Violet Soen / Alexander Soetaert /
Johan Verberckmoes / Wim François (eds.)

# Transregional Reformations

## Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe




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# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| *ADB* | *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (56 vol.; Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912). |
| *ARCR* | A.F. Allison/D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640* (2 vol.; London: Scolar Press, 1989–94). |
| *BCJ* | C. Sommervogel (ed.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (12 vol.; Brussels: Schepens, 1890–1960). |
| *BPal* | *Bibliotheca Palatina: Druckschriften / Stampati Palatini / Printed Books*, microfiche edition, ed. L. Boyle/E. Mittler (Munich: Saur, 1995). |
| *BR* | H. Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brasks registratur. Textutgåva* (Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet 85; Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, 2003). |
| *DBA* | *Deutsches biographisches Archiv I–III, microfiche edition* (Munich: Saur, 1999–2002), also available online in WBIS. |
| EEBO | *Early English Books Online* (https://eebo.chadwyck.com). |
| *HO* II | Stanislaus Hosius, *Operum tomus secundus*, ed. Stanisław Reszka (Cologne: Cholinus, 1584). |
| *LW* | *Luther's Works*, ed. J. Pelikan/H.T. Lehmann (55 vol.; Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957–1986). |
| *NPNF*[1] | *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: A Select Library of the Christian Church*, Series I, ed. Philip Schaff (14 vol.; repr. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995). |
| *ODNB* | *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. |
| *OPSS* | Olaus Petri, *Samlade skrifter af Olavus Petri*, ed. B. Hesselman (4 vol.; Uppsala: Sveriges kristliga studentrörelses förlag, 1914–1917). |
| *PIBA* | W. Audenaert, *Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua: a Biographical Dictionary of Jesuits in the Low Countries 1542–1773* (4 vol.; Leuven: Filosofisch en Theologisch College van de Sociëteit van Jezus, 2000). |
| VD16 | *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (www.vd16.de). |
| VD17 | *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (www.vd17.de). |
| *WA* | *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesammtausgabe* (73 vol.; Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–2009). |

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Alexander Soetaert, Violet Soen, Johan Verberckmoes
& Wim François

# Crossing (Disciplinary) Borders: When Reformation Studies Meet Transregional History

This volume invites Reformation scholars to incorporate recent advances in transnational and entangled history into their own field of research, a crossover which has not yet been explored to its full potential. Some of the hesitation can be explained by the traditional emphasis on cities and states in Reformation history. On the one hand, urban history, more than any other field of historical scholarship, has drawn attention to the importance of cities as centers for religious reformations during the Early Modern Era. Inspired by Bernd Moeller's 1962 classic *Reichsstadt und Reformation*, numerous case studies presented the Reformation (and eventually the Counter Reformation) as the outcome of complex local power struggles between magistrates and citizens, in which urban and clerical elites, literate citizens, and city dwellers both collaborated and collided.[1] On the other hand, the study of Church-State relations, boasting of an even older academic pedigree, has significantly shaped the historiography of the Reformation. An important aspect of the now critically received *Konfessionalisierung*-paradigm, first presented in the 1970s, stresses the far-reaching Church-State collaboration in both Protestant and Catholic regions and highlights the role of princely courts in capital cities, while downplaying developments on the peripheries of state power.[2] The ensuing focus on cities and capitals prompted

1 B. Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation* (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 180; Gütersloh: Mohr, 1962). Seminal examples include: P. Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); A. Lottin, *Lille, citadelle de la Contre Réforme? 1598–1667* (Dunkerque: Westhoek-Éditions, 1984); G. Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis 1550–1577* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

2 T. Brockmann/D.J. Weiss (ed.), *Das Konfessionalisierungsparadigma. Leistungen, Probleme, Grenzen* (Bayreuther Historische Kolloquien 18; Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2013); U. Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization", in M. Laven/A. Bamji/G.H. Janssen (ed.), *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013) 33–53 and P. Marshall, "Confessionalization, Confessionalism and Confusion in the English Reformation", in T. Mayer (ed.), *Reforming Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 43–64; P. Büttgen/C. Duhamelle (ed.), *Religion ou confession. Un bilan franco-allemand sur l'époque moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'homme, 2010).

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studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reformations to identify what happened within territorial circumscriptions at a local or regional level; as an alternative, this volume opts to move beyond these boundaries.

Recently, calls to decenter the historiography of early modern reformations and to offer alternative entangled histories have caused scholars to modify urban and state perspectives.[3] The focus on the Wittenberg-Zürich-Geneva triad of Protestant churches and the Catholic Church's Rome-Madrid axis has been deconstructed in favor of a cross-confessional, multi-layered, and multi-actor analysis of early modern Christianity.[4] Moreover, as witnessed by the growing number of studies devoted to religious mobility, religion was not confined to the territorial boundaries of states and cities.[5] Even if urban and state authorities consistently tightened their control over ecclesiastical institutions and clerical leadership, they were limited in their capacity to monitor and manage the persons, goods, ideas and technologies circulating in and beyond their territorial circumscriptions. Therefore this collection seeks to focus on the scope, contingencies, and outcomes of cross-border exchange.

This volume offers a selection of papers presented at the fifth annual RefoRC-conference, hosted by KU Leuven in May 2015, which questioned how the concept of 'transregional history' could be useful to decenter and reinterpret the Reformation era.[6] Transregional history functions to some extent as an early modern equivalent to the strand of 'transnational history' practiced by modern historians, while taking its main inspiration from an *histoire croisée:* inspired by

3 S. Ditchfield, "Decentering the Catholic Reformation: Papacy and Peoples of the Early Modern World", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010) 186–208; G. Marcocci, "Too Much to Rule: States and Empires across the Early Modern World", *Journal of Early Modern History* 20 (2016) 511–25.

4 See for instance: J. Machielsen, *Martin Delrio: Demonology and Scholarship in the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 2015) or the special issue on 'Withdrawal and Engagement in the Long Seventeenth Century', with several case studies taken from various regions in Europe in the *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 1.2 (2014) as well as A. Bamji/G. H. Janssen/M. Laven (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2013) for a similar view on Catholic religion.

5 C. Roll/F. Pohle/M. Myrczek (ed.), *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitunge. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung* (Frühneuzeit-Impulse 1; Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2010); H. P. Jürgens/T. Weller (ed.), *Religion und Mobilität: zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte. Beiheft 81; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010).

6 The conference was organized within the framework of the KU Leuven-funded BOF-project OT/13/033: 'The Making of Transregional Catholicism: Print Culture in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai, 1559–1659' (promotors V. Soen and J. Verberckmoes, and dr. Alexander Soetaert as researcher); project's website to be found at www.transregionalhistory.eu. The database built during this project can be searched through: https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/ICC_search.

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advances in global history, it emphasizes contact, transfer and exchange, translation and transmission, and mobility along and across changing and unstable boundaries in early modern Europe, a continent composed of fractured states and regions.[7] At the Leuven conference, leading experts elaborated on the theme of 'transregional reformations' in relation to their own field of research, while participants presented short papers that engaged with the subsequent discussion on how cross-border movements shaped early modern reformations. Covering a geographical space that ranges from Scandinavia to Spain and from England to Hungary, the selected chapters in this volume apply the transregional method to a vast array of topics, such as the history of theological discussion, knowledge transfer, pastoral care, visual allegory, ecclesiastical organization, confessional relations, religious exile, and university politics. Rather than princes and urban governments steering religion, Europe's early modern reformations emerge as events shaped by authors and translators, publishers and booksellers, students and professors, exiles and refugees, and clergy and (female) members of religious orders crossing borders.

## I. Transfer and Exchange

The volume starts by showing how transfer and exchange beyond territorial circumscriptions or proto-national identifications shaped many sixteenth-century reformations. Despite obvious tendencies to strengthen city- and state-centered churches during the Early Modern Period, religious reform increasingly depended on the transregional exchanges that took place beyond urban limits and state borders. During the past few decades scholars have raised many questions concerning the validity of the confessionalization model for regions beyond the Holy Roman Empire and its exceptional relationship between Church(es) and State. In other regions, support from abroad, rather than local power struggles, provide a better explanation for contingent outcomes.[8] The

7 J. Duindam, "Early Modern Europe: Beyond the Strictures of Modernization and National Historiography", *European History Quarterly* 40 (2010) 606–623; M. Werner/B. Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity", *History and Theory*, 45.1 (2006) 30–50. M. Middell/K. Naumann, "Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization", *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010) 149–170. For a more detailed discussion on the merits of transregional history as a methodology for the study of early modern history, see: V. Soen/B. De Ridder/A. Soetaert/W. Thomas/J. Verberckmoes/S. Verreyken, "How to do Transregional History: A Concept, Method and Tool for Early Modern Border Research", *Journal of Early Modern History* 21 (2017) 343–364.

8 C. H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008); B. Kaplan *et al.* (ed.), *Catholic Com-*

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chapters of Jonas van Tol, Barbara Diefendorf, Michel Boeglin, and Gábor Ittzés analyze how elites, clerics, professors, and theologians helped to steer the course of the early modern reformations in transgressing territorial boundaries.

In a first chapter, Jonas van Tol examines the French Wars of Religion and their aftermath from the perspective of what happened along and across the borders of the Kingdom of France. Rather than continuing to comparatively analyze Franco-German international and diplomatic relations, he carefully argues for the importance of a transregional analysis of the Wars of Religion that instead focuses on the whole Rhineland. Giving parallel attention to political and religious developments in both France and the Empire helps to explain when and why German aristocrats decided to intervene in the French Wars of Religion, or inversely, when and why they did not. Thus, Van Tol demonstrates that the German Elector Palatine Friedrich III's famous conversion to Calvinism, which caused new divisions within the imperial Lutheran party, was in fact inextricably related to contemporary events in France.

Focusing on the immediate aftermath of the French Wars of Religion, Barbara Diefendorf shows that cross-border exchanges between Italy and Spain were formative in the crystallization of seventeenth-century French Catholicism. While anti-Italian and anti-Spanish sentiments peaked during the religious turmoil of the sixteenth century, these feelings paradoxically led to an increasing interest in the forms of Catholic renewal promoted by religious orders such as the Capuchins and the Discalced Carmelites. Even though wealthy patrons generally granted and facilitated the new foundation of convents in France, they were nevertheless initially inhabited by Italian and Spanish friars and nuns. When the religious orders eventually recruited local novices, tensions broke out between the Spanish and Italian religious clinging to the original ethos of their order and their French benefactors. In a final reflection, Diefendorf asks to what extent the waning number of Italian and Spanish religious in some provinces forced the Capuchins and Discalced Carmelites to deviate from the founding models and become French Catholics.

The next two chapters argue that the circulation of both ideas and persons beyond borders helped to shape the Protestant Reformation. Michel Boeglin studies how Spanish elites had adopted the ideas and insights of Luther and other German reformers from the earliest stages of the Reformation. Humanists such as Juan de Valdés (*c.* 1500–40) and Constantino de la Fuente (1502–60) developed and appropriated German theologies within the Spanish (and wider Mediterranean) context, despite the 'national assumption' that the Reformation failed

*munities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570–1720* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2009); A. Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

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to establish itself on the Iberian Peninsula. The publications of the two humanists followed both the current political developments within the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy's subsequent reactions; thus, these Spanish works should be understood as a part of a pan-European continuum, rather than as isolated texts published on the margins of the continent.

Gábor Ittzés shows how Protestant theologies traveled widely, and how, in this context, books and treatises published across the Holy Roman Empire acted as pivotal components to this process. Ittzés deals with the rather specific Reformation 'idea' that departed souls can return in forms visible to man's earthly senses. This idea, developed in the mid-sixteenth century by such Lutheran theologians as the prominent Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) and the lesser-known Melchior Specker (*fl.* 1554–69) from Strasbourg, was appropriated and popularized both within the wider literature on *ars moriendi* and in theological reflection on the soul's post-mortem state, even if it would later be rejected by mainstream theology. The emphasis on books as vectors of mobility leads to interpretations that are explored throughout the remainder of this volume.

## II. Translation and Transmission

The second part of this volume is devoted to the acceleration of cultural transfer that resulted from the newly-invented printing press, by translation as well as transmission of texts and images. In the earliest years of printing, translated devotional texts stemming from the late Middle Ages proved to be the key to spiritual reinvigoration. Showcasing the widespread vitality of Rheno-Flemish mysticism, the many printed editions of Thomas a Kempis' (1380–1471) *Imitation of Christ* and Ludolph the Carthusian's (d. 1378) *Life of Christ* serve as two exemplary texts that were translated from Latin into vernacular languages and that underscore how the printing press functioned as an agent of transmission of religious ideas across boundaries. The advent of the Reformation era only enhanced the importance of translations for religious life and devotion, connecting regions and languages in a number of surprising ways. As the essays of Alexandra Walsham, Alexander Soetaert, Zsombor Tóth and Grażyna Jurkowlaniec demonstrate, translation and transmission between vernaculars and Latin (which functioned as the common mediating language) directly affected developments in both the Catholic and Protestant churches and confessions.

In recent years, the flourishing field of *translation studies* has emphasized the distinctive process of translating a text.[9] The act of translation mobilizes scholars

9 P. Burke/R. Po-chia Hsia (ed.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/European Science Foundation, 2007).

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and amateurs to pursue goals that transcend their specific linguistic enterprise. Translation involves both negotiation with the host language, an exchange of ideas, and a compromised outcome; it is decontextualization followed by recontextualization. Attending to the production, distribution, and readership of translations leads to a more sophisticated understanding of the crossing of cultural and state boundaries. In entangled cultures, translations change how these cultures work. When applied to religious cultures and the Reformation, translation studies, although viewed to be of primary importance, still await further analysis, especially in regard to transregional history. The four essays that comprise the second part of this volume deal with this method of interpreting Reformation in texts and images.

In the first two chapters of this section, the authors address the importance of translations in the vernacular for early modern English Catholicism. The fate of English Catholicism is no longer understood as being insular, but emblematic of a wider transregional context of opposing reformations in early modern Europe. Alexandra Walsham challenges a traditional English insular perspective by interrogating the religious texts that moved from the continental mainland to the British Isles. She addresses a typology of Catholic books translated into English that contain a variety of works covering topics such as controversy, catechisms, and the devotional treatises of crucial authors like Luis de Granada and François de Sales. Walsham considers translation as a positive and creative process for adaptation, dialogue, and compromise that enabled cultural interaction and cross-fertilization across the Channel, while demonstrating that some of the continental Catholic texts were also adapted for and directed to non-Catholic readership on the British Isles.

Analysing the same corpus of English Catholic translations, Alexander Soetaert points to the extent to which interactions between English Catholics residing on the continent and their host societies helped to shape the texts. Soetaert closely monitors the publication of both English and French translations in those continental towns where English Catholics gathered or regularly passed through for religious and educational purposes, such as Douai and Saint-Omer in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai. Establishing a striking connection between the publication of translations in English and French, he suggests that the Cambrai region became the single most important hub for the transfer of French, Italian, and Spanish religious literature into England.

The remainder of the volume's second section explores the transformative dimensions of the translation of texts and images in territories that are usually considered to be on Europe's margins. Zsombor Tóth, for example, questions how translations of English Puritan texts emerged in Hungary and Transylvania. Since the local intellectual elites there appear to have had a very limited command of the English language, Tóth first highlights the importance of Latin as an

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intermediary language in translating English Puritan literature. By elaborating the case of István Matkó, he suggests that Eastern European translators made the English originals fit within local contexts. He also demonstrates that the reception of English Puritanism was a complex process of transfer, translation, and rewriting.

Art historian Grażyna Jurkowlaniec follows the extraordinary journey across Europe of *Typus Ecclesiae,* an innovative representation of the Church that originated in Warmia, Prussia (now in northern Poland). The Polish Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius played a key role in the distribution of the image, as he had copies printed in Italy and sent to members of noble and royal families and religious leaders throughout Europe. Whether the Cardinal sent the copies for politico-diplomatic reasons or for religious instruction (or both), he always sought to strengthen the position of the Catholic Church vis-à-vis the 'heretics'. Jurkowlaniec carries out a careful inquiry into the actors involved in this process of transregional transfer and the various political and religious interests that were at stake.

## III. Mobility and Exile

The third and final part of this volume examines the importance of mobility and exile in causing transregional reformations. Traditionally, the exile dimension of religious migration has figured prominently in the historiography of the Early Modern Era.[10] The significance of the experience of dislocation within Calvinism led Heiko Oberman to coin the well-known concept of the 'Reformation of the Refugee', arguing that exile was crucial to the development of Reformed churches and their doctrine, thus establishing a distinct 'exile theology'.[11] Due to their smaller numbers, Catholic refugees have been historically neglected, but a series of new studies have recently shed light on their particular experiences.[12] Most

10 Jürgens/Weller (ed.), *Religion und Mobilität*; J. Spohnholz/G. K. Waite (ed.), *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto 2014).

11 H.A. Oberman, "Europa afflicta: The Reformation of the Refugees", in P. A. Dykema (ed.), *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees* (Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 464; Genève: Droz, 2009) 177–94. First published in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992) 91–111.

12 For an overview of Catholic refugee communities, see: B. Braun, "Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge: eine Spurensuche im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 130 (2010) 505–76 and Id., "Katholische Konfessionsmigration im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit – Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung", in Jürgens/Weller, *Religion und Mobilität*, 75–112. Recent volumes and case studies on this subject include: R. Descimon/J.J. Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les ligueurs de l'exil: le refuge catholique français après 1594* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2005); L. Chambers/T. O'Connor (ed.), *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots, and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918* (Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700; Leiden: Brill 2017)

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notably, Geert Janssen's recent study on Catholic exiles during the Dutch Revolt established that dislocation had a significant impact on the Counter-Reformation in the Low Countries, as he claims that Catholics sharpened both their religious ideas and identities during exile and became increasingly militant. Adapting Oberman's aforementioned term, Janssen has coined this process the 'Counter-Reformation of the Refugee', positing that a 'Catholic International' existed alongside a 'Calvinist International'.[13] Nicholas Terpstra uses the fate of religious refugees to propose an alternative history of the Reformation, arguing that the pursuit of a greater purity was increasingly influential within late-medieval Christian communities, resulting first in the large-scale expulsion of Jews and Muslims and then of fellow-Christians from the Iberian peninsula.[14]

Even so, religious mobility included a wide array of patterns and motivations, including pilgrimage, study, pastoral care, grand tours and, probably most far-reaching, voluntary or involuntary migration. The wider pattern of cross-border movements in the Reformation era form the backbone of the contributions of Kajsa Brilkman, Violet Soen, Timothy Orr, Johannes Müller and Christiaan Ravensbergen. Collectively these authors examine the connection between transregional mobility and the formation of religious identities. The experience of both individual and group border crossings had wide-ranging repercussions: forced to mediate between the culture they left behind and their new host society, migrants and exiles became vectors of newly-embodied identities and beliefs.

This volume's last section highlights the importance of academic mobility and intellectual networks for both the Lutheran and the Catholic Reformation. Two essays argue that early modern religious migration and exile often relied on previous patterns of pilgrimage or academic peregrination. Kajsa Brilkman reconsiders the Swede Olaus Petri's student years at Wittenberg and their later impact on his efforts as Scandinavia's foremost reformer. She dismisses the idea of a direct or immediate transfer of Lutheran thought between Wittenberg and Stockholm, yet underlines how Petri's evolving views on marriage – embodied by being a cleric and marrying a local bride and then defending this choice in print –

and C. Bowden/J.E. Kelly (ed.), *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture, and Identity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); V. Soen, "Exile Encounters and Cross-Border Mobility in Early Modern Borderlands. The Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai as a Transregional Node (1559–1600)", *Belgeo–Belgian Journal of Geography* 2/2015 (online 15 July 2015).

13 G. Janssen, "The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2012) 671–92; Id., *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

14 N. Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

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were the result of his prior academic mobility and his willingness as an individual to adapt and translate Reformation ideas in practice and print.

Violet Soen focuses on the foundation of new universities in the borderlands between France and the Habsburg Low Countries during the mid-sixteenth century, as two institutions of higher education, one in French Reims and the other in Habsburg Douai, opened a mere fifteen years apart. Both universities originated from the newly-felt need to contain students and scholars within the borders of their respective states in order to prevent 'contagion' by the 'heretic' neighbor/enemy. In an unanticipated outcome, the Wars of Religion caused students and scholars to flee across those same borders, in order to find a safe haven at the 'foreign' institution. As a result, Catholic refugees from the British Isles eventually attended both borderland universities, which sparked further cross-border solidarity between Catholic elites. Despite the 'proto-nationalist' discourse of the foundational bulls of the universities of Reims and Douai, academic transfer and mobility helped to create a 'transregional Catholicism' in the Franco-Habsburg borderlands.

The next two chapters offer interesting perspectives on Oberman's thesis. Reconsidering the case of Jan Hus (1369–1415), Timothy Orr investigates why the prominent Czech reformer chose to remain a member of his community. Orr suggests that even during times of persecution remaining at home was actually a much more common choice than exile, and therefore advocates that Reformation history should pay greater attention to the idea of 'remaining', in addition to the theologies of martyrdom and exile.

Johannes Müller focuses on the particular case of Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert (1522–90), a well-known artist and writer from the Low Countries, who never had an academic theological education and is therefore often considered to be a 'lay theologian'. Müller argues that Coornhert's rather unorthodox views had been shaped by successive periods of banishment. These punishments turned him into an anti-confessional Christian believer, who never broke with the Catholic Church, but deplored the divisions that had grown between various Christian churches. Consequently, he developed a rather personal spiritualism. Hence, Müller urges the reader to abandon the concept of 'exile theology' as a typical Reformed phenomenon and refrain from identifying it as a mere process of radicalization.

The final chapter to this volume reconstructs the 1578 emigration of Reformed preachers from the Palatinate to the Low Countries, and, more particularly, to the eastern province of Guelders (Gelderland or Gelre). Christiaan Ravensbergen describes how after the death of the Elector Palatine Friedrich III in 1576, the Lutheran succession caused the forced departure of several hundred Reformed professors, ministers and schoolmasters. Local Reformed patrons in and around Dutch Guelders decided to attract some of these exiles from the Palatinate in

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order to provide ministers for their ongoing Protestantization of the province. However, these encountered only limited success: language problems began soon after the arrival of the German ministers, as many were unable to address their new communities in Dutch. Although most studies overlook such language problems, Ravensbergen demonstrates how this type of barrier was a serious obstacle to confessional migration.

## IV. Periphery and Borderlands

Focusing on the process of 'crossing borders' in peripheries and borderlands, all chapters contribute to the de-centering of religious reform in early modern Europe.[15] As a result, marginal regions figure prominently alongside central ones. Actually, a distinction between center and periphery in terms of Reformation strategies increasingly seems misleading. Boeglin reminds us that Luther's ideas, as well as those of many other German reformers, circulated in humanist circles on the Iberian peninsula shortly after 1520, showing that Spain was by no means on the fringes of the ongoing religious debate. Covering the same pivotal era, Brilkman alleges that Sweden was well-connected to the German-speaking lands through an intensive book trade, even if contemporary Scandinavia constituted the periphery of European book production. Ittzés, starting his analysis in Strasbourg rather than Wittenberg, explains how Lutheran beliefs concerning departed souls changed through border-crossings within the Holy Roman Empire. Focusing on Catholic iconography, Jurkowlaniec traces the *Typus Ecclesiae's* impressive spread from the Baltic coast and Polish regions, first moving northward towards Sweden and then south and west towards Italy, France, the Low Countries, and Portugal. With respect to Central Europe, Tóth argues that Puritanism was not merely transposed from England to Hungary and Transylvania during the second half of the seventeenth century, but followed its own distinct course of development. Finally, Walsham and Soetaert use English translations of Catholic texts to question Anglocentric visions that for a long period have shaped the historiography of religious print culture in the British Isles.

While giving due attention to peripheries, this volume also highlights the central role of borderlands as hotbeds of religious experiments in the Early Modern Period.[16] Discussing the Rhineland as a natural division between the

15 H. Louthan/G. Murdock (ed.), *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe* (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 61; Leiden: Brill, 2015); T. Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

16 Case studies on the reformation in borderlands include: B. Forclaz, "La Suisse frontière de

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Empire and France, Van Tol argues that this region did not constitute a clearly delineated border, but a frontier resulting from successive warfare. He understands the Rhineland as a multilingual zone, influenced by both Paris and the centers of imperial power, and asks how the proximity of France helped to shape the relations between Lutherans within the Empire. Soen and Soetaert shift their attention towards France's border with the Low Countries. The newly-established Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai of 1559 was designed to incorporate the French-speaking provinces more closely into the Habsburg Low Countries. Nonetheless, the dismembered Ecclesiastical Province of Reims still constituted an important point of reference within the sacred landscape, spurring mobility between the universities of Douai and Reims during the Wars of Religion. Similar to the Rhineland, this border region proved to be a hub of mobility and cultural transfer between not only the Low Countries and France, but also the European mainland and the British Isles, even though it was a border region that frequently turned into a theatre of war throughout the Early Modern Period. Ravensbergen offers another perspective in his work on Guelders, a region in the east of the emerging Dutch Republic that has been largely neglected in studies of confessional migration in favor of the coastal provinces of the Low Countries, such as Holland and Zeeland.

Together, the chapters on peripheries and borderlands suggest the hypothesis that areas 'in between' centers, though often subject to warfare and looting, actually functioned as channels of transregional contacts, transfer, translation, and mobility that effectively changed the course of early modern reformations. Such a perspective is valuable since it shows that the better-known vertical relations between centers and peripheries were accompanied by rather unexpected horizontal connections, linking regions that have long been viewed as having little importance to wider historical developments. By locating change outside the centers of state and urban power, the essays in this volume contend that regions on the geographical, political, and historiographical periphery made significant, and often surprisingly innovative, contributions to the Protestant and Catholic Reformations in the Early Modern Era. For that reason, it is the

catholicité? Contre-Réforme et Réforme catholique dans le Corps helvétique", *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 106 (2012) 567–83; P. Denis (ed.), *Protestantisme aux frontières: la réforme dans le Duché de Limbourg et dans la Principauté de Liège (16e–19e siècles)* (Aubel: Gason, 1985); W. Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland: the Borderlands during the Reformation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976); R. Esser, "Upper Guelders' Four Points of the Compass: Historiography and Transregional Families in a Contested Border Region between the Empire, the Spanish Monarchy and the Dutch Republic", in B. De Ridder/V. Soen/W. Thomas/S. Verreyken (ed.), *Transregional Territories: Crossing Borders in the Early Modern Low Countries and Beyond* (Habsburg Worlds 2; Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

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conviction of the editors that Europe's peripheries and borderlands deserve a more central place in Reformation studies.

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# I. Transfer and Exchange

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Jonas van Tol

# The Rhineland and the Huguenots: Transregional Confessional Relations During the French Wars of Religion

The French Wars of Religion were conflicts with a strong transregional dimension. They were sparked in part by ideas developed beyond France, most notably in Strasbourg and Geneva, and shaped by foreign actors. News and rumours about the French wars, in turn, reverberated around Europe and had profound consequences on events in the Netherlands, the Empire, and beyond. Refugees from France left their mark – culturally, economically, and intellectually – throughout Protestant Europe.[1] Despite all of this, the historiography of the Wars of Religion has traditionally centred on the national dimensions of the conflict. Historians have for instance focused on the rise and decline of the Huguenot party, the effect of Calvinism on French society, the transformation of the traditional nobility, and the eventual resolution of the civil war in the Edict of Nantes.[2] More recently, the regional and local impact of the conflict has also been the subject of extensive research.[3] Work on the place of the wars in a wider European context has overwhelmingly focused on the international rather than the transregional. In other words, the study of the relations between France and other countries, as manifested, for example, in diplomatic

1 G. Murdock, *Beyond Calvin, The Intellectual, Political and Cultural World of Europe's Reformed Churches, c. 1540–1620* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2004) 31–52; O.P. Grell, "Merchants and Ministers: the Foundation of International Calvinism", in A. Pettegree/A. Duke/G. Lewis (ed.) *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 258–59; O.P. Grell, *Brethren in Christ, A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

2 See amongst others J.H.M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1979); H. Daussy, *Le parti huguenot, chronique d'une désillusion (1557–1572)* (Geneva: Droz, 2014); J. Mariéjol, *La Réforme et la Ligue: l'Édit de Nantes, 1559–1598* (Paris: Tallandier, 1983); D. Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu, La violence au temps des troubles de religion (vers 1525 – vers 1610)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990).

3 See for instance: D. Potter, *War and Government in the French Provinces, Picardy 1470–1560* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); S. Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion, the Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

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traffic, has overshadowed interest in developments that transcended borders and affected borderlands.[4] The relative neglect of the transregionality of the French Wars of Religion does not match sixteenth-century interpretations of the conflict. Contemporary observers were acutely aware of the place of the wars in the wider European context. They attributed blame to foreign powers, sought succour beyond the borders of France, and cultivated international confessional connections.

This chapter aims to illuminate one important but problematic transregional dimension: the relationship between German Protestants and French Huguenots. In particular, the Protestant princes of the Rhineland played a central role, engaging in the wars in France through diplomacy and military intervention.[5] After discussing the existing historiography on German intervention, this chapter will examine the various factors that shaped this particular transregional confessional connection.[6] It will be demonstrated that the changing relations between Protestants within the Holy Roman Empire, and, in particular, the conversion of Elector Palatine Friedrich III, had a profound impact on German attitudes towards the Huguenots and, by extension, on the course of the French Wars of Religion.

## I. The Rhineland Princes and the French Wars of Religion

The border region between France and the Holy Roman Empire, including Alsace, Lorraine, and the German Rhineland, was extraordinarily permeable, even by early modern standards. Debates about the nature of this complex region and its inhabitants were common among sixteenth-century scholars, many of whom

4 Examples of works with a strong focus on the international dimension of the Wars of Religion are: L. Romier, *Les origines politiques des Guerres de Religion* (Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1974) and N.M. Sutherland, *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559–1572* (London: Macmillan, 1973).

5 I use the term 'Rhineland' to describe the border region between France and the Holy Roman Empire, including the lands between the Meuse and the Rhine and the lands directly east of the Rhine, including the Margraviate of Baden, the Electoral Palatinate, and parts of the Duchy of Württemberg.

6 The use of the term 'German' is problematic. There was no German state and the princes studied in this paper cultivated a cosmopolitan noble identity. Yet, beginning in the fifteenth century onwards, there was an ever-closer association between the Holy Roman Empire and a German identity (the Empire was regularly referred to as 'The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation'). Moreover, the Imperial princes routinely referred to themselves as "the German Electors and princes" ("die Teutschen Chur und Fürsten"): Stuttgart, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (HStASt) A 71 Bü 920, fol. 56 a. Therefore, I have also chosen to use the term 'the German princes' when referring to the princes of the German-speaking part of the Holy Roman Empire.

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developed a strong interest in the ancient origins of peoples, states, and languages.[7] These debates acquired a political dimension when they engaged with the issue of 'natural borders'.[8] Clear natural demarcations, such as rivers, were often used to determine the precise location of a border. In the case of France and the Empire, however, theorists disputed whether the Rhine or the Meuse constituted this 'natural border'.[9] The origins of this dispute can be found in the division of Charlemagne's inheritance in 843, which, in addition to France and the Holy Roman Empire, created the kingdom of Middle Francia between the Rhine and Meuse.[10] In the sixteenth century, both France and the Empire claimed the strip of land between the two rivers. The French king, Henri II, actively pursued this claim and in 1552, with the aid of a number of Lutheran imperial princes, seized the *Trois-Évêchés*: Toul, Metz, and Verdun.[11]

Thus, France and the Empire were, in practice, not separated by a *limite*, a clear linear border, but by a *frontière*, a zonal border prone to war (*faire la frontière*).[12] This zone was multilingual, as equally susceptible to cultural and intellectual influences from Paris as from the centres of imperial power, and home to large numbers of migrants and religious refugees.[13] Urban centres such as Strasbourg were particularly cosmopolitan and home to scholars and theologians from across the continent.[14]

The Rhineland's aristocracy also looked west as much as east, relying on France for the education of their children and for patronage opportunities.[15] Though nominally members of the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire, the Rhineland princes also maintained an important stake in the governance of

7 H. Kloft, "Die Germania des Tacitus und das Problem eines deutschen Nationalbewußtseins", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72 (1990) 93–114.

8 R. Babel, *Deutschland und Frankreich im Zeichen der Habsburgischen Universalmonarchie (1500–1648)* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005) 166–80.

9 Potter, *War and Government*, 266.

10 Babel, *Deutschland und Frankreich*, 166–68.

11 F.J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France 1547–1559* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988) 146–59.

12 Potter, *War and Government*, 267.

13 Babel, *Deutschland und Frankreich*, 105–22; B. Vogler, "Les contacts culturels entre Huguenots français et Protestants palatins au 16e siècle", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 115 (1969) 29–42.

14 M. Greengrass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987) 21; T.A. Brady, *Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489–1553) and the German Reformation* (Atlantic Highlands N.J.: Humanities Press, 1995) 104–41; H.J. Cohn, "The Early Renaissance Court in Heidelberg", *European History Quarterly* 1 (1971) 313.

15 Vogler, "Les contacts culturels", 29–42; B. Vogler, "Le rôle des Électeurs Palatins dans les Guerres de Religion en France (1559–1592)", *Cahiers d'Histoire* 10 (1965) 52; M. Langsteiner, *Für Land und Luthertum: die Politik Herzog Christoph von Württemberg, 1550–1568* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2008) 14.

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France.[16] Many of them owned land on the fringes of France, shared family ties with the French aristocracy, or had spent prolonged periods of time in this country. A number of influential Rhineland noblemen, including the Elector Palatine and Duke Christoph of Württemberg, even held important positions at the French Court.[17] The intensity of the connection between France and the Rhineland reached new heights in 1552, when the theatre of the Habsburg-Valois Wars shifted from Italy to the Franco-Imperial frontier. Rather than pitting the Rhineland princes against the French monarchy, their shared antipathy towards the Habsburgs brought the two parties closer together and into a formal alliance.[18] French interest in the cultivation of good relations with the Protestant princes of the Rhineland was given further importance by their control over the recruiting grounds for German *Landsknechte* and *Reiters*, some of Europe's finest mercenaries.[19] When the 1562 Massacre of Vassy led to the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion, the Protestant princes of the Rhineland were directly brought into the conflict by the efforts of both warring parties, who were vying for diplomatic, financial, and military support, as well as access to the mercenary markets.[20]

Though the German Protestant princes were heavily involved in the conflict from the very beginning, they rejected the idea of military intervention until the outbreak of the Second War in 1567. The Second and Third Wars, fought between 1567 and 1570, saw the climax of German involvement. During these years four major military campaigns into France were launched from the Rhineland. The first was conducted by Johann Casimir, son of the Reformed Elector Palatine Friedrich III.[21] The compatibility of Casimir's Reformed religion with the Huguenots' beliefs makes this campaign the easiest to explain. The second, led by

16 Their interest in France was not dissimilar to that of the seventeenth-century *princes étrangers*, studied by Jonathan Spangler: J. Spangler, "Les Princes Étrangers: Truly Princes? Truly Foreign? Typologies of Princely Status, Trans-nationalism and Identity in Seventeenth-Century France" (conference paper, Noblesses et Nations, Paris, 22–24 May 2013); J. Spangler, "A Lesson in Diplomacy for Louis XIV: The Treaty of Montmartre, 1662, and the Princes of the House of Lorraine", *French History* 17 (2003) 225–50.

17 J. van Tol, *Germany and the Coming of the French Wars of Religion: Confession, Identity, and Transnational Relations* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of York, 2016) 59–60.

18 J. Pariset, *Les relations entre la France et l'Allemagne au milieu du XVI^e siècle* (Strasbourg: Istra, 1981) 127–65; Baumgartner, *Henry II*, 147–48.

19 D. Potter, *Renaissance France at War: Armies, Culture and Society, c. 1480–1560* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008) 131–35.

20 See my PhD thesis for a detailed discussion of French diplomacy in the Rhineland during the first decade of the French Wars of Religion: van Tol, *Germany and the Coming of the French Wars of Religion*, 134–78.

21 *Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Johann Casimir mit Verwandten Schriftstücken*, ed. F. von Bezold (3 vol.; München: Rieger, 1882–1903) 1.17–34; Vogler, "Le rôle des Électeurs", 61.

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William of Orange and his brother, Louis of Nassau, was the most international.[22] Though initially intended to stir up a full-scale revolt in the Netherlands, his manoeuvring in Brabant was without success. In line with an earlier treaty between Orange and the Huguenot leadership, he instead decided to attempt to ease the "unbearable suffering of the poor besieged Christians in France".[23] After this French adventure had also stalled, William and Louis joined the Lutheran Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, who in 1569 fulfilled his longstanding ambition of joining the Huguenots on the battlefield.[24] Though Wolfgang died during his march through France, his forces still managed to join the Huguenot army. Shortly after, the Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye was signed. These three missions contrast strongly with the fourth, in which Margrave Philibert of Baden joined his fellow-Lutheran Johann Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar in his effort to support the French Catholic army with a regiment of *Reiters*.[25]

The religious identities of the protagonists of these missions introduce a number of questions about their motives that are not adequately answered in the existing historiography. Why did a Lutheran prince such as Wolfgang of Zweibrücken see the plight of the Huguenots as a cause worth fighting for when his co-religionist, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, took up arms against them? Was the religious language used to underpin these campaigns merely a pretext employed to hide more cynical and self-serving motives? Whereas a number of historians since the nineteenth century have unravelled the diplomatic exchanges leading up to the campaigns and carefully mapped the progress of the German forces, they have not systematically examined the intellectual and religious context in which these decisions to intervene were made.[26] Without obvious confessional loyalties underpinning at least three out of four campaigns, the religious di-

22 P.J. van Herweden, *Het verblijf van Lodewijk van Nassau in Frankrijk, hugenoten en geuzen, 1568–1572* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1932) 23–30; M. Weis, "'Les Huguenots et les Gueux': des relations entre les calvinistes français et leurs coreligionnaires des Pays-Bas pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle", in Y. Krumenacker/O. Christin (ed.), *Entre calvinistes et catholiques: les relations religieuses entre la France et les Pays-Bas du Nord (XVIe–XVIIIe Siècle)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010) 1–29.

23 "das unleidlich Elendt der armen betrangten Christen in Franckreich": Herweden, *Het verblijf van Lodewijk van Nassau*, 24.

24 Herweden, *Het verblijf van Lodewijk van Nassau*, 46–58.

25 A. Krieger, "Philibert, Markgraf von Baden-Baden", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 25 (1887) 739–41.

26 F.W. Barthold, *Deutschland und die Hugenotten, Geschichte des Einflussen der Deutschen auf Frankreichs Kirchliche und Bürgerliche Verhältnisse von der Zeit der Schmalkaldischen Bundes bis zum Gesetze von Nantes, 1531–1598* (Bremen: Verlag von Franz Schlodtmann, 1848); K. Hahn, *Herzog Johann Wilhelm von Weimar und Seine Beziehungen zu Frankreich* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907); van Herweden, *Het verblijf van Lodewijk van Nassau*; J. Ney, "Pfalzgraf Wolfgang, Herzog von Zweibrücken und Neuburg", *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* 29 (1911) 1–124; W. Platzhoff, *Frankreich und die Deutschen Protestanten in den Jahren 1570–1573* (Munich: Oldenburg, 1912).

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mension has largely been downplayed. Lacking clear motives, the actions of the princes are often attributed to opportunism. Assessing the Palatine campaign, Bernard Vogler discerns a very stark contrast between the pious Elector and his self-serving son:

> The Palatine interventions in the affairs of France were the work of two surprisingly dissimilar characters, and yet very representative of the sixteenth century, at once austere and brutal: the Elector Friedrich III, called the Pious, ardent disciple of reform, and his son Johann Casimir, bad boy and jolly fellow, in search of adventure.[27]

Vogler makes a similar argument about Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, describing him as "an adventurer without political ideas".[28] Johann Wilhelm's mission has been explained in similar terms. Gregor Richter describes the Duke as an opportunist primarily interested in furthering his "concrete political interests".[29] Though a taste for adventure and a desire to display their military prowess may have played a role in their decision to embark on a military campaign, this cannot fully explain the variety of responses to the outbreak of war that could be found among the Protestant nobility of the Empire. Instead, we have to look more closely at the complexities of the confessional landscape within the Holy Roman Empire, as well as in France, in order to make sense of the sometimes confusing religious dimension of these campaigns. The German princes' interpretations of the Wars in France were firmly rooted in their own religious identities, which were more complex than simply Lutheran or Reformed. Moreover, these identities, and their resulting vision of France, were shaped by events that were unfolding within the Empire in the 1560s.

## II. German Understandings of the French Wars of Religion

The French Wars of Religion were not understood in either eschatological or ideological terms within Germany, but as murky and morally ambiguous conflicts. Accusations of covert actions, hidden motives, and the use of religious justifications as a pretext for pursuing political betterment can be found

27 "Les interventions palatines dans les affaires françaises seront l'œuvre de deux personnages étonnamment dissemblables, et pourtant si representatives de ce XVI[e] siècle à la fois austere et brutal: l'Electeur Fréderic III, surnommé le Pieux, ardent disciple de la Réforme, et son fils Jean-Casimir, mauvais garçon et joyeux drille en quête d'aventures": Vogler, "Le rôle des Électeurs Palatins", 54.

28 "un adventurier sans idées politiques": Vogler, "Le rôle des Électeurs Palatins", 62.

29 "handfeste politischen Interessen": G. Richter, "Württemberg und der Kriegzeug des Herzogs Johann Wilhelm von Sachsen nach Frankreich im Jahr 1568", *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 26 (1967) 254.

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throughout both contemporary explanations and historical interpretations.[30] As is often the case in civil wars, the lack of natural allegiances beyond direct factional or familial circles forced the warring parties to embark on extensive and elaborate campaigns of justification. Because of their perceived influence, longstanding ties with France, and control of the mercenary markets, the Rhineland nobility were among the most important targets of these propaganda efforts. The importance of the Rhineland and the magnitude of French events together ensured that a steady stream of news, rumours, and polemical texts flowed from France into the Holy Roman Empire. This information, however, was always manipulated, translated, edited, or otherwise adapted to suit the purpose of those who provided it.

Ties between the noble houses of the Rhineland and France predated the outbreak of the Wars of Religion and were used by individuals from the region to stay informed about the latest developments. This interaction was greatly aided by the ability of many Rhineland noblemen to read and write French.[31] Throughout the first decade of the Wars of Religion, the princes of Württemberg, the Palatinate, and Hesse, for example, continually corresponded with their French peers, including Condé, Coligny, the Guise brothers, and Catherine de' Medici.[32] Germans in France also provided information through correspondence. Jean Philippe of Salm, for instance, served as a mercenary captain in the French royal army and shared his insights into the nature of the conflict with his peers in the Rhineland.[33] Besides these informal networks, the warring parties in France established formal diplomatic ties within the Empire. French diplomats toured the courts of the German princes, especially those in the Rhineland. Among these envoys were prominent members of the Huguenot party, such as

30 Both sides accused each other of covering up the true motives behind their actions in the Wars of Religion. For Catholic accusations of the Huguenots' covert agenda, see: François II to Philipp of Hesse, 17 March 1559: Marburg, Hessische Staatsarchiv Marburg (HStAM) 3, 1843, fol. 87–88. For a good example of the language used by Protestants to describe the perceived Catholic conspiracy, see: *Newe Zeittung von Franckreich unnd Niderlandt. Christlichen und hochwichtige gründe und ursache[n]/ Warumb die Teutschen kriegsleut die Christen inn Franckreich und Niderlandt nicht verfolgen helffen/ oder auff einige weise sich zu iren feinden wider sie gestellen sollen. Allen Ehrlichen, unnd Frommen Teutschen zu einem newen Jar geschenckt* (s.l.: s.n., 1568).

31 Christoph of Württemberg and Friedrich III, for example, both learned fluent French at the French court, while Wilhelm of Hesse studied the language in Strasbourg. Langsteiner, *Für Land und Luthertum*, 13–14; W. Ribbeck, "Wilhelm IV., Landgraf von Hessen", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 43 (1898) 32; van Tol, *Germany and the Coming of the French Wars of Religion*, 60–62.

32 See for instance: HStASt A 71; *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürsten* von der Pfalz, mit Verwandten Schriftstücken, ed. A. Kluckhohn (2 vol.; Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetschte und Sohn, 1868/1870); HStAM 3, 1851.

33 Jean-Philippe of Salm to Friedrich III, 25 August 1562: *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen*, ed. Kluckhohn, 1.329–30.

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François de Coligny d'Andelot, brother of Gaspard de Coligny, and the famous theorists François Hotman and François Baudouin.[34] The French crown also dispatched a number of prominent individuals, most notably Bernardin Bochetel, the Bishop of Rennes.[35] Heidelberg, the most important city in the Reformed Palatinate, served as a centre for the dissemination of information about France. Huguenot diplomats used the court of the Elector Palatine as the starting point for their journeys into the Empire and the city's printing presses churned out a considerable number of pro-Huguenot pamphlets in German.[36] These pamphlets were specifically written for a German readership and, though they echoed many of the arguments common in French polemic, also often warned of the consequences of the French Wars of Religion for the Rhineland. German pamphlets arguing for the Catholic cause were less numerous, but were still effective in countering the Huguenot narrative.[37] Pamphlets about France were often presented as impartial and factual reports. They explicitly claimed to be accurate and trustworthy and, in many cases, quoted eyewitnesses, provided detailed accounts of battles, and included German translations of French treaties and proclamations.[38] For the careful reader, however, their polemical tone must have been obvious.

Together, the informal peer networks, diplomatic activity, and printed pamphlets constituted a body of information that was rich, but unreliable. German

34 Friedrich III to Christoph of Württemberg, 20 July 1562: *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen*, ed. Kluckhohn, 2.318; D.R. Kelley, *François Hotman, a Revolutionary's Ordeal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) 99–167.

35 Charles IX to the princes of Germany, 1 November 1567: Paris, Bibiothèque Nationale de France (BnF), *Manuscrits français* 15918, fol. 21.

36 C. Zwierlein, "Une propaganda huguenote internationale: le début des Guerres de Religion en France perçues en Allemagne, 1560–1563", in J. Foa/P. Mellet (ed.), *Le bruit des armes mises en formes et désinformations en Europe pendant les Guerres de Religion (1560–1610)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012) 397–415; C. Zwierlein, "The Palatinate and Western Europe, 1555–1563", in C. Strohm/J. Stievermann (ed.), *The Heidelberg Catechism: Origins, Characteristics, and Influences, Essays in Reappraisal on the Occasion of its 450th Anniversary* (Gütersloh: Gütersloh Verlaghaus, 2015) 171.

37 There was no uniform Catholic party in France during the French Wars of Religion. The monarchy and influential Catholic noblemen (and later, the Catholic League) on many occasions steered different courses. However, they did share an interest in preventing the formation of close ties between the Huguenots and German Protestants. For the purpose of this chapter, it is thus possible to speak of Catholic pamphlets or Catholic diplomatic activity. The precise origin of many of these pamphlets is unclear. The activities of Catholic diplomats were in most cases directed by Catherine de' Medici.

38 A good example: *Newe warhafftige Zeitung aus Franckreich, Nemlich das Edict unnd Erklerung des Durchleuchtigen und Christlichen Fürsten und Herrn/ Herrn Carlen des Namens des 9. Von Wegen der fridshandlung und hinlegung de Empöru[n]g so gegenwertige zeit zwüschen seiner königlichen würden und dem hochgebornen Printzen von Conde sampt seinen mitverwanten wider in gemeltem königreich entstanden und eingrissen, Auß dem französichen trewlich und fleissig verdolmetscht*, (s.l: s.n., 1568).

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consumers of news concerning France were of course worried about its accuracy,[39] but much of the information provided was, in the first place, intended to build a support base in the Rhineland, making accuracy subservient to polemics.

French efforts to win favour among the German princes already started before the outbreak of war in 1562. Henri II had adopted a policy of wooing the Rhineland princes as part of his anti-Habsburg campaign. The French tempered anti-Protestant rhetoric, promoted the idea of a General Council of the Church, which would involve Lutherans, and welcomed many Germans, who served in France's army and accepted French pensions. Following Henri's death in 1559 this policy was continued by Antoine de Bourbon, who built up good contacts with both the German Protestant princes, and Charles de Lorraine. These contacts led to discussions about German involvement at the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561.[40] In response to this, both the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Württemberg dispatched theological embassies to France.[41] Even after the failure of Poissy Cardinal Charles de Lorraine and his brother, the Duke of Guise, continued to court the Lutheran Duke of Württemberg, which led to a meeting between them in the Alsatian town of Saverne in 1562. The House of Guise was a cadet branch of the House of Lorraine and had deep roots in the Empire, which strengthened ties with the Duke of Württemberg and other German princes.[42] At Saverne, the Cardinal downplayed the differences between his own beliefs and those of Christoph, arguing that "I confide only in Jesus Christ; I know well that not the mother of our Lord, nor the saints can aid me; I also know well that I cannot be saved by my good works, but by the merits of Jesus Christ", to which Württemberg replied: "I hear this with joy; the Lord wants to keep you in this confession".[43] Though this move has often been interpreted as an attempt to drive a wedge between the German Lutherans and the French Reformed Protestants, it

39 A. Schäfer, "The Acquisition and Handling of News on the French Wars of Religion: The Case of Hermann Weinsberg" in J. Raymond/N. Moxham (ed.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016) 701–2.

40 D. Nugent, *Ecumenism in the Age of the Reformation: the Colloquy of Poissy* (Cambridge MA.: Harvard University Press, 1974) 59.

41 G. Bossert, "Die Reise der Württembergische Theologen nach Frankreich im Herbst 1561", *Württembergische Vierteljahreshefte für Landesgeschichte* 8 (1899) 351–412.

42 S. Carroll, *Martyrs & Murderers, The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 21–4.

43 "Je me confie uniquement en Jésus-Christ; je sais bien que ni la mère de notre Seigneur, ni les saints ne peuvent m'être en aide; je sais bien aussi que je ne pais être sauvé par mes bonnes œuvres, mais par les mérites de Jésus-Christ … j'entends avec joie; le Seigneur veuille vous maintenir dans cette confession.": A. Muntz (ed.), "Entrevue du Duc Christophe de Würtemberg avec les Guise, a Saverne, peu jour savant le Massacre de Vassy, 1562. Relation autographe du Duc de Würtemberg", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 4 (1856) 187.

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is likely that the position articulated by Lorraine was reflective of the views of the evangelical-Gallican wing of the French Catholic Church.[44] Both theological encounters underlined the complexity of transregional confessional relations between France and the Empire. At a time when the presence of the German theologians in France accentuated the rifts between Reformed Protestant and Lutherans, the Guise brothers sought to bridge the seemingly unbridgeable divide between Catholicism and Lutheranism, thus further disrupting any sense of a clear-cut Catholic-Protestant opposition.

The courting of the Lutheran nobility of the Rhineland by both Catholics and Huguenots continued with increased intensity after the outbreak of violence in March 1562. Within months of the Massacre of Vassy, two conflicting accounts of this pivotal event, one by the Catholic Duke of Guise and the other by an anonymous Huguenot writer, were sent to Christoph of Württemberg.[45] Whereas the Huguenot writer attributed the bloodshed to a Catholic hatred of everything Protestant, the Duke was at pains to communicate that the congregation was not attacked because they were Protestant, but because they broke the king's laws.

These contrasting interpretations of the massacre are characteristic of the ways in which the opposing parties explained the Wars of Religion. Huguenot justifications essentially consisted of two elements. The first underlined the Huguenots' obedience and the second their piety. Using the traditional trope of the evil councillor, the Huguenot leader, the Prince of Condé, argued that he acted solely to defend his own position and that of the king against the political ambitions of rival families, especially the Guise family.[46] It is clear from the German princes' correspondence that the Huguenot diplomats were keen to stress at every opportunity that their actions should not be described as a reprehensible rebellion against the king, but much more as "a permissible natural defence against his enemy, the Cardinal of Guise and his adherents".[47] Moreover,

44 S. Carroll, "The Compromise of Charles de Lorraine: New Evidence", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 54 (2003) 469–83; L. Racaut, "The Sacrifice of the Mass and the Redefinition of Catholic Orthodoxy During the French Wars of Religion", *French History* 24 (2009) 20–39; A. Tallon, "Le Cardinal de Lorraine au Concile de Trente", in Y. Bellenger (ed.), *Le mécénat et l'influence des Guises. Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre de Recherche sur la Littérature de la Renaissance de l'Université de Reims et tenu à Joinville du 31 mai au 4 juin 1994 (et à Reims pour la journée du 2 juin)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997) 331–34.

45 Anonymous account of the Massacre at Vassy, 1562, *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour server a l'Histoire de France, depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'a la Fin du XVIII^e*, ed. J.F. Michaud/J.J.F. Poujoulat (Paris: Imprimerie d'Édouard Proux, 1839) 6.472–3; "François de Guise to Christoph of Württemberg, 17 March 1562", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 24 (1875) 212–17.

46 R.M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563* (Geneva: Droz, 1956) 107.

47 "ein sträfliche Rebellion wider den König, sondern vielmehr eine erlaubte natürliche De-

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