes...' ¹⁰⁸

Other passages outline legal processes, and political struggles between factions at the Aix Parlement.

The most important of these documents is the Vaudois confession of faith, of 1541. In the first two editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, Crespin mentions the confession without including its text, though he mentioned that they: 'presenterent leur confession de Foy: tellement que par plusieurs empeschemens que Dieu suscita pour donner relasche aux siens, ladicte execution fut differée.' ¹⁰⁹ In the *Histoire Memorable*, Crespin included it, apparently in full, filling twenty-five quarto pages of that volume. 1556's *Histoire Memorable* included a much-reduced version of the same document. In 1564 and 1570, he included an almost entirely different version which took up merely one folio page in the 1564 edition (a reduction in length of perhaps 90 per cent). ¹¹⁰ The differences in the versions, one of which belonged to Crespin's historical writing, and was not reprinted after 1556, and the other to his increasingly popular martyrology, are suggestive of either a change of mind between the printings or a difference of purpose between the two works.

The historiography on the distinctions between these confessions is confusing, and suggests that the version published in the *Histoire Memorable* is not as well known as it deserves to be. Euan Cameron refers at several points to a confession of 1541, separate to the confessions of 1543-44. One of these references is to Herminjard, and another to Lentolo; the only references to a confession found in Crespin are to the 1565 and 1619 (Goulart) editions of the *Livre des martyrs*.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp 29-30. (Are peaceable folk, loved by all their neighbours, & men of good morals, keep well their promises, in paying their debts...they say their prayers without images... & also do not adore the relics of Saints).

¹⁰⁹ Crespin, 1554, p. 661. (Presented their Confession of Faith: such that by impediments that God raised to give relief to his family, the said execution was deferred).

¹¹⁰ Crespin, 1565, pp. 202-205.

Although Cameron includes the 1556 edition of the *Histoire Memorable* in his bibliography, he does not cite it with reference to the question of Vaudois confessions. Indeed, when he writes of Lentolo having ‘inserted (after the confession of faith of 1541) an exposition of the Ten Commandments’, it seems possible that one source for Lentolo might well be the confession found in the 1555 *Histoire Memorable*, which includes just such an exposition.¹¹¹ Cameron also asserts that the version in the *Livre des Martyrs* is likely to be the main source for all subsequent renderings of the 1541 confession, which makes understanding its origins and its place all the more important.¹¹² Gabriel Audisio only mentions Crespín once in his monograph on the Vaudois, and there the reference is to the 1565 martyrology.¹¹³ He does, however, engage with several other confessions of the Provinçal Vaudois, including ones from 1533, 1542, 1543, and 1544, each of which he regards as having original elements.¹¹⁴ Jean-François Gilmont has recognised the change from one confession to the other in successive editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, although this point has not yet been fully addressed by Vaudois scholarship.¹¹⁵

The confession seen in both editions of the *Histoire Memorable* is introduced as being that presented to Cardinal Sadoletto, the moderate author of the Letter to the Genevans. Sadoletto does indeed seem to have received a document of

¹¹¹ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 231. Crespín, *Histoire Memorable*, 1555, pp. 50-65.

¹¹² Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 152.

¹¹³ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, p. 258. As an aside, it seems unusual that both Cameron and Audisio, as well as this study, use the Crespín, 1565 edition of Crespín, although the content is the same.

¹¹⁴ Jean-François Gilmont, *Les Vaudois des Alpes : Mythes et Réalités* in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, t. 83 (1988), p. 69-89. Although Cameron clearly states that he believes all extant versions of the 1541 confession (he does not mention that there are more than one) derives from Crespín, Gilmont states that he prefers Audisio's scheme to Cameron's on the grounds that Audisio acknowledges the original elements of the successive confessions; the two positions should not be incompatible.

¹¹⁵ Gilmont, *Aux origines de l'historiographie Vaudoise du XVI^e siècle...*, p. 195.

this nature from the Vaudois, and promised to take it to Rome.¹¹⁶ The hoped-for reaction from the authorities is that of Vladislaus the second of Bohemia and Hungary, who was said to have read an earlier such confession, and then to have challenged his courtiers to find fault with it.¹¹⁷ It is phrased as a long series of articles, each beginning with the formula ‘We believe and confess...’ In many formal respects, the Confession runs parallel to 1536’s First Helvetic Confession: both begin with articles concerning the divine inspiration of Holy Scripture, and the Holy Spirit’s role in prophecy, before addressing the nature of God and His relationship to Man.¹¹⁸ This is done in a series of articles derived from the Nicene and Apostles’ Creeds, expressing the basic tenets such as belief in Christ who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, and ‘suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and buried for our sins’ and a belief in the ‘Holy Catholic Church’.¹¹⁹ Euan Cameron has argued that this format was part of an established campaign of placation by the Vaudois:

“For the protestant churches a confession was normally used to define a faith in distinction, either from Catholicism, or from another protestant creed. The Waldenses used a confession to show, for the benefit of persecutors or possible allies, that they were respectable and credible Christians, not disreputable heretics with scandalous ideas. Their confessions were eirenicons rather than rallying points”.¹²⁰

This desire to placate the Catholic authorities is rather different from the openly defiant confessions which are more usual amongst Crespin’s martyrs. It reflects, perhaps, the instincts of a group trying to survive, rather than overthrow,

¹¹⁶ Venard, p. 336.

¹¹⁷ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* 1555 p. 41.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p.. 42. First Helvetic Confession in: *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Arthur Cochrane, (London, 1966), p. 100.

¹¹⁹ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* 1555, pp. 46-47.

¹²⁰ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 210.

the opposition, and is surely of a piece with what Oecolampadius regarded as their Nicodemite tendencies.¹²¹

This, then, was not a conventionally Catholic or Reformed confession. Exclusionary attitudes can be found which raise the question of the Vaudois relationship with the Catholic Church - they contrast a large church 'appelée la congregation des bons & des mauvais' with: 'l'Église que nous croyons, qui est appelée sainte.'¹²² Their church has no space for tyrants, Judas, Cain, or the *mauvais riche* and is compared to a 'belle confrerie, en laquelle sont enregistrez tous les vrais Chrestiens.'¹²³ This 'visible church', containing only the saved (like the Vaudois), by necessity excludes the majority of society, and is destined to remain a sect. This runs directly contrary to Calvin's teaching that the earthly Church must include many who are unworthy to be there, for it is often impossible to sort the wheat from the chaff. By this thinking, only God knows who is truly saved, and truly part of the 'invisible church'.¹²⁴ This confession would seem to strengthen Audisio's view of the Vaudois as a sect, conscious of their differences with the institutional Catholic Church. Nor does it contradict the view of the Vaudois as reliant on the Catholic Church while holding themselves in some way above it; this phrasing may condemn the quality of some of the members of the Catholic church (as the Vaudois had always done), but it does not 'un-church' them.

Any past Vaudois uncertainties about saints had now been resolved, and in this document they proclaim that only the Son intervenes with the Father.¹²⁵ That

¹²¹ Oecolampadius, 1530, cited in: Gabriel Audisio. *Preachers by Night: the Waldensian Barbes (15th-16th centuries)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 130.

¹²² Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* 1555, p. 47. (Called the congregation of the good and the wicked... the church which we believe, which is called holy).

¹²³ Ibid. (A beautiful confraternity, in which are registered all the true Christians). The damned rich may well be a reference to the Lazarus parable in Luke 16, and thus not be a simple attack on the wealthy, though we should remember the Waldensian ideal of poverty.

¹²⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, 1. P. 288.

¹²⁵ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, pp. 70, 73.

the Vaudois put faith in only two sacraments, which Crespín had mentioned earlier, is here confirmed, and their sacramental theology appears robustly Calvinist, with mention of spiritual eating: ‘celuy mange la chair & boit la sang du Seigneur, & en est faict participant, contemplant la convenance des choses invisibles & la viande spirituelle.’¹²⁶ Criticism of those who believe that Christ can be brought down to earth by the serving of the Eucharist as against the word of God rejected not just the Catholic Church, but the Lutheran teachings on the subject as well.¹²⁷ This was a common formulation in Crespín, and seems to have been a commonplace in the Calvinist confessions included in Crespín.

The second half of the confession is devoted to a long explanation of each of the Ten Commandments, enumerated in the Reformed fashion, and introduced still with the formula; ‘we believe and confess’. Cameron’s argument for eirenic confessions says that the Ten Commandments were often used by the Vaudois, as another uncontroversial element.¹²⁸ Certainly the Provençal Vaudois had used them in previous documents. In 1533, the Vaudois of Cabrières had sent to the inquisitor de Roma a statement of faith which had insisted ‘nous croyons tous les commandemens de Dieu’.¹²⁹ While their inclusion may be a Vaudois tradition, these articles appear to be largely Reformed in content. The discussion of the Second Commandment (in the Reformed estimate), forbidding false idols, sees a strong attack on images:

‘O quell deshonneur on fait a la majeste de Dieu, en la plus grande part de la Chrestiente, par infinies idolatries & superstitions & services charnels. Quel

¹²⁶ Crespín, *Histoire Memorable*, 1555, p. 51. (One who eats the flesh and drinks the blood of the Lord, & in fact participates, contemplates the coming together of the invisible things and the spiritual food).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹²⁸ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 212.

¹²⁹ *Les Vaudois de Cabrières a Jean de Roma, 3 February 1533*. In Herminjard, vol. VII, pp. 466-468 (We believe all of the commandments of God).

scandale pourroit estre plus grand? En quelle moquerie plus grande pourroit estre exposee la Chrestiente?...Est-ce le moyen pour convertir & attirer a la vraye religion les Juifs & les Turcs?’¹³⁰

The Third Commandment’s discussion of blasphemy indicates the degree of Reformed influence upon the confession’s authors; the issue of whether it was lawful for a Christian to swear oaths had been an item of debate during the very first contact between Vaudois leaders and Reformers, suggesting that the swearing of oaths was not a settled practice amongst the Vaudois.¹³¹ The confession agrees that swearing on God’s name in support of legal cases is permissible, and indeed that it is forbidden to swear using other formulae.¹³²

Other commandments similarly reflect Reformed perspectives. The Fifth Commandment, for example, suggests that honouring one’s father and mother ought to include, more widely, respect for the magistrates and princes of this world, as well.¹³³ The Seventh Commandment, after decrying the sin of adultery, attacks the ‘faux jugemens des Juges, qui condamnent a mort des Prestres pour estre mariez, & permettent paillarder publiquement les Prestres, & commettre ordures & souilles innumberables. Dieu condamne les paillards, & ils les absoult : Dieu approuve les Prestres mariez, & ils les condamnent a mort.’¹³⁴ This reflects, of course, Protestant sensibilities; the Vaudois required their *barbes* to swear an oath of chastity.¹³⁵

Once the credal elements and the exposition of the Ten Commandments had

¹³⁰ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*, 1555, p. 55. (Oh, what dishonour is done to the majesty of God, in the greater part of Christendom, by infinite idolatries, & superstitions, & carnal services. What scandal could be greater? In what greater mockery could Christianity be exposed?... Is this the means to convert and bring to the true religion the Jews and the Turks?).

¹³¹ Cameron, *Waldenisans*, p. 235.

¹³² Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*... 1555, p. 56.

¹³³ *Ibid*, p. 59.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*. p. 60-61. (False judgements of the judges, who condemn to death the priests for being married, & permit the public lewdness of the priests, & commit innumerable ordures and defilements. God condemns the bawds, & they absolve them; God approves priests to marry, and they condemn them to death).

¹³⁵ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, 170.

been expounded, the confession dealt with a few other matters. One article stressed justification by faith alone, attaching no importance to ‘les oeuvres de la loy’.¹³⁶ Sobriety and temperance are praised, while the Old Testament dietary laws are rejected, for Christians are delivered from servitude to the Law by Jesus Christ.¹³⁷ Besides the rejection of legalism in day-to-day practice, this passage also made clear that the Vaudois had no special diet, as the Cathars notoriously did.¹³⁸ Other passages confirm that kings, princes and the like are ordained by God, and that pastors are to set a good example for their flock.

This confession adheres to the customary interest in the Creeds and Commandments that Cameron leads us to expect, but surely this document is anything but eirenic. It is robustly Reformed on most issues, and on some points goes out of its way to attack Catholic doctrine, as in the discussion of the Second Commandment.

Only a year later, with the 1556 edition of the *Histoire Memorable*, Crespin oversaw some alterations to this text. This version of the *Histoire Memorable* had some cuts made to it, in both the preface and in the main body of the text, as part of the ten per cent overall reduction in the length of the book. Along with the preface, the confession of faith was the section most affected. The first half of the confession remained as it had been in the 1555 edition, with its definition of the faith drawn from the Creeds, and definition of the Vaudois stance on the sacraments. However, after the confession introduces the idea of the Ten Commandments, saying that although the end of the main confession has been reached, it: ‘sont continues en ses Commandements’, though it does not include them at all.¹³⁹ The Ten

¹³⁶ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*...1555, p. 63. (Works of the law).

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Lambert, *The Cathars*, p. 153.

¹³⁹ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*, 1556, p. 67. (Is continued in these Commandments).

Commandments, then, though presented as critical of Catholic doctrine, and seemingly allied to Calvinist thought, were removed only a year after their first inclusion; the rest of this confession soon followed. If these were amongst the cuts made for reasons of space, it is still suggestive that the Ten Commandments were amongst the first to go. Removing them made the confession closer to established Reformed models in format, if not in content.

The confession in 1564's *Livre des Martyrs*, which is placed within the narrative in a similar manner to that in the *Histoire Memorable*, is much shorter than that in either version of the *Histoire Memorable*. Attached to a remonstrance, the confession itself stretches to only one folio page in 1564, as compared with the twenty-five octavo pages of the 1555 *Histoire Memorable*, a change maintained in the 1570 edition (the difference being approximately 700 as compared to 7,000 words).¹⁴⁰ This apparently altered document is in content an entirely separate confession. While the longer version in the *Histoire Memorable* was said to have been presented to Cardinal Sadoletto, this claims to be the version submitted to the Parlement, and to François I in 1541 through his reader and librarian Castellanus (Pierre du Chastel) according to 1564's marginalia, in response to a fact-finding mission in the wake of the edict's passage.¹⁴¹ This new confession entered the *Livre des Martyrs* alongside two other important documents from the Parlement (the letter from Henri II, and the full text of the edict of Mérindol), suggesting that Crespin had gained access to important official documents, although these may well have been publically available.¹⁴²

In an open acknowledgement of the changes that he had made, Crespin told the reader that: 'l'autre confession plus ample des articles, qui furent envoyées tant

¹⁴⁰ The document in total is about 4.5 folio pages long.

¹⁴¹ Crespin, 1565, p. 202.

¹⁴² Gilmont, *Aux origins de l'historiographie*, 201

au cardinal Sadolet... nous l'avons insérée en l'histoire imprimée à part, l'an MDLVI.¹⁴³ The confession in question, in the 1556 *Histoire Memorable*, was not complete either; it was the version from which the Ten Commandments had been excised. This referral to an earlier work is unique in Crespin; the 1564 edition of the martyrology seems to have been designed to supersede the *Histoire Memorable* entirely, and there would have been little incentive for a reader to own both works. That the reference is to the 1556 edition underlines how totally Crespin buried the 1555 version of the *Histoire Memorable*; its introduction and confession were neither salvaged nor referred to again.

The compendium editions attach to the confession a remonstrance by the Vaudois which seeks to justify their actions, but which cannot be properly considered part of the theological discussion. This remonstrance does, however, make clear the purpose of the document; it complains about their treatment at the hands of the Inquisition (specifically de Roma), denies any seditious motivations, and rejects accusations of disobedience to the law by arguing that were they only treated as well as Turks in Venice, or Jews in Avignon, they would certainly obey the commands of the law.¹⁴⁴ To the specific charge of retiring behind fortified walls, they insist they have but rarely fled to caves and woods to escape: 'l'ire des hommes... la fureur du peuple, qui estoit tellement enflambee contre nous', and they flatly deny having engaged the assistance of mercenary gendarmes.¹⁴⁵ Above all, they insist that: 'toutes les molestes & persecutions qu'on fait à l'encontre de nous, viennent à cause de la religion.'¹⁴⁶ As a result, they want to make public an account

¹⁴³ Crespin, 1565, p. 202. (The other, fuller, confession of these articles, which was taken to the Cardinal Sadolet... we have inserted into the history printed separately, in 1556).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 203.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 204. (The anger of men... the furor of the people, who were so inflamed against us).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 202. (All the disturbances and persecutions which have been done against us, come for the cause of religion).

of what they believe (this formulation allows them to fit into the Augustinian formulation of martyrdom, though the term is not mentioned). The confession ends with several appeals to the ‘Roy nostre Sire’, enjoining him to ‘pitie humaine & charitie Chrestienne’, and hoping for letters of pardon and remission, which did play a role in forestalling the execution another four years. They conclude by hoping that : ‘le Pere de misericorde, qu’il face que la verité soit cognue, & qu’il change le coeur de nos ennemis, & nous veuille tous unir en une foy, en une loy, & en une Baptesme: & à recognoistre & confesser un Dieu & un Sauveur Iesus Christ.’¹⁴⁷

These claims of loyalty and injustice are not followed, however, by a confession which could be described as eirenic, or placatory. The longer confession’s opinions on the sacraments and on the place of the magistrate are still present, but the lengthy citation of the Creeds has been removed. The Ten Commandments, removed in 1556’s *Histoire Memorable*, are no longer even referred to. What remains is a briefer confession, much closer in content, and in form to other, Reformed confessions. Cut, too, are most of the insistences on orthodoxy phrased in terms of the Creeds.¹⁴⁸ The claim of belief in the ‘Holy Catholic Church’ has been, unsurprisingly, expunged.

Crespin also corrected a note about the antiquity of Vaudois doctrine, claiming: ‘la doctrine laquelle leur avoit esté enseignée, comme de père à fils, voire mesme depuis l’an mille deux cents ans après la nativité de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ’, which in 1555’s *Histoire Memorable*, had been: ‘depuis l’an deux cens apres la Nativite de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ.’¹⁴⁹ While it might be the case that

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 205. (The Father of mercy, that he ensure that the truth was known, & that he change the heart of his enemies, & we wish all to unite in one faith, in one law, & in one Baptism: & to recognize & confess one God, & one saviour, Jesus Christ).

¹⁴⁸ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, pp. 212, 231.

¹⁴⁹ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable ... 1555*, p. 40. Crespin, *Histoire des vrayz tesmoins de la verité de l’Evangile*, 1570, p. 120 verso. (The doctrine which they have professed, as from father to son, truly

this was simply the correction of a missed word (*mille*), rectified when the compendium was assembled, the original date was not an obvious nonsense. A date of c. 200 AD would place the Vaudois tradition in direct contact with the ancient Church, before the corruption of Constantine took hold, and laid to rest the idea of a break from Rome. Instead, a parallel and true church would have existed since the earliest time, made up of Foxe's 'secret multitude of true professors'.¹⁵⁰ Whether mistake or not, this date also manifested itself in the *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, which, otherwise following the compendium edition, reads: 'la doctrine à eux enseignee comme de pere en fils, voire depuis l'an 120 apres la Nativite de Jesus Christ...'¹⁵¹ This may be another case of a digit lost in the printing process, but it again drives the Vaudois origins to the earliest Christian times.

The doctrinal content of the confession was presented in a series of short declarative point. As in the *Histoire Memorable*, it insists that: 'En la sentence & opinion de la religion & église Chrestienne nous nous accordions totalement.'¹⁵² Their only rule is the Scripture contained in the Old and New Testaments, and they insist that they do not subscribe to any heresies condemned by the ancient Church.¹⁵³ Their third point moves onto more combative ground: they claim that it is only by the grace and bounty of God that the elect can be saved from Original Sin- a distinctly Protestant conception of salvation- good works are sanctification afterwards. As before, dietary laws are specifically rejected, suggesting that this point was of serious importance to the authors- while not a common point in

the same since the year twelve hundred years after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ... since the year two hundred years after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ).

¹⁵⁰ *TAMO*, (1570 edition), p. 987, [Accessed August 27, 2011].

¹⁵¹ *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, p. 57. (The doctrine they professed, as from father to son, truly since the year 120 after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ).

¹⁵² Crespin, 1565, p. 202. (In the sentence & opinion of the Christian Church and religion we agree totally).

¹⁵³ Crespin, 1565, p. 202. Crespin, 1570, p. 121.

Calvinist confessions of this time (1566's Second Helvetic Confession outlined some rules on fasting), this point had appeared twice in two Vaudois statements.¹⁵⁴

The confession asserts that Christ alone is mediator between man and God, rejecting the power of saints and priests, and specifically the 'adoration d'images, pelegrinages, & telles choses semblables' as part of a rejection of the traditional cult practices of the Catholic Church.¹⁵⁵ Baptism and the Eucharist are the only two sacraments of which they approve.¹⁵⁶ As regards the power of the State, the Vaudois claim that they believe Magistrates to be ordained by God, and 'voulons obeir a leurs loix & constitutions qui concernent les biens & corps', promising obedience in all things that are not contrary to God.¹⁵⁷ This continues the string of insistence on paying to Caesar what is Caesar's present in each of the successive confessions.

Whatever the reason for the diverging confessions, Crespin elected to keep them separate, choosing the shorter, more straightforwardly Calvinist version to be included in his martyrology. The longer, more nuanced and, perhaps, more traditionally Vaudois confession was chosen for the *Histoire Memorable*, and was heavily edited the next year. It never appeared again. It may have been that Crespin discovered the shorter confession between 1556 and 1564, and used it to replace the other one, and it may have been that the shorter confession, for some or all of the reasons above, was thought to be more suited for the martyrology. It certainly seems that Crespin drew a distinction between his historical and his martyrological work, and deployed the confessions accordingly. That, in the martyrology, he refers his readers to the longer version in the history (when he does not seem to have been

¹⁵⁴ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* p. 63- 64.

¹⁵⁵ Crespin, 1565, p. 202. (Adoration of images, pilgrimages & such similar things).

¹⁵⁶ Crespin, 1565, p. 203.

¹⁵⁷ Crespin, 1565, p. 203. (Would be obedient to their laws & constitutions which concern goods and people).

pressed for space), but does not reproduce it, suggests that Crespin did not want to ignore the shorter version entirely, or to expunge it, but instead decided that it was the wrong confession for that particular work. The shorter confession, which is more clearly Calvinist, in form and in content, is the one which Crespin decided to place in the *Livre des Martyrs*. If we accept the argument that the martyrology, by its nature, had very little room for unorthodox opinion, then the division between the *Histoire Memorable* and the *Livre des Martyrs* (centred on the confessions of faith, due to the overwhelming overlap in material elsewhere) becomes clear. The history could contain such opinions, but the martyrology had an educational purpose, and had to be careful about what it taught its readership.

We know from other sources that the 1541 confessions were followed by a third in 1543 or 1544, copies of which were not included, or referred to, in any of Crespin's work.¹⁵⁸ Over the course of these, 'alignment on the reformed model is total', according to Audisio.¹⁵⁹ Certainly, Calvin was personally impressed by one of the confessions, although we cannot know which version he saw. In the same 1544 letter to Bullinger in which he had praised the the Vaudois generally, he wrote that: 'It is now three years bypast since they were so far advanced as to have presented to the Parliament of Aix a confession of faith, pure and simple as we could have set it forth ourselves'.¹⁶⁰ He felt that they had become full members of the Reformed community: 'In one little town they have thoroughly cleansed the parish church from all its defilements, and there they celebrate the Supper and Baptism in the same manner we do'.¹⁶¹

Audisio's comment that the shorter confession 'was edited by the Genevan

¹⁵⁸ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, p. 258.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Calvin to Bullinger, 25 November, 1544. In Bonnet (ed), *Letters of John Calvin*. Vol. 1 p. 431.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 432.

printer Jean Crespin in 1565' does not make reference to the longer versions found in the editions of the *Histoire Memorable*.¹⁶² In turn, Cameron argues that Lentolo 'only diverged from the Latin original (ie. as found in the 1560 Latin edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*) when he inserted an exposition of the Ten Commandments...', but this could also be explained if Lentolo used the intact text of the earlier *Histoire Memorable*, which contained such an exposition.¹⁶³ The relationship between these confessions remains unknown and may not, in the end, display a direct evolution towards or away from any one position. Different groups- who may have disagreed or not communicated- could have been responsible for each different statement, and so no line can conclusively be drawn between them to illustrate the intentions of the group as a whole. It is safer to use the Vaudois confessions in Crespin to explain his concerns and attitudes, rather than theirs.

Other Documents

The *Histoire Memorable* ends with a letter quoted at length, from King Henri II, calling members of the Provençal Parlement to be held to account by the Parlement of Paris, denouncing what he had heard of the massacre as being: 'contre tout droit & ration.'¹⁶⁴ The ensuing trial, of members of the Parlement of Provence by the Parlement of Paris, was an unprecedented attack on a Parlement's privileges, and was also a denunciation of d'Oppede's actions, providing some hope to the survivors that Royal authority might be on their side after all.¹⁶⁵ Crespin tells us that: 'Par ces lettres chacun cognoistre, que le Roy à desadnoue le faict de ces

¹⁶² Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, p. 258.

¹⁶³ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 231.

¹⁶⁴ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*...1555, p. 122. (Against all right and reason).

¹⁶⁵ Monter, p. 120.

tyrans, comme exploité au dessus & grande regret de feu son père François'.¹⁶⁶ What Crespin did not include, but which his readers might have known in 1555, was that the trial ended in 1553 with d'Oppede's acquittal.¹⁶⁷

From the 1564 edition of the *Livre des Martyrs* onwards, this royal response is treated differently. A paragraph of only a few lines mentions Henri's 1549 intervention. Crespin himself expresses the hope that the King will do justice for the great cruelty practiced, but Henri's letter, which in earlier editions had seemed to promise exactly that, has been moved.¹⁶⁸ In its place is a terse paragraph, telling us that the outcome of the King's interest in the matter shall be dealt with later. Indeed, at the beginning of Book Three of the 1570 edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*, outside of the section devoted to Mérindol and Cabrières, the King's letter is the first document to be presented after the introduction of his accession.¹⁶⁹ It had been moved from the story of the Vaudois, to which it provided a conclusion, to the wider story of France, where it is used to introduce the new King. There are practical reasons for this change to have been made, for it places Henri's letter within the chronology of the late 1540s rather than placing it in 1545 along with the rest of the section on Mérindol and Cabrières. As in the *Histoire Memorable*, it is reproduced apparently in full. Henri's letter is followed by a short expressing disappointment with the outcome of the trial: 'On eust dit, que grand & notable jugemens se devoyent faire après tels & si longs plaidoyez: mais d'une haute montagne il n'en sortit en la fin qu'une petite fumée de vapeurs.'¹⁷⁰ This paragraph is slightly longer,

¹⁶⁶ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*... 1555, p. 134. (By these letters each one understood, that the King would unravel the deeds of these tyrants, as exploited to the annoyance & great regret of his late father François).

¹⁶⁷ Monter, p. 122.

¹⁶⁸ Crespin, 1570, p. 131 recto.

¹⁶⁹ Crespin, 1570, p. 175 verso.

¹⁷⁰ Crespin, 1570, p. 176 recto (One said, that great & notable judgements must be made after such, and so lengthy, pleading: but of a high mountain it did not emerge in the end, but a little puff of smoke).

and entirely different in its details to the earlier versions: we finally learn that despite a lengthy trial, President Menier ‘eschappes finalement la main des hommes: mais non pas celle de Dieu’.¹⁷¹

From the 1555 *Histoire Memorable* onwards, Crespin included in his notices of the Provencal massacres a document which purports to be a record of a meeting of Vaudois elders who survived the assault. This section appears immediately after the narration of the massacre itself. In the nine-quarto-page (nearly three folio pages in 1565), the four elders quoted strike a consolatory tone, reassuring each other and making the case for carrying on in the face of terrible opposition, providing a sort of conclusion to the episode. In the course of this, they restate their unwavering belief in the basic creeds of the Christian faith, and the importance of fidelity to them: ‘La plus grande & principale crainte qui nous doit esmouvoir, c’est que par tourmens & par infirmitié nous ne desailions en la confession de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ & de son saint Evangile.’¹⁷² The strongest emphasis is on remaining true to their beliefs, even to the extremity of death- for what good is it to gain the world if you should lose your soul?- and to that end they pray repeatedly for divine aid.¹⁷³ But the overwhelming idea expressed is that they should be obedient to God’s will, no matter how hard, for everything that happens is God’s will: ‘Le Seigneur... ne permittra point qu’un seul cheveu de nostre teste tombe en terre sans sa volonte.’¹⁷⁴ The mood is one of resignation and determination; one in which comparison to the suffering of the Israelites is made.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the idea of themselves as a group being tested by God underlies the entire argument for

¹⁷¹ Crespin, 1570, p. 176 recto. (Escaped in the end the hand of men, but not that of God).

¹⁷² Crespin, 1565, p. 215. (The principal and greatest fear that moves us, is that by torments and by infirmity, we do not waver in the confession of our Lord Jesus Christ & his holy Gospel).

¹⁷³ Ibid, p. 216.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. (The Lord does not permit a single hair of our head to fall on the ground without his will).

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 217.

perseverance, as they reassure themselves that: ‘le Seigneur donnera bonne issue à toute ceste persecution.’¹⁷⁶ One of the few direct biblical references made in this section is to the Book of Judith (a book regarded as uncanonical by the Reformed Church); the lesson drawn, that: ‘il est dit que tous fidèles qui ont pleu à Dieu, sont ainsi passez par plusieurs tribulations’, is a notably passive selection from a book whose most famous episode was the assassination of Holofernes.¹⁷⁷

Another coda to the affair was the acquittal of d’Oppede and the other officers of the Parlement, information that though occurring in 1553, first appeared in the 1564 edition, and was retained in 1570. It is in these editions that Crespin moved the letter by Henri II away from the rest of the Vaudois section, with the effect that the history of Mérindol and Cabrières ends with an appeal to divine justice, not a promise of royal justice. That promise, and the failure of the resulting trial to convict D’Oppede, are reserved for a separate *Récit d’Histoire*. Crespin added to the King’s letter a paragraph saying that d’Oppede had: ‘eschappa finalement la main des homme: mais non pas celle de Dieu’, while the advocate Guerin was hanged in Paris.¹⁷⁸ His death of a painful illness, like that of the earlier tormenter Jean De Roma, is outlined as God’s final judgement upon him (Crespin notes in the margin, again, that ‘Menier eschappe des hommes, tombe es mains de Dieu’).¹⁷⁹

Crespin was cautious about assigning blame for the massacres, choosing to emphasise the resistance to persecution that existed in several institutions. Like any of his martyrs, it was important that the Vaudois appear to have been loyal subjects, as any trace of sedition would have justified the action against them. To that end, the

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 216. (The Lord will give good issue to all of this persecution).

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. (It is said that all the faithful who have pled to God, are thus passed through many tribulations).

¹⁷⁸ Crespin, 1570, p.. 176 recto- verso. (Escaped the hands of man, but not of God).

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 176 verso.

emphasis can be seen to be on the good relations between the monarchy and the Vaudois, in contrast to the aggression of the local authorities. The persecutors, who were primarily associated with the Catholic Church (the leaders of the 1545 expedition included Antoine Trivulee, a Papal vice-legate; President d'Oppede was made a Compté Palatin the year after the massacres) were forced to subvert almost every established civil power in order to enforce the edict and march on the towns.¹⁸⁰ The local seigneurs, and indeed some members of the Parlement, stood on custom and their established rights to oppose passage of the edict, concerned with constitutional limits, with rents, and with property values.¹⁸¹ While they did not seem to be receptive to Vaudois doctrine, neither did they accept the sweeping claims made by the bishops. The Crown, by contrast, emerges as a potential fount of justice, a power to which appeal may be made, and the references to Vladislaus of Hungary show the desire, and perhaps expectation among the Vaudois for such royal benevolence. The King did grant letters of pardon, halting the persecution for the time being, and took serious action against the abuses of the Inquisitor de Roma.¹⁸² His actions are presented as being in favour of keeping the peace, and of moderation, even if they were frequently undermined by his own officials (a clerk's greed rendered a royal grant of tolerance useless in the 1540s).¹⁸³ This is despite the fact that François I^{er} approved the actions of the Parlement of Aix in their early stages, and approved them after the fact on 18 August, 1545.¹⁸⁴ He does not seem to have immediately regretted the decision, either- it was not until 1547, with a new monarch in Paris, that any reconsideration of the events in Provence was taken, and

¹⁸⁰ Daniela Boccassini, 'Le massacre des Vaudois de Provence', in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 82 (1991), p. 257.

¹⁸¹ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* 1555, p. 5.

¹⁸² Ibid. p. 41. Fredric Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1995), p. 144.

¹⁸³ Crespin 1570, p. 120 recto.

¹⁸⁴ Boccassini, p. 260.

it was 1551 before these had any concrete results.¹⁸⁵ Despite this, Crespin took care not to place either the Vaudois or his work in opposition to the King. The unusual, military, actions of the Parlement had caused him many problems of format and content; not the least of them was the question of whether the Vaudois had invited military force against themselves with their own actions in 1540.¹⁸⁶

The *Livre des Martyrs* presents a rather triumphalist view of the interactions between the Vaudois and the Reformed Church. In the sections on Mérindol and Cabrières, the Vaudois have not only joined the Reformed congregation, but doing so has stripped them of their past mistakes. Certainly, Crespin's later discussions of the Vaudois, in Piedmont and elsewhere, treat them far more as part of the Reformed Church. With Vaudois history and identity having been introduced in the section on Mérindol and Cabrières, and his subjects tending to be individuals more in touch with Genevan teaching, Crespin had little that was Vaudois in content with which to contend. In some cases it is only through his introduction or titling that we know that an individual has any Vaudois links at all, and in other cases we have to rely on outside sources for that information.

Aside from the questions of doctrine and obedience, which Crespin eventually answered to his satisfaction, the accounts of the massacres at Mérindol and Cabrières were marked by the careful use of format to bring a mass execution into a genre usually marked by solitary examples. In its final form, the account included an accusation, a trial of sorts, a confession of faith, official condemnation, terrible cruelty and suffering, and concluded with the taking of both quiet solace and providential justice. Unlike some of the other unusual entries in the *Livre des Martyrs*, such as the unnamed martyrs taken from Oecolampadius, Crespin was able

¹⁸⁵ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable...* 1555, p. 261. Crespin, 1570, 174 verso.

¹⁸⁶ Venard, p. 316.

to fit the Vaudois into his martyrology without recourse to new formats such as the *Recit d'Histoire*.

The Vaudois martyrs

While the discussion of the attack on Mérindol and Cabrières was the only mention of the Vaudois in the first edition of the *Livre des Martyrs* (the *Histoire Memorable*, of course, was concerned only with those events), later editions featured individual martyrs associated with the sect. These are largely able to follow the format of Crespin's more usual martyrdoms; the only thing that separates these notices from any other is the background of the subject. As Crespin played down the doctrinal differences between the Vaudois and Geneva, it is difficult to find much in the accounts themselves that proclaims a martyr to be Vaudois.

The earliest of these individual Vaudois martyrdoms to be added to the *Livre des Martyrs* was that of Martin Gonin. Gonin occupies an important place in the historiography of Vaudois union with the Reformed Church, as he is believed to have been an envoy to Farel in the 1520s.¹⁸⁷ He was certainly a contact of Farel in 1536, and apparently an instructor of the Provençal Vaudois.¹⁸⁸ Though Euan Cameron urges caution with the identification of the messenger of this name with the martyr of the 1530s, it is clear that Gonin was one of the principal figures linking the two groups.¹⁸⁹ As a visitor to Geneva and a correspondent with figures like Farel, Gonin would have been an easy choice for Crespin to include, representing a middle ground where Vaudois and Reformed could meet, and a figure on whom it would have been easier to gather information. He was intercepted returning from Geneva, to ask Farel: 'de vouloir prendre la charge de reformer leurs Églises, tant celles qui estoient au pays de Daulphine, Provence & Piedmont, que

¹⁸⁷ Cameron *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 132.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 184.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 183.

celles de la Pouille & Calabre.’¹⁹⁰ On their return, he and his companion were arrested, and taken to Grenoble, where the letters they were carrying betrayed them; Gonin was strangled and his body consigned to the river.

Gonin first appeared in the 1555 edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*, at the very back of the first book- only a single paragraph devoted to Estienne Brun follows him. In being so placed, his 1536 martyrdom breaks the rough chronology of the book, following as it does a series of accounts which run to 1552.¹⁹¹ This, then, suggests a late addition. 1555 was the year in which the longer, stand-alone *Histoire Memorable* was published, and it is possible that it was in the process of producing that work that Martin Gonin’s case was discovered, although a great many additions were made at that stage, so this must remain supposition. The version of his martyrdom that appears in 1555 is almost identical to the one that would appear in 1564 and 1570. It is a relatively short piece, and spends little time on theology or doctrine. Gonin insists that he is not a Lutheran, for: ‘Luther n’est point mort pour moy ains Jesus Christ, duquel je porte le nom.’¹⁹² The interrogators decry Farel and Viret as: ‘les plus grands Lutheriens du monde’, and again Gonin is prepared to deny the term, insisting that the two are ‘vrais serviteur de Dieu’.¹⁹³ He decries the Pope as Antichrist, and the Catholic Church as ‘l’Église des malins’, using apocalyptic language, and offers to defend his stances if given a Bible from which to work.¹⁹⁴ He rests his faith on the Creeds, and insists that if he is a heretic, then so too must be the Apostles, Saints, and even Christ.¹⁹⁵ As in so many other interrogations, Gonin’s reaches a peak when he is questioned on the subject of the

¹⁹⁰ Crespin, 1565, pp. 138-9. (Would he take charge of reforming their churches: those in Dauphinie, Provence, & Piedmont, as well as those in Puglia and Calabria).

¹⁹¹ Crespin, 1555, Vol. I, pp. 394-400.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 395. (Luther did not die for me, but Jesus Christ, whose name I wear).

¹⁹³ Ibid. (The biggest Lutherans in the world...true servants of God).

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 396. (The Church of the evil).

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

Mass, which he vehemently denies the value of, for it repeats Christ's sacrifice, when once was enough to save all souls.¹⁹⁶ It is finally decided that 'puis qu'il n'est point de France, il seroit bon de le jetter de nuict dedans la riviere, de peur que le monde ne l'oye parler: car il parle bien.'¹⁹⁷ Gonin's death is recounted in relatively great detail, taking roughly a third of the length of his account.

The one area of change made from this to later editions is in the introductory paragraph, which introduces the Vaudois people to the reader, and explains the nature of Gonin's mission to Geneva. In 1555, Gonin is introduced as being:

natif d'une petite vallée en Piedmond, nommée Angruene, ou ceux du lieu ont presque de tout temps eu cognoissance des abus & traditions humaines, vint à ester Ministre de ceux qu'on appelloit Vaudois. Et pource que les Vaudois (quelque gens de bien qu'ils fussent, & bien affectionnez a la parole de Dieu) cognurent par la clarté de l'Evangile, qui commençoit a luire, que leurs Églises estoyent mal reiglées en beaucoup de choses, & comme enrouillées par l'ignorance & tenebres du temps precedent, ils envoyerent ledict Martin... de vouloir prendre la charge de reformer toutes leurs Églises, tant celles qui estoyent pardeca en Daulphenie, Provence & Piedmond, que celles de la Pouille & Calabre.¹⁹⁸

In 1564, and the succeeding 1570 edition, which follows it in all respects, Crespin introduces Gonin with the sub-headline: 'Ceste histoire nous monstrar comment ceux de la vallee d'Angronne, par longue succession, & comme de pere en

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 397.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 398. (As he is not of France, it would be best to throw him by night into the river, from fear that the world would hear him speaking, for he spoke well).

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 394. (Native of a small valley in Piedmont, called Angruene (Angrogna), where those of the place nearly always had knowledge of abuses and human traditions, came to be minister of those who were called Vaudois. And because that the Vaudois (some men of means they were, and very affectionate to the word of God) understood by the clarity of the Gospel, which they began to read, that their Churches were badly ruled in many things, & rusted by the ignorance and darkness of the earlier times, they sent the said Martin... would he take charge of reforming their churches, those in Dauphinié, Provence, & Piedmont, as well as those in Puglia and Calabria).

filz ont suyvy quelque purite de doctrine... a appelé Wauldois.¹⁹⁹ He then moves on to a much broader discussion of the Piedmontese valleys, a traditional home of Vaudois belief, and a landscape which would feature in many future accounts:

Il nous faut savoir qu'il y a une certain vallée au Piedmont pres du mont Vesulus, de cinq a six lieues d'est estendue ou environ, laquelle emprunte son nom de la ville de Luzerne, appelée pour ceste raison Vauluzerne. Icelle contient en soy une autre petite vallée que lon nommée d'Angronne, a cause d'un petit fleuve de ce nom qui passé par icelle. Il y a encore deux autres vallees contigues aux precedents, assavoir celle de Peruse, qui ainsi se nomme pour la ville de mesme nom: l'autre est la vallee de Saint-Martin. Plusiers villetes & villages sont esdites vallees. Les habitans, sont profession de l'Evangile, & presque de tout temps ont eu en horreur les abus & traditions du siege Romain. Ceux qui ont frequente lesdites vallées, estiment que le nombre des habitans peut bien estre presque de 8000 personnes. M. Martin Gonin, homme craignant Dieu, estoit en ce temps Ministre en ladite vallee d'Angronne: les habitans de laquelle, ayans entendu que plusieurs villes aux pays d'Alemagne, Suisse & Savoye avoyent depuis quelque temps prins la vraye doctrine & reformation de l'Evangile, delibererent a la facon d'icelles reformer leurs églises. Car estans fort affectionnez a la parole de Dieu, avoyent de long temps eu ce desir : & cognoissoyent assez que leurs dites églises estoyent mal réglées en plusieurs choses, & comme enroutées par l'ignorance & les tenebres du temps precedent.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Crespin, 1565, p. 138. (This history shows how those of the Angrogna valley, by long succession, and as from father to son had followed some purity of doctrine... called Vaudois).

²⁰⁰ Ibid. (We need to know that there is a certain valley in Piedmont near Mount Vesulus, covering five or six leagues east or thereabouts, which has taken its name from the city of Lucerne, called for that reason Val-Lucerne. This contains in itself another small valley which was called that of Angrogna, because of a small stream of that name which passed by it. There are also two other valleys adjoining the first; know that of Peruse, which thus was named for the town of the same name: the other is the valley of St. Martin. Many settlements and villages are in the said valleys. The locals, having profession of the Gospel, & had nearly always have held in horror the abuses & traditions of the Roman seat. Those who frequent these valleys estimate that the number of habitans may well be nearly 8000 people. M. Martin Gonin, a God-fearing man, was in these times the Minister in the said valley of Angrogna: the locals of which, having heard that many cities in the lands of Germany, Switzerland, and Savoy had for some time held the true doctrine & reformation of

As in the discussion of Mérindol and Cabrières, the martyrology stresses the flaws of the pre-Reform Vaudois. Some of this background, specifically the description of the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, has been taken from Lentolo's *Narratio*, an account often critical of the Vaudois, and which itself uses Crespin's earlier iterations as a source for other matters.²⁰¹ These passages introducing the Piedmontese Vaudois also serve to attune the reader to some signifiers of Vaudois identity: references to the Angrogne valley, as in the case of Geoffroy Varagle, become marks of membership. In more senses than one, Gonin acts as a visible link between Reformed and Vaudois.

In the 1570 edition, the *Arguments des 8 Livres*, which acts as a table of contents, introduces Gonin thus: 'Ceux aussi de val d'Angronne, qui de long temps, & comme de pere en fils avoyent suivi quelque purete de doctrine, se sentirent de ladicte dispersion', which ties his fate more closely to that of his co-religionists than the actual description of his martyrdom ever does.²⁰² Indeed, aside from the introductions quoted above, the account focuses entirely on Gonin, rather than the wider community, but Crespin uses the introductory passages to emphasise his links to the Vaudois. Gonin is thus the first identified individual to be featured outside the self-contained section on Mérindol and Cabrières, and the first one to be tested against Crespin's criteria for martyrhood. When, in the compendium editions, he was placed with other martyrs of the 1530s, Gonin was used as a sort of introduction to the Vaudois, establishing their place in the history of the Reformed movement,

the Gospel, decided, in their fashion, to reform their churches. Thus being strongly fond of the word of God, having long desired to have it: & aware enough that their churches were badly ruled in many thing, & rusted by ignorance & the darkness of earlier times...).

²⁰¹ Gilmont, *Aux origins de l'historiographie...*, p. 197. Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 2.

²⁰² Crespin, 1570, sig. a [viii verso]. (Those also of the val d'Angrogne, who for a long time, & as of from father to son, had followed some purity of doctrine, found themselves of said dispersion).

and their willingness to suffer martyrdom.

From the life and death of Martin Gonin, Crespin moved on to that of Estienne Brun, who first appeared in the second, 1555, edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*. The two accounts were placed together in the final pages of that version, seemingly as late additions. Brun's entry in 1555 is less than an octavo page long, and makes no mention of Brun being of Vaudois origin, though perhaps hints at it: his origins are: 'au diocese d'Aumbrun en Daulphine', an area with some well-known Vaudois connections.²⁰³ He was taken prisoner 'pour la parole de Dieu', and died with 'telle constance, que les ennemis de la vérité firent crier a son de trompe, que personne n'eust a parler de la mort d'Estienne Brun, sur peine d'estre repute heretique & brusle comme luy.'²⁰⁴ This is a straightforward account, and only circumstantial things, such as Brun's placement next to Gonin, and his links to the Dauphinie, give us any Vaudois connection at all. Later scholars, however, have been unanimous in labelling Brun a member of the group.²⁰⁵ In the 1564 edition, Brun's story takes up one page in folio, and is provided with a brief sub-headline telling the reader that they might: 'assavoir les dons & graces que Dieu donne a gens ruraux, sans observer les moyens humains'; Brun 'is the first after' Jean Cornon, another rustic martyr with surprising depths of knowledge, who is the 'patron and mirror of the men of the fields'.²⁰⁶ Cornon seems to be a version of the German type, *Karsthans*, the eloquent and disputatious peasant who can best the Church sophists on their own terms.²⁰⁷ Now given a date, of 1540, this version stresses

²⁰³ Crespín, 1555, Vol.I, p. 400.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. (For the word of God... such constancy, that the enemies of the truth did cry to the sound of a trumpet, that people must not talk of the death of Estienne Brun, on pain of being declared a heretic and burned like him).

²⁰⁵ Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 145.

²⁰⁶ Crespín, 1565, p. 154. (Know the gifts and graces that God gives to rural people, without observing human methods).

²⁰⁷ Scribner, Robert, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400- 1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 245.

Brun's rural life, and his ability to 'surmonte toutes les astucees & finesses des plus grans du Dauphine.'²⁰⁸ Though triumphing in French debate, he is tricked into signing an abjuration in Latin, which he cannot read. As in the earlier version, Brun harangues his interrogators and judges, insisting that they are condemning him not to death but to eternal life; the judges ban the people from discussing his case (thus the headline to the notice).²⁰⁹ 1564's other addition to this narrative is a strong wind that keeps Brun's pyre from being lit, though this is never explicitly attributed to an act of God.²¹⁰ The 1570 iteration of Brun's story follows 1564's, aside from the sub-headline. Reading in 1564 : 'qui est donne pour patron & miroir aux laboureurs de la terre', the word 'patron' does not appear in 1570's version; perhaps giving Brun status as something more than an exemplar.²¹¹

Jeann Vernou had been one of the first Genevan-trained pastors sent to the alpine Vaudois, and had reported back to Geneva about the religious situation there.²¹² Vernou was introduced in the 1556 *Troisieme Partie*, as one of five martyrs executed at Chambéry, capital of Savoy in October of 1555. The section consisted of letters written jointly and individually, taking up more than one hundred and ten pages. The section describes Geneva's role in spreading reform: 'la ville de Geneve, y ayant ia entretenu les siens l'espace de plus de vingt ans, il en a fait sortir, comme de son parc, plusieurs vaillans champions, pour manifester aux hommes sa vérité.'²¹³ He includes in that number Vernou, and his four companions, Antoine Laborie, Jean Trigalet, Guyraud Tauran and Bertrand Bataille.²¹⁴ The account is

²⁰⁸ Crespin, 1565, p. 154. (Surmount all the craft and finesse of the grandest of Dauphiné).

²⁰⁹ Ibid, pp 154-5.

²¹⁰ Ibid, p. 155.

²¹¹ Ibid, p. 154. Crespin, 1570, p. 94 verso (Given to be patron and mirror for labourers of the earth).

²¹² Robert Kingdon, *Geneva and the coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555- 1563*, (Geneva, 1956), p. 56.

²¹³ Crespin, 1556, p. 142. (The city of Geneva, having now maintained its own space for more than twenty years, did send as though from their park many valiant champions, to show to men the truth).

²¹⁴ Ibid.

briefly introduced—the five were *en route* from Geneva when they were arrested crossing through Savoy. They were interrogated, and eventually tried, where their deportment and constancy were admired.²¹⁵ The rest of the notice was made of trial documents and letters both individual and collective. Vernou's letters are addressed to several recipients, including his cousin, his sister, a certain 'Sieur de B.', and the Ministers of Geneva; one of the communal letters was addressed to Calvin himself.²¹⁶ These personal letters centre around themes of consolation, and reinforcement of faith. The letter to the Ministers subtly discusses martyrological themes of testimony and battles against Satan before engaging in some description of the trial, where Vernou seems to have done everything in his power to confound the Catholic sensibilities of his judges.²¹⁷ He denounced a crucifix as an Image, the Pope as Antichrist and the mass as idolatry.²¹⁸

The focus is entirely on the events of their captivity in Chambery; little is written about their mission or their past experiences. Vernou's first letter does include a brief narrative of the arrest of his group, but that adds nothing to what had already been included in the introduction.²¹⁹ In 1564, the section was reorganised slightly, with the letters of each martyr being brought closer together, though not perfectly. The content of the section, however, remained largely the same. In 1570, the five were given extra prominence by their inclusion as the first notice in book five, beneath an enormous wood-cut border. The content of the passage was again unchanged. This means that although the reader of the *Livre des Martyrs* received a

²¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 143-4.

²¹⁶ Crespin, 1565, p. 643. Many of the letters can be found in *Calvin Opera Omnia* XV. Eg. Cols 689-91, 707-9, 805-9.

²¹⁷ Crespin, 1556, pp 195-6.

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 198.

²¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 144-5. Crespin, 1565, p. 625.

full account of the trial and execution of these five men, they were deprived of some of Vernou's other correspondence to Geneva, on the subject of the Vaudois.²²⁰

In a 1555 letter to Calvin, only a few months before his capture, Vernou had described his hard voyage into the mountain valleys of Fenestella and Angrogne to make contact with the Vaudois (a term he never used). Although they seemed receptive to his message, he seemed concerned by their insistence on public preaching, rather than secret worship.²²¹ Although only tangentially touching on their faith, this letter gives good account of the alpine Vaudois. Given that other letters which Vernou had sent to Calvin, and Geneva appeared in the *Livre des Martyrs*, it seems possible that this one was excluded as it did not directly illuminate the discussion of Vernou's trial and execution. This omission, whatever its reason, downplays the links between the Vaudois and a major cluster of entirely orthodox Genevan martyrs, and so has the effect of isolating the Vaudois from the Reformed mainstream.

Another Vaudois martyr to appear in several editions was Barthelemy Hector, who died at Turin (then the seat of a French Parlement), in 1556, arrested while smuggling Genevan books into the Alpine valleys. He first appeared in the 1563 *Cinquieme Partie*, and was included in the two compendium editions that followed without significant change.²²² Gilmont has suggested that this account was taken from the official records of the Turin administration.²²³ The records reproduced do not make specific mention of the Vaudois; Crespin introduces the section by noting that when they refer to the residents of the Angrogne valley, they

²²⁰ Kingdon, p. 70.

²²¹ CO, XV, col. 576; Kingdon, p. 56.

²²² Crespin, 1563, pp. 12A-30A.

²²³ Gilmont, *Aux origins de l'historiographie...*, p. 197.

mean Vaudois.²²⁴ The trial records themselves as reproduced in Crespin do provide corroboration for this, when Hector confirms that alongside the minister M. Estienne, worked an elected minister known as Barbe Paul; Crespin notes in the margin that: ‘Au Piedmont les ministres sont nommez Barbes c’est a dite Oncles, ou aagez.’²²⁵ Hector’s account thus gives us a view into the period when Genevan-trained ministers, such as M. Estienne, were replacing the old Vaudois order which Barbe Paul represented. As a *colporteur*, Hector had been smuggling Protestant works to the Vaudois valleys, and Crespin names some of them: Bibles, Calvin’s *Institutes*, collections of Psalms, an *Instructions pour les petits enfants*, and several others, which are not named.²²⁶ This gives some sense of the sort of effort to make the Vaudois into better Protestants that must still have been ongoing during the 1550s, and perhaps Crespin’s own involvement with both Hector and that wider movement. By 1556, Crespin had printed several Bibles, several books of psalms, and Fabri’s *Familiere instruction des petis enfans*. He had also printed many editions of Calvin, but not an *Institutes*.²²⁷ Given the competition and overlap between Genevan printers during the period, there is no way to be sure that it was Crespin’s books which Hector was selling in the valleys, or even to know if the two men would have been known to each other. However, the Genevan network of booksellers, publishers and printers was not that large in the 1550s. If there was any personal contact between martyrologist and martyr, Crespin did not make use of it: Hector’s account seems to be entirely taken from the Parlement’s records. The account of Hector’s arrest and death remained basically unchanged through 1570.

²²⁴ Crespin, 1563, p. 12A.

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 16A. (In Piedmont the ministers are named ‘Barbes’, that is to say ‘Uncles’, or elders).

²²⁶ Ibid, p. 15A.

²²⁷ Gilmont, *Jean Crespin : Un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle*, (Geneva : Droz, 1981), pp. 246-248.

Another Piedmontese martyr who first appeared in the *Cinquieme Partie* was Geoffroy Varagle. He was executed in Turin in late 1557, having been arrested in the town of 'Busque' (now Busca), Piedmont, on his return from a preaching tour of the Angrogne valley. As such, he represents a record of the Reformed mission to the Vaudois which was slowly supplanting the *barbes*. There is no specific mention of the Vaudois in this account, instead, Crespin uses the formula that Varagle was chosen by Calvin and other Genevan minister to preach to *ceux d'Angrogne*. He did this alongside a M. Noel, the Estienne Noel who wrote his own history of the Vaudois.²²⁸ Crespin claims that some of the information that we possess about Varagle's interrogation comes from the records of the Parlement of Turin, including the description of his execution.²²⁹ Crespin also includes a letter written to Varagle by Jean Calvin, which stresses to the condemned man the good his death will do to the cause, though we do not know if its source is the Parlement's records, or the archives of Calvin himself.²³⁰ Like most martyrs in Crespin, Varagle's account in the *Livre des Martyrs* is primarily comprised of his confession of faith, which is Reformed in every respect. A monk converted to a Reformed minister, Varagle's answers are relatively sophisticated, and aggressively attack the ideas of purgatory, the treasury of merit, and transubstantiation.²³¹ Varagle's denunciation of images contains a line of attack unique to Crespin, arguing that they had been rejected from Christian worship until their implementation around the year 800 by Theodora Irena (the Byzantine Empress had indeed endorsed the veneration of icons at the end of the iconoclastic struggle in or around 843), and were thus to be eliminated by any

²²⁸ Crespin, 1563, p. 402. Gilmont, *Aux origins de l'historiographie...*, 187.

²²⁹ Crespin, 1563, p. 423.

²³⁰ Ibid, pp. 413-415.

²³¹ Ibid, p. 398, pp. 402-411.

return to the forms of the Apostolic Church.²³² Varagle also presents to us a few tantalising pieces of information: amongst the books which he had contact with in the Angrogne valley were the *Alcoranum Franciscanorum*, (presumably Erasmus Alber's *Alcoranus Franciscanus*, an attack on the cult of St Francis), *De fatti de veri successori de Jesus Christo & des Apostati* and the *Unio Hermanni Bodi*.²³³ The account of Varagle's burning also contains the ancient trope wherein a white dove flew up from the smoke as his body was burned, though Crespin, always wary of a miracle, claimed to have reservations on this point.²³⁴

Jean-Louis Pascal

Crespin illustrated the persecution of the Vaudois of Apulia and Calabria through the individual martyrdom of the Genevan minister Jean-Louis Pascal (Gianluigi Paschale), rather than through a *Récit d'histoire*. This is another of Crespin's synecdoches, giving the reader the history of the Calabrian Vaudois within the scope of a single martyrdom tale. Crespin had referred in the introduction to the section on Mérindol and Cabrières to a Vaudois presence in Italy, which seems to have migrated to there from Piedmont and Provence at the same time as the movement into Provence, in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.²³⁵ They had by the sixteenth century established a strong community there, confident enough, at least, to be able to preach semi-publicly.²³⁶

As with Barthelemy Hector, and the battles in Piedmont, Pascal first appeared in 1563's *Cinquieme partie*. His account takes up 80 quarto pages in that

²³² Ibid, p. 407.

²³³ Ibid, p. 421.

²³⁴ Ibid, p. 423.

²³⁵ 1554, p. 657. See Martin Gonin: 1555, p. 394, Audisio *Les Vaudois*, p. 272.

²³⁶ Audisio, *Vaudois*, p. 272.

edition, later 21 folio pages in 1564.²³⁷ Gilmont estimates that the notice, which is mainly correspondence from Pascal himself, amounts to 22, 000 words in each edition.²³⁸ Crespin claims at the outset of the 1565 edition that this is the story of more than just one man: ‘La persecution au pays de Calabre, & autres villes du royaume de Naples... Jean Louys Pascal, Piedmontais’, though in practice this is a single martyrdom as personal as any other.²³⁹ The sub-headline describes him as a minister bringing the Word to the faithful of Calabria, when he fell into the hands of the Pope. In the *Cinquieme Partie*, the sub-headline strikes an apocalyptic note: ‘Et ainsi en ces derniers temps toutes les forces des grandes de ce monde sont deployees pour empescher le cours & prediction de l’Evangile.’²⁴⁰ This was not repeated in the later editions. Instead, 1564’s sub-headline emphasises instead that he died in Rome: ‘devant les premiers & prinicpaux ennemis de la verité du Seigneur.’²⁴¹

Crespin does not depict Pascal as having had any background in the Vaudois movement, though he is from the Vaudois heartland of Piedmont.²⁴² Instead, Pascal converted to Protestantism while serving as a soldier in Nice, and moved to Geneva to join the Italian Church there, which in turn elected him to serve as a minister in Calabria.²⁴³ His arrival to minister to the existing churches of Saint-Sixte and la Guardia, (which are to this day named San Sisto dei Valdesi, and Guardia Piemontese) immediately stirred up angry resentment in the area, causing locals to: ‘murmerent, les uns grincoyent les dents, les autres crioyent qu’il exterminer avec

²³⁷ 1563, pp 516-595 Crespin, 1565, pp. 969-991.

²³⁸ Gilmont, *Aux origins de l’historiographie...*, p. 198.

²³⁹ Crespin, 1565, p. 969. (The persecution of the land of Calabria, and other cities of the Kingdom of Naples).

²⁴⁰ Crespin, 1563, p. 516. (And thus in these latter times all the forces of the great of this world were deployed to inhibit the progress & preaching of the Gospel).

²⁴¹ Crespin, 1565, p. 969. (Before the leading and principal enemies of the truth of the Lord).

²⁴² Crespin, 1563, p. 517.

²⁴³ Crespin, 1565, pp. 969-970.

tous ses adherens ' and the local lord soon took Pascal into custody.²⁴⁴ As with Mérindol and Cabrières, it took the arrival of an emissary from Geneva to spur the Catholic reaction against the Vaudois, a sequence which underlined the compromises the Vaudois had taken in order to avoid persecution in centuries past.

The remaining pages of the account are made up of twelve of Pascal's letters to his fellow Protestants, in Italy and in Geneva, and to his wife, who had stayed in Geneva. A thirteenth is by his brother, Barthelemy, who relates the final events of Jean Louis' life. These letters are largely conventional epistles from prison, reassuring his former congregation, recounting his interrogations, and telling his friends and family of his readiness to suffer and to die for his faith. The main themes that arise from his clashes with his captors are the usual points of contention between Reformed and Catholic: the status of the Eucharist, the power of the Papacy, the existence of Purgatory, and the intercession of the Virgin and the Saints.²⁴⁵ There is very little in his letters to connect Jean Louis Pascal to any tradition other than the purely Genevan one, other than a single reference to his erstwhile congregation in Calabria. In this, sent to : 'mes tres-chers & honnerez frères de Sainct-Sixte & de la Guardia', Pascal warns them of the dangers of complacency, reminding them of 'vos frères de Piedmont & de Provence ont soustenu de combats pour la predication de l'Evangile, qui est le scepter de Iesus Christ, & quelle constance ils ont monstrée, demeurans liez & conjoints en une sainte union, quand Satan les assaillis pour les exterminer.'²⁴⁶ The 'vos' here is perhaps important; Pascal was not one of their number. Crespin added, in the

²⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 970. (Murmur, some grinding their teeth, others crying that he should be exterminated with all of his followers).

²⁴⁵ Eg. Crespin, 1563 p. 529.

²⁴⁶ Crespin, 1565, p. 982. (Your brothers in Piedmont and Provence have suffered battle for the preaching of the Gospel, which is the scepter of Jesus Christ, & what constancy they have shown, remaining linked & joined in a holy union, which Satan has assailed to exterminate them).

margin: ‘Il entend ceux de Mérindol & Cabrières, desquels l’histoire récite ci devant.’²⁴⁷ This is the only reference, by either Pascal or by Crespin, to the Calabrians having Vaudois connections. Pascal, for his part, is most insistent about his Genevan connections and education.²⁴⁸

His third appearance, in the 1570 edition adds some context about the Calabrians to whom Pascal was sent to minister, adding a few lines to the beginning of the description of Pascal: very basic information, telling the reader that Calabria is near to Sicily, and its inhabitants were subjects of the King of Spain. Their Vaudois background is only hinted at: ‘comme de long temps ils avoyent eu quelque cognoissance de la vraye Religion, aussi estoyent-ils menacez de persecutions.’²⁴⁹ That change aside, the 1570 edition is not greatly different- the narrative introduction to Pascal’s situation was subject to some minor deletions. In no edition does Crespin mention that the year after Pascal’s arrest and execution, his congregation at San Sisto and La Guardia were attacked and massacred by Neapolitan forces, information which could perhaps have made for a separate section of the martyrology if it had been received by Crespin.²⁵⁰

The Vaudois in Piedmont

Crespin’s account of the Vaudois of Piedmont first appeared in 1563’s *Cinquieme Partie*, and was included, with major alterations, in each of the editions of the *Livre des Martyrs* which followed. It was based upon three histories of the events which had been published early in the 1560s.²⁵¹ The principal one was a 1561 work called the *Histoire Memorable*, which Gilmont attributes to Etienne Noel, who

²⁴⁷ Ibid. (He meant those of Mérindol & Cabrières, of which the history is rehearsed above).

²⁴⁸ Crespin, 1565, p. 972.

²⁴⁹ Crespin, 1570, p. 544 verso. (As they had long had some knowledge of the true Religion, and had also been threatened by persecution).

²⁵⁰ Crespin, 1565, p. 870. Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, p. 273.

²⁵¹ Gilmont, *Historiographie* p. 198-99.

had personal experience in the alpine valleys. The second was the *Histoire des Persecutions* (1562) of Scipione Lentolo, who has traditionally also been the attributed author of the 1561 *Histoire Memorable*.²⁵² We do not know the third source, which is inferred from the presence of information not present in any known publication.²⁵³ Like the section on Mérindol and Cabrières, it was the story of an entire community, rather than a single martyr, though with a very different outcome. Where the Provençal account had wrestled with the confessions of faith and the question of Vaudois doctrine, the Piedmontese one raised questions about the use of force, and resistance to established authority. The pugnacious reputation of the alpine Vaudois concerned Calvin himself: in 1556 he had written about their willingness to use force to defend against Savoyard invasion.²⁵⁴ Crespin's challenge was to present their actions in a positive light, a task made easier both by their success, and the outbreak of war in France itself. Between Calvin's concerns and Crespin's publication, the debate had changed entirely.

In the *Cinquieme Partie*, along with the Piedmont-linked martyrs Hector, Pascal, and Varagle, Crespin included a narrative section titled *Touchant l'église des fidèles en Piedmont*, of slightly more than two quarto pages long, dealing with incursions launched by the Parlement of Turin against the Vaudois heartlands of Piedmont in 1555.²⁵⁵ He would reprint it in 1564, virtually unchanged aside from the headings. It began by identifying the residents of Angrogne, Lucerne, St. Martin, and other valleys from which: 'issus du peuple appelle Vaudois, (qui jadis s'estoit retire, a cause des persecutions, es deserts des hautes montagnes de Piedmont).'²⁵⁶

²⁵² Ibid, p. 182.

²⁵³ Ibid, p. 199.

²⁵⁴ CO XVI cols. 102-104.

²⁵⁵ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, pp. 92, 277.

²⁵⁶ Crespin, 1563, p. 30. (Came the Vaudois people, (who had once retired, due to persecution, to the deserts and high mountains of Piedmont)).

In 1564 Crespin changed it to include: ‘Les Povres paysans des valées de Piedmont ayans tout leur recours à Dieu, n’attendans aide d’ailleurs, ont experimete en leur grand besoin que le Seigneur est l’adresse des simples qui se sient en luy, & le protecteur de ses églises assemblées en son Nom; ennemi des ennemis d’icelles, comme il l’a esté de tout temps.’²⁵⁷ Crespin makes it clear that at the time they were attacked, these people were faithfully preaching the Gospel in ‘vraye purete & sincerite de doctrine.’²⁵⁸ Clearly, by this point, Crespin had few qualms about the status of the Vaudois in relation to the wider Protestant community.

In explaining his choices in this section, Crespin made reference to the fact that he was selecting incidents and events: ‘[c]hoses Memorable sont recitées en l’histoire des persecutions & guerres faites depuis l’an 1555, contre lesdits peuples qui meritent d’estre leues & entendues.’²⁵⁹ ‘Amongst others’ is an incident where the Minister of Angrogne had his nose slashed by a local man while preaching and was attacked by a wolf which ate his nose, in turn (‘Jugement de Dieu admirable & notable’, Crespin opines in the margin).²⁶⁰ This fantastic story is couched in terms of hear-say: ‘Ceci à esté cognu notoirement par tout le pays’²⁶¹.

Reminding us that the example of Barthelemy Hector shows us the lengths to which the Parlement of Turin would go to fight Protestantism, Crespin details the travels of two Commissioners of the Parlement into the valleys to question the inhabitants about their links to Protestantism. Though one simple farmer admits he has had his son baptized at Angrogne, because ‘le Baptesme y est administré selon

²⁵⁷ Crespin, 1565, p. 870. (The poor peasants of the valleys of Piedmont all had recourse to God, not seeking aid elsewhere, they have experienced in their great need that the Lord is the address of the simple who rest in him & protector of his churches, gathered in his name, enemy of their enemies, as he has always been).

²⁵⁸ Crespin, 1563, p. 31. (In true purity and sincerity of doctrine).

²⁵⁹ Ibid. (Memorable things are cited in the history of the persecutions and wars conducted since the year 1555 against such peoples as deserve to be raised and understood).

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid. (This is notoriously known by all the land).

l'ordonnance de Iesus Christ'.²⁶² He is saved from punishment when, in a providential example of, as Crespin noted in the margin: 'Dieu donne bouche aux povres idiots pour confondre les grands & sages de ce monde.'²⁶³ This farmer thereby gains the inspiration to challenge the judge's authority to enact summary judgement on him. Instead he argues that if the president of the court: 'escrit & signast de sa main comment il le dechargeoit d'un tel peche, & qu'il le prenoit sur luy & sur les siens' and astonishing the commissioner into freeing him.²⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the Parlement's Commission carries on its goal to : 'ce but que le peuple desdites vallees eust à se reduire a l'obeissance du Pape sur peine de confiscation de corps & de biens. Mais l'effect de ce constance sera par ordre cy apres monstre en la morte de certains Martyrs de ce peuple, executez pour le mesme cause.'²⁶⁵

In 1564, this mention of further martyrdoms is no longer there. Instead, the further efforts of the Commission are met with appeals to the Royal Court, and a year of delay during which the Vaudois of the area were able to live in peace, as 'la Messe pour lors cessa du tout en Angrogne & en beaucoup d'autres lieux', and preaching began to take place openly.²⁶⁶ Although the monks and priests kept plotting to bring the Parlement's repression back to the valleys : 'Dieu fait bien renverser les conseils & complots de ses ennemis. car la Messe pour lors cessa du tout en Angrongne & en beaucoup d'autres lieux.'²⁶⁷ Here, as in Mérindol and

²⁶² Ibid, p. 32. (Baptism is administered there as follows the rule of Jesus Christ).

²⁶³ Ibid. (God gave voice to poor idiots to confound the great and wise of the world).

²⁶⁴ Ibid. (Wrote and signed with his hand how he discharged such a sin, & that he took it on himself and on those close to him).

²⁶⁵ Ibid. (The goal that the people of the said valleys would be reduced to obedience to the Pope on pain of confiscation of persons and possessions. But the effect of this constancy would be by order hereafter demonstrated in the death of certain martyrs of the people executed for the same cause).

²⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 871. (The Mass then ceased in all of Angrogne and in many other places).

²⁶⁷ Crespin, 1565, p. 871. (God did well overthrow the councils and plots of his enemies. for the mass for that time ceased in Angrogna & in many other places).

Cabrières, the monarchy is only able to delay persecution, while divine providence is invoked to explain the successes of the Vaudois.

The same section was included in the 1570 edition of the *Livre des Martyrs* as well, and Crespin did not alter it greatly from what he had presented in 1564. The sub-headline has been changed to remove the word ‘povre’: we are now simply discussing the ‘paysans des vallees de Piedmont’, while Crespin has changed a closing description of the community from: ‘peuple Vaudois’ to ‘peuple surnomme Vaudois’, an example of the distinctive term Vaudois fading from emphasis in these later works.²⁶⁸ The tale of Jean Martin Trombau (now named) losing his nose to the wolf is presented in italics this time, perhaps furthering Crespin’s attempt to distance his book from a slightly outlandish tale, while still allowing it to be retained.²⁶⁹

Crespin continued the story of the Piedmontese Vaudois in the conclusion to the 1564 edition of the martyrology, suggesting by its placement that it may have been a late addition. Indeed, later in the conclusion Crespin mentions the latest of possible additions: the martyrdom of a certain Augustine Marlorat, who had been executed in February 1564.²⁷⁰ The Vaudois portion takes two paragraphs of the nearly two folio pages that make up the general conclusion. After a discussion of the themes of the book as a whole, Crespin moves onto the events of 1560-61 in Piedmont, which were ‘de fresche memoire.’²⁷¹ Crespin refers to the community as: ‘le povre peuple Vaudois de Lucerne et Boby.’²⁷² The bulk of the first of two paragraphs treating with the Vaudois in the conclusion centres on the unusual death of the labourer Odoul Gemets in the Lucerne Tower rather than the Savoyard

²⁶⁸ Crespin, 1570, p. 457 verso.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Crespin, 1565, p. 1085.

²⁷¹ Ibid. (Of fresh memory).

²⁷² Ibid. (The poor Vaudois people of Lucerne and Boby).

incursion into the valleys. Torn apart by beasts, Gemet's death is notable primarily for its savagery, rather than for any fortitude he himself showed, and Crespin includes a citation: 'Ces choses si barbares & inhumaines ont este revelées par aucuns des soldats mesmes: & depuis attestées par gens dignes de foy.'²⁷³

The second paragraph on the Vaudois briefly describes a crisis of faith amongst them because of the persecutions. They were: 'merveilleuse destresse', and 'ne leur estoit point preschée comme de coustume.'²⁷⁴ But the sacrifice of Gemet and others gave courage to them to 'recommencer les Sermons, mais secretment & sans bruit', in order to keep out of trouble with the Duke and with the soldiers until their emissaries returned from Vercell, at which point they intended to preach openly once more—an example of the Vaudois instinct to hide their faith under a bushel which was such a divide between them and the Genevans.²⁷⁵ The conclusion then moves on to other topics, and we hear no more of the Vaudois until the next edition of the *Livre des Martyrs*.

1570 saw Crespin expand upon these events in Piedmont, increasing what had been two paragraphs to five and a half folio pages. As he had in 1564, Crespin described the Vaudois as a Church and a community, rather than through the story of one exemplary martyr. It was a group which was becoming increasingly visible, and in conflict with the state of Savoy. By 1560 the Vaudois were receiving Reformed ministers trained in Geneva; they famously mounted armed resistance to a Savoyard expedition against them, and duly won concessions and rights in the Capitulation of Cavour.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Ibid. (These things, so barbarous & inhumane have been revealed by some of the same soldiers : & since attested by worthy men of faith).

²⁷⁴ Ibid. (Marvellously distressed... they have not preached as was usual).

²⁷⁵ Ibid. (Restart the sermons, but secretly and quietly).

²⁷⁶ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, p. 278.

The account of the fighting in Piedmont, and the Treaty of Cavour in the 1570 martyrology begins on page 573 *verso*, closely after Pascal's martyrdom, which ends on page 556 *verso*. Between the two was placed an account of the Conspiracy of Amboise. The juxtaposition of the Vaudois' struggle with Savoy, and the Protestant situation in France is suggestive of the questions about the use of resistance to authority then current, and presents an example of necessary and successful armed resistance to one's ruler.

Crespin's narrative begins by introducing the Capitulation: 'Un accord fut traite en ce temps, sur le faict de la Religion entre le Duc de Savoye & ceux des vallees de Piedmont appelez Vaudois: qui fut le V de Juin, MDLXI.'²⁷⁷ Crespin then goes on to relate the good state of relations between the Duke of Savoy and 'ceux des vallees de Piedmont appelez Vaudois'. Indeed, he had 'point de sujets plus fideles & obiesans, que ceux-la, quoy qu'ils suyvuissent autre religion que luy.'²⁷⁸ Eventually, Satan 'par rapports, ruses, & meschnees irriterent le Duc a l'encontre de ses propres sujets.'²⁷⁹ In practical terms, this meant that the Papal Legate 'employent par tous moyens de luy persuader, qu'il devoit exterminer tous ces Vaudois, qui ne tenoyent point la religion du Pape.'²⁸⁰ The Vaudois resist this gathering persecution by arguing before the Duke that they are being persecuted solely for the sake of their religion, a point which again carries with it the implication that this was unusual or unexpected, and which again clearly echoes the

²⁷⁷ Crespin, 1570, p. 573 *verso*. (An accord was made in these times, on the subject of religion between the Duke of Savoy and those of the valleys of Piedmont, called Vaudois, which was the V of June, 1561).

²⁷⁸ Ibid. (No subjects more faithful & obedient, that these, though they follow a different religion to him).

²⁷⁹ Ibid. (By rumours, ruses, and wickedness irritated the Duke against his own subjects).

²⁸⁰ Ibid. (Employed all of his means to convince him that it was his duty to exterminate all of the Vaudois, who did not hold the religion of the Pope).

Augustinian definition of martyrdom.²⁸¹ Reported conversations between the Duke's representatives and the Ambassadors of the valleys also emphasise that the Vaudois were willing to submit in all things, save their faith.²⁸² Throughout this passage the text consistently to 'ces Vaudois' and 'les Églises Vaudois'; later in the same section he prefers the term 'ceux des Vallées' or similar formulations. The use of Vaudois more often appears in the introductions and conclusions of sections, which were written by Crespin, as opposed to the body of the text, which was very often taken verbatim from elsewhere. Thus it seems that the use of the term 'Vaudois' was preferred by Crespin to the more circumlocutory labels used by some of his sources.

Before the Savoyard forces get underway, the narrative describes a period of persecutions and executions. Crespin mentions by name a couple named Mathurin and Jeanne, alongside a Jean de Carquignan, who fell into the hands of the Duke's forces, though they are not given separate accounts of their own. The constancy and resolve of de Carquignan, who had already been imprisoned many times 'pour le faict de la Religion' as he met his death are mentioned, but few details are given.²⁸³ At the same time, we are told, monks at Pignerol raised a mob of peasants to march against the minister of S. Germain, M. Jean, and had him tortured by roasting over a deliberately low fire to increase his torment.²⁸⁴ Carrying echoes of the capture and execution of Heindrichs van Zutphen in 1524 at the instigation of the local clergy, this suborning of the peasantry by monks may have been the easiest way to explain a popular assault on a Protestant minister.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid, p. 574 verso.

²⁸³ Ibid, p. 573 verso.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 574 recto.

These small snapshots of extra-judicial martyrdoms only occupy a few hundred words, while the primary focus of the account is on the Savoyard army assembled and sent against the valleys of Angrogne and Lucerne. Between four and five thousand men were sent with a mission to ‘missant tout à feu & à sang’, but were opposed by small bands of the locals, who managed to stave them off with little loss.²⁸⁵ After some fruitless negotiations, a second campaign led to the capture of fourteen prisoners, of whom a dozen were freed. Of the two who were taken into captivity, one was strangled almost immediately, while the other was Odoul Gemets, who was killed by wild animals, as described in the 1564 edition. In 1570, this story was reproduced almost verbatim from 1564 (under the name Odoul Gemel), but with two minor alterations- the reference to his having died ‘invoquant le nom du Seigneur’ was removed, and the truth-claim which previously rested on soldiers confirmed by ‘gens dignes de foy’ now relies upon the soldiers only.²⁸⁶ In the next passage, Crespin no longer refers to the man as having been a ‘martyr’ - indeed, in the 1570 edition, Gemet/Gemel’s death is not said to have had any effect on his compatriots.²⁸⁷ This death was clearly being reduced in status: Crespin appears to have questioned not only the man’s faith, but the very accuracy of the account, and its impact on other Vaudois. Like the tale of the wolf biting off the man’s nose, the death of Odoul Gemet was reduced almost to a piece of hearsay. As in the earlier telling, the people decide that: ‘la parole de Dieu ne leur estoit point preschée comme de coustume.’²⁸⁸ However, while 1564’s version has the Vaudois deciding to covertly resume preaching until their messengers return, 1570’s tells us that they used this time to: ‘fortifierent quelques passages, empescherent les

²⁸⁵ Ibid. (Put all to fire and blood).

²⁸⁶ 1565, p. 1085. Crespin, 1570, p. 574 verso. (Invoking the name of God... worthy men of faith).

²⁸⁷ Crespin, 1570, p. 574 verso.

²⁸⁸ Ibid. (The word of God they have not preached as was usual).

chemins' and procure supplies for their defence, for they would rather die than accept the Mass.²⁸⁹ Resistance is now portrayed without apology, and is considered to be preferable to secret worship and covert preaching, in direct contrast to the account of only six years previously.

The effectiveness and tenacity of that resistance is epitomized by a few paragraphs which depict the actions of Captain Truchet, who was one of the bravest Savoyard officers. This part is written as if it were taken from a laudatory document, for it is full of praise of the man, and consistently refers to the Vaudois simply as 'ceux desdictes Valleees', which may suggest the authorship of an outsider. In any case, Truchet succumbs to the resistance of the seemingly outmatched locals and is killed by a large stone wielded by a youth. This incident prompts the vanguard of the invading force to carry huge wooden shields before them thereafter.²⁹⁰ It is this sort of dogged resistance that leads to the Savoyards relenting, and agreeing to sign the Capitulation of Cavour.

This is reproduced in full; it names each valley to which the treaty is to apply, and pardons the residents of each for acting against the Duke.²⁹¹ Their ministers are allowed to visit the sick, and 'exercer autres choses necessaires a leur religion', though preaching to an assembly is still banned, and indeed, ministers must be licenced.²⁹² A clutch of locales are allowed to have a single minister shared between them, and given exemption from attending Mass. The treaty was signed by a host of observers; the names Crespin reproduces are those of the Syndics and

²⁸⁹ Ibid. (Fortify some passages, and block some paths).

²⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 575 recto.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid, pp. 575 verso, 576 recto. (Exercise other things necessary to their religion).

ambassadors of the valleys.²⁹³ He also credits the Duchess of Savoy, François I's daughter Marguerite, who was sympathetic to Reformed beliefs, for helping to impose the deal.

This treaty was a major triumph for the Vaudois, an early example of a Catholic ruler giving up his power over religious affairs in his land, and granting toleration.²⁹⁴ Crespin makes the most of this, proclaiming that God has shown: 'toutes choses tournent en bien & salut à ceux qui l'aiment & le craignent', and, in the margins: 'Le fruit des tribulations de ce monde.'²⁹⁵ Crespin stresses the devotion of the people, particularly that they gave prayers before defending their land and after battle. In the conclusion, for the first time in this passage since the introduction, we find the word 'Vaudois', though only in a marginal note, the addition once again by Crespin.²⁹⁶ This section on the valleys of Piedmont is focused more on resisting an unjust ruler, and on the winning of tolerance and concessions through armed force, than it is on the beliefs and structures of the Vaudois. Crespin spent much of his writing on the Provençal massacres in justifying the faith and reactions of his subjects; in this instance the major document is the treaty of peace and toleration rather than a confession of faith. Some of the previous concerns appear again, however. As in Provence, the relationship between the Vaudois and their ruler had supposedly been easy until the Catholic Church somehow turned the secular forces against the dissenters; even after armed conflict there was no underlying conflict between prince and subjects. The position of Crespin as a Geneva-based author must be considered in these depictions of Savoy,

²⁹³ Ibid, p. 576.

²⁹⁴ Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, p. 279.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 576 verso. (All things turn well for those who love and believe in him... the profit of the sufferings of this world).

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

whose relationship with Geneva during this period was frequently tense. Although there must have been some temptation to glory in a Reformed victory over the Duke of Savoy, and to depict him as a persecutor, Crespin deployed the same sort of caution as characterised his depictions of France, and instead tried to shift any blame to others.

Conclusion

Crespin's concern with Vaudois history was of course patchy and incomplete. It touched primarily on two areas of exceptional conflict in the mid-sixteenth century: Piedmont and Provence. Moreover, the Vaudois communities featured in the *Livre des Martyrs* were ones already in contact with the Reformed Church. The history of the Vaudois before 1530 or so is alluded to, but only as a preface; Crespin did not explore the proto-reformation represented by the Vaudois in the same way as he did the Hussites or the Lollards. The story of their foundation and early mission was included in only a single volume, and was quickly abandoned. Even the story of their contact with Geneva and union with the Reformed Church, which is the subject of so much interest to this day, is passed over relatively quickly. Above all, this must be the result of a lack of sources, for we still lack many usable narratives from this period. There is also a sense that the Vaudois history was something to be overcome; the old Vaudois viewpoints are better than the Catholic ones that surround them, but they are repeatedly shown to be inferior to the faith brought by Farel, Zwingli and Bucer. Indeed, the *barbes* are shown converting almost immediately after they come into contact with the doctrines of Protestantism.

However, the Vaudois were clearly important to Crespin. He included them in his first edition of the martyrology, and in the two histories which soon followed; he did not publish a separate work for any of the other groups or people in the martyrology. These publications received a good deal of editorial attention during this time, as the rapid series of significant changes from 1554 to 1556 demonstrate. The large-scale editing of the confession of faith from the 1555 to the 1556 edition of the *Histoire Memorable*, followed by that confession's wholesale replacement in 1564, suggests that Crespin had real concerns about the content of that document. Certainly by the final iteration it was a relatively orthodox, even unremarkable confession. This series of cuts and replacements confirms to us the premium which Crespin set on doctrinal orthodoxy, and the degree to which he was willing to alter the content of the martyrology in order to achieve that. It also suggests rather high standards for Crespin, as even the stridently anti-Catholic rhetoric contained in the 1555 confession was removed, and eventually replaced with something far less idiosyncratic. The other confessions come from Genevan-trained men, such as Varagle, Pascal or Hector, whose theological roots were in Calvin's writings, not Vaudois traditions. Of the individual martyrs, only Gonin represents an earlier tradition, and we are not told much about his beliefs. In both the account of Mérindol and Cabrières, and in the description of the Piedmontese valleys preceding Martin Gonin's notice, Crespin had included comments derogatory of the pre-reformation faith of the Vaudois, and his presentation of their faith in the mid-sixteenth century seems designed to act as a counter-point to that.

The other major topic of concern to Crespin seems to have been the relationship of the Vaudois to temporal power. His concerns seem to have been complex: he was concerned not to portray the Vaudois as seditious, or as violent

(hence the omission of the military action taken by the men of Mérindol and Cabrières from his chronicle of the period 1540- 45), while at the same time celebrating the armed resistance in Piedmont. Crespin was careful to inculcate respect for authority even amongst his readers, for he works to excuse secular leaders for their role in the violence. In Calabria, it is Satan who begins raising suspicion against Jean-Louis Pascal.²⁹⁷ The massacres in Provence are said to be driven by the plotting of ecclesiastical authorities at Avignon. The fighting in the Piedmontese valleys is caused by Satan disrupting the previously excellent relations between the Vaudois and the Duke of Savoy, and exacerbated by the plotting of monks and priests.²⁹⁸ The mob which attacked the minister of St. Germain was mustered and led by monks.²⁹⁹ Not only do Crespin's martyrs do nothing to pique the anger of the authorities, so too any action by the authorities against the Vaudois is portrayed not as a legitimate and just action of government, but part of a scheme concocted by Satan, or the Catholic Church, or perhaps the two working in tandem.

Separate to the issue of respect for authority is the question of Nicodemism, or of the ability of the Vaudois to live in Catholic areas in relative anonymity. Just as the arrival of Reformed doctrine transformed the medieval pattern of Vaudois beliefs on Protestant principles, so too in Crespin the arrival of a Genevan minister clarified the religious situation in an area, and drew battle lines between Vaudois and Catholic. In Mérindol, 'après qu'ils eurent communiqué a Basle avec Oecolampade, avec Caputio & Bucer a Strasbourg, & a Berne avec Berthold Haller', and began to reform their ways : 'en telle sorte, que le bruit en vint jusqu'a la

²⁹⁷ Crespin, 1565, p. 970.

²⁹⁸ Crespin, 1570, p. 573 verso. Crespin, 1565, p. 871.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 574.

cognoissance du Parlement, des Eveques, prestres, & moines.³⁰⁰ In Calabria, Jean-Louis Pascal no sooner arrived in Italy than Satan created : ‘un grand bruit par tout le pays, qu’un Lutherien estoit venue de Geneve, qui gastoit tout par sa doctrine. Chacun en murmuroit, les uns grincoyent les dents, les autres crioient qu’il le faillait exterminer avec tous ses adherens.’³⁰¹ It was only after contact with the Reformers that Martin Gonin was taken prisoner and executed. In the absence of a minister, the reaction of the Vaudois appalled by the death of Odoul Gemet first to abandon their preaching, and then to ‘recommencer les Sermons, mais secretment & sans bruit.’³⁰² Crespin mentioned the hardships and persecution faced by the Vaudois in the centuries before the Reformation, but in the *Livre des Martyrs* their suffering was largely a product of their contact with the Reformed Church. This runs counter, of course, to his stance towards the Hussites, or the Lollards.

Despite these major issues involving the Vaudois, Crespin continued to include them, and to include new notices involving them as well. The Vaudois were important to the Genevan Church, who sent their first mission of trained ministers to Piedmont, not France.³⁰³ These were events, often on a large scale, happening relatively near to Geneva; until the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, it was the Vaudois who saw the most overt persecution, and the most militarised response. Crespin was willing to tinker with the attested beliefs of the Vaudois, and he seems to have been disingenuous about their supposed pacifism, but they were too

³⁰⁰ Crespin, 1554, p. 658. (After they were communicated to Basle with Oecolampadius, with Capito and Bucer at Strasbourg, & to Berne with Berthold Haller... in such a manner, that the noise came up to the notice of Parlement, the bishops, priests and monks).

³⁰¹ Crespin, 1565, p. 970. (A great noise by all the country, that a Lutheran had come from Geneva, who wastes all by his doctrine. Each one murmured, some grinding their teeth, others crying that he should be exterminated with all of his followers).

³⁰² Crespin, 1565, p. 1085. (Restart the sermons, but secretly and quietly).

³⁰³ Kingdon, p. 2.

important to him to exclude, perhaps because of their outsized role as victims of the 1540s and 1550s.

Outside of the Vaudois significance for Crespin and his *Livre des Martyrs*, there is much which the historian of the Vaudois can still glean from the martyrology, and especially from the *Histoire des Martyrs*. The confession of faith which appears in 1555, for example, has not yet been accounted for in a major work on the Vaudois. Even as we accept that this confession, coming late in Vaudois history, and from contact with Swiss Reformers, cannot be definitive, some elements, such as the use of the Ten Commandments, bear an intriguing resemblance to older Vaudois forms. The Vaudois discussion of themselves as a sort of visible church would seem to support Audisio's conception of them as a sect, diametrically opposed to the Catholic Church, rather than a group which implicitly accepted the existence of an established church. Even if these prove to be within the boundaries of what might be expected from a Vaudois congregation at this time, the document provides what must be a valuable look at Vaudois doctrine at a turning point in their history.

Conclusion

In addition to a better understanding of how Crespin worked, and his attitudes towards these ‘stranger’ communities, it is hoped that this study has revealed some of the potential of the *Livre des Martyrs* to provide information in other fields. Crespin is a source for the Vaudois in a way that he is not for some of the other groups; documents survive in the *Livre des Martyrs* which cannot be found in any other work. The three variations of the 1541 confession of faith by the Vaudois of Mérindol and Cabrières have not been explored to their fullest extent. The presence of a variant confession in the 1555 *Histoire Memorable* has been noted by Gilmont, but two of the major monographs on the Vaudois do not cite it. The letter by Oecolampadius which contained the accounts of the three martyrs of the Peasants’ War is similarly absent from histories of the period. Its reproduction elsewhere, such as in Foxe, seems to have come through Crespin. The origins and veracity of this account of the chaos and the fallout of the events of 1524-25 would be interesting and useful to have.

There remains a great deal of work left to do on the *Livre des Martyrs*, its sources, and its career after the death of Jean Crespin in 1572. Simply to advance our understanding of Crespin to near that of John Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* would be an ambitious goal. There is much to do in terms of better understanding the impact of the *Livre des Martyrs*, taking in reception studies, the use of information from the *Livre des Martyrs* in other, non-martyrological contexts (such as the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* and Bossouet’s *Historie des Variations*), and the

relationship of the later editions produced under Simon Goulart to the earlier, Crespin, versions. A close inspection and description of the rarer editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*, hardly examined at all by scholars, would be a valuable step in understanding the relationship between the various editions; the goal of a variorum edition or similar large-scale project must be a very long way off indeed.

There are several reasons to be cautious about assigning an over-arching pattern to the *Livre des Martyrs*. Jean Crespin assembled his work from other documents, composing very little of the text himself. In the case of the account of Jan Hus, this meant that more than one hundred pages of the martyrology were drawn from a single source, the *Relatio* of Peter Mladonovice. He also assembled it piecemeal, with seven major versions printed in the course of sixteen years. As a result, new information became available and new formats and techniques, such as the *Recit d'histoire* entries, emerged in the light of the parallel work being done by van Haemstede, Rabus, and Foxe. Both the format and the contents of the *Livre des Martyrs* were in a state of continuous flux.

However, even if we cannot be certain of a consistent, long-term plan behind the content and presentation of the martyrology, it is possible to discern patterns and themes which emerge from Crespin's treatment of his subjects. He had objectives in mind for his work, and notices and documents which were included in the *Livre des Martyrs* were subject to the filter of his editorial role. As we have seen, and as has long been noted, Crespin was capable of greatly altering the meaning of a passage or a text in the process of editing it. This study has attempted to better understand how, why, and under what circumstances such changes might be made. The stranger groups provide an opportunity to examine Crespin's response in circumstances

where there are known conflicts regarding important issues between the subjects of the martyrology and its compiler.

The most important element of the *Livre des Martyrs*, at least if we measure in terms of apparent importance to Crespin, was its theological content. Each of the stranger groups studied here had some doctrinal difference from the Reformed Church. The Hussites, especially as embodied by Jan Hus himself, held positions which were in many ways those of the moderate Catholic reformers of Crespin's own period. Hus explicitly and repeatedly affirmed his belief in the tenets of transubstantiation, rejecting the doctrine of remanence that he was accused of holding.¹ These sections were entirely removed from the *Livre des Martyrs*. What made up the bulk of Hus' trial, and what was largely allowed to remain, was discussion of membership in the 'universal Church', and the attendant questions about ecclesiastical governance. This provided a number of attacks against the authority of the Papacy, the powers of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the origins of sanctity of the priesthood. The focus on the academically-trained Hus, however, emphasized the scholastic roots of these disputes; both the concerns and the methods are distinct from those found in the later, Protestant, reformers.

The positions of the more radical fringes of the Hussite movement, which were barely described in Mladonovice's original account, including the Donatist belief that 'a good layman or laywoman consecrated better than a bad priest', were excised entirely.² This change did not dramatically change the sense of the Hussite stance, for this was a statement in which Hus did not believe, and it was a charge levelled by one of the bishops trying him. However, Crespin took clear, positive

¹ Spinka, *Council*, p. 169.

² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

action to erase from the record an allegation which conflicted with the necessary message of his work.

Crespin's alterations to the stated beliefs of the Vaudois are more difficult to trace, due in no small part to the lack of other sources for many of the key documents which he reproduces. The changes which he made to their confession of faith, however, over the course of the three versions printed from 1554 to 1564 allow us some insight into his major concerns. The document as first printed, in 1555's *Histoire Memorable*, was already a document strongly shaped by the contact between Geneva and at least some elements of the Vaudois leadership. The confession states the Vaudois belief in two sacraments, rejects the Real Presence, and attacks the use of images as idolatrous.³ It contained, in addition, a long section which details Vaudois doctrine through the frame of the Ten Commandments; several of the ten points are strongly anti-Catholic, and advance Reformed positions. It was, however, this long discussion of the Ten Commandments which was removed from the 1556 edition of the *Histoire Memorable*, while the rest of the text was retained. In 1564, Crespin abandoned even this version of the Confession, replacing it with a much shorter, and more generic, confession of the same year.

His discussion of the Vaudois of Piedmont and of Calabria did not even go so far as to present the beliefs of the congregations there. Instead, the doctrinal content attached to them came from men who had been trained in Geneva, like Gonin and Pascal, who did not necessarily represent the local community as closely as they might like. In this, Crespin mirrored the Genevan effort to reform the Vaudois communities from the top down, and may have helped to achieve that aim. Precisely what, if any, doctrinal challenges the Vaudois posed to Crespin is

³ Crespin, *Histoire Memorable*... 1555, pp. 50-55.

unknown, but the history of their depiction shows how carefully their image in the *Livre des Martyrs* was managed. Crespin's comments about the imperfection of pre-Reformation Vaudois beliefs were clearly stated. They have few parallels in the martyrology; neither the Hussites nor the Lutherans were rebuked in such a way.

The Lutherans gave the clearest challenge to any attempt to present a theologically consistent martyrology. They and the Reformed Church spent much of Crespin's active period in a very public polemical dispute, centred primarily around the question of the Real Presence and the nature of the Eucharist, which had been a difficult topic for three decades by that point. There was no question about including them, however. Crespin's plan for the work demanded that such a pivotal and central group be acknowledged in the martyrology, and relations between the two groups rarely seems to have been so great as to lead to a genuine break. These were delicate subjects, however, and Crespin's martyrology openly engaged several of them. The diplomatic handling of Luther and his role in the Reformation seems to have followed directly from Calvin's own approach, which was one of both exasperation and respect. It was predicated, seemingly, on the idea that any inter-denominational disputes were temporary, and able to be resolved, while the common ties between the groups were permanent and worth maintaining. Thus Crespin, who published pamphlets and short tracts against Lutheran polemicists, was quiet about the imperfections in the Lutheran creed, where he had openly criticized the Vaudois.

His response was to alter the confessions of some of these Lutheran martyrs, simply omitting those doctrinal statements which conflicted with his own. The accounts of the Augustinians burned at Brussels, and of Leonard Keiser, for example, had several articles removed from their confessions of faith. Henry Voez's

confession had twelve articles excised from it; of those, five dealt directly with questions about the Eucharist. Keiser's eighteen articles were reduced to four, and although his statement that the mass was no sacrifice was retained in truncated form, most of his doctrinal positions were lost to the readers of the martyrology.⁴ The Lutherans, in Crespin's scheme, were full members of the True Church, and there could be no mitigating any failings in their doctrine by explaining that they had at least been better than the Catholics, as had been done with the Vaudois. Instead, Lutheran martyrs were sought out and included, but areas of potential disagreement were omitted. Crespin does not appear to have attempted to add material to their doctrines, working primarily on the principle of subtraction, although his rewriting of Keiser's articles, especially, comes close to assigning a new set of beliefs to him.

Luther's writing was also rarely reproduced, even though it accompanied several of the martyr-pamphlets which were the sources for the *Livre des Martyrs*. Luther's exposition on the psalms, originally attached to the pamphlet describing the death of Heindrichs van Zutphen, was absent from Crespin's version of the events. A letter from Luther, sent to comfort Leonard Keiser in his captivity, was mentioned in the introduction to Keiser's account in 1570's version, but was never included in the *Livre des Martyrs*.⁵ Similarly, none of Luther's commentary on George Winckler, the Minister of Hall, was included in Crespin's account of his death. The Lutheran works were largely devotional, meant to inspire the martyr or his surviving friends and colleagues. Although they did not advance the story of the martyrs in question, they were no different in essential content from the letters sent to French Reformed martyrs, which Crespin reproduced in large numbers.

⁴ Crespin, 1570, p. 69 verso.

⁵ Ibid. p. 68 verso.

Theological views were the most important factor for Crespin's definition of the membership the Church as he saw it, but other considerations frequently came into play. The question of violence, and resistance to the state recurred in the discussions of stranger groups. If, to Crespin, theological conformity was an absolute necessity, then his reaction to violence and resistance appears to have been contingent. The armed resistance of the Piedmontese Vaudois, and the frankly insurrectionary behaviour of the Hussites under Zizka, were included without condemnation, especially in later editions where they could be included as historical, rather than martyrological passages. By contrast, the armed reaction of the Provençal Vaudois in the early 1540s was not treated outside a denial issued in one of the Vaudois documents. Above all, Crespin's wary handling of the figures associated with the Peasants' War reveals that in some circumstances, violence could be a disqualifying sin. According to El Kenz's formulation of Crespin's marks of the martyr, one had to be condemned exclusively for reasons of religion; those suspected of sedition could not qualify. Certainly, that seems to have been the position with regards to the third of the accounts which he claimed were taken from Oecolampadius. This 'villageois', who had taken to arms in the chaotic aftermath of the Peasants' War, was eliminated from the 1564 and 1570 editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*. Crespin inserted into those editions a note which suggested that they had been given a lower status because their religious motives had been: 'meslee avec faits qui la pourroyent rendre suspecte & non pure', and that it would be hard to accept these figures: 'quand la mort n'est pas du tout pour la cause de la Religion, ains est meslee avec autre accusation.'⁶ Although the feats of Zizka, and the Piedmontese Vaudois, also faced this relegation to the contents of a *Recit d'histoire*,

⁶ Crespin, 1565, p. 100. (Mixed with deeds which could render them suspect and impure).

their exploits were retained in the martyrology throughout Crespin's editorship, and treated in a positive manner.

Violence, then, was a dangerous subject within the *Livre des Martyrs*, but not strictly a disqualifying one. The actions which were included were somewhat successful, and resulted in some sort of settlement; they were examples of the righteous persevering against the powers of evil. The accounts which we know Crespin to have excluded—the armed action in Provence in 1540, and the attempted resistance by the German villager—did nothing more than bring legal action and punishment upon those who committed them. In the case of the Vaudois, Crespin included the legal action and massacre against those of Mérindol and Cabrières, while omitting their violence; in that of the peasant in 1525, he eventually dropped all mention of the man from his martyrology.

While he did not illustrate it as much as did John Foxe, Crespin clearly had an idea of a true Church extending back before the sixteenth century. He does not seem to have included groups of martyrs in his work solely on that basis, however. There was instead usually another reason for a group outside of the Reformed Church to be placed in the *Livre des Martyrs*. In the case of the Vaudois, their close ties to Geneva made them difficult to ignore. Jan Hus, aside from providing an early example of criticism of the papacy, was in later editions given a role as a forerunner and prophet of Luther. The Lutherans themselves Crespin seems to have held in a very high regard, viewing the advent of Luther as the beginning of the age of the Reformation. We should not simply assume that groups were included for these positive reasons; because they fit into Crespin's idea of the Church's history. There must be some recognition of Crespin's working method, and the information available to him. The Lutheran martyrs he included were amongst the best-

documented of their era, with widely-distributed pamphlets written about them, and often contributed to by famous men. Jan Hus' inclusion was doubtlessly aided by the existence of Mladonovice's *Relatio*, given the debt of the *Livre de Martyrs* to that source, and the inclusion of the Lollards drawn from Foxe suggests that availability was at least a partial factor in their inclusion.

There were certainly some other groups who were not included in the martyrology, however. By the early 1560s, hostile comparisons were being drawn by Catholic authors between Protestants and the Cathars, or Albigensians, especially given their overlapping strongholds in Languedoc.⁷ Later generations of Protestants took the sting from this accusation by adopting the Cathars as their forerunners. The 1557 edition of de Hainault's *L'estat de l'Eglise*, published by Crespin, repeated the accusations against the Cathars; in the 1582 edition they were portrayed as principled opponents to the Catholic Church, and victims of persecution.⁸ By the early seventeenth century, Huguenot historians had conflated the Vaudois and Cathar communities entirely.⁹ Goulart's continuation of the *Livre des Martyrs* found room for the Cathars alongside the early history of the Vaudois.¹⁰ There may have been an attraction in the Cathar ancestry, as it allowed them a French origin somewhat separate from that of the Lutheran Reformation.¹¹ Crespin, however, never featured the Cathars in his martyrology. It may have been that their popularity amongst Reformed historians came too late for inclusion in the *Livre des Martyrs*, or that Crespin had some principled objection to them, but they represent a path not taken in the composition of the martyrology.

⁷ Luc Racaut, 'The Polemical Use of the Albigensian Crusade During the French Wars of Religion', *French History*, 13:3 (1999), p. 264.

⁸ Yves Krumenacker, 'La généalogie de la Réforme protestante' *Revue Historique*, 638 (2006), p. 271.

⁹ Ibid, p. 272.

¹⁰ Racaut, 'The Polemical Uses', p. 272.

¹¹ Krumenacker, p. 270.

In assembling the martyrology the way that he did, Crespín moved some way towards creating a history of the True Church rather than simply that of the French Reformed congregations, a topic which he expanded over the successive editions of the *Livre des Martyrs*. This project required Crespín to moderate between the impulse to expand the reach of the book, while at the same remaining subordinate to the *Livre des Martyrs*' pedagogical mission, which derived from his sense of martyrology as a genre its own particular imperatives. Above all, the *Livre des Martyrs* was intended to be a record of the words and deeds of true Christian martyrs, and we must remain aware of Crespín's very active role in defining and policing the limits of that definition.

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