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tam nova*

*Studies in History of Christianity in Honour of Mathijs
Lamberigts*

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Lamberigts*

Edited by / Sous la direction de

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Borderland Bishops in Cambrai

Noblemen Defending the Frontiers of Faith in the Age of the Council of Trent

Both Reformers and the Tridentine Church Fathers agreed on at least one point: they blamed absent bishops for any deplorable conditions in either the Church or pastoral life in Latin Europe. In historiography, then, episcopal absenteeism has been primarily explained by identifying the bishops' noble rank and their desire to remain close to the prince or pope rather than caring for their flock. As such, historians of both the Catholic and Protestant Reformations have repeatedly evoked the archetypal figure of the pre-Tridentine noble bishop seeking to aggrandize family patrimony and noble interest at the expense of the Church's interests.¹ While there is no doubt that

* The author wishes to thank Laura Hollevoet and Aurelie Van de Meulebroucke, two KU Leuven history alumni who, under her supervision and guidance, wrote their MA-thesis co-authored contributions on (arch)bishops in Cambrai in 2017. She greatly benefited from writing co-authored articles with her colleague Wim François on the Council of Trent and the relationship between Robert de Croÿ and Jacobus Latomus, his tutor, during the crucial decade of the 1520s. She also profited from her close work with her former supervisee dr. Alexander Soetaert, who has now published his dissertation on the Catholic printing press in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cambrai in the KVAB series of Peeters Publishers. This essay frames these interpretations within the methodology developed by www.transregionalhistory.eu, her research team dedicated to studying the phenomenon of crossing borders in early modern times. In addition, the author has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement n° 770309) *RETOPEA: Religious Tolerance and Peace*.

1 A classic view discussing the noble background of episcopal nominations before Trent: H. COOLS, 'Bishops in the Habsburg Netherlands on the Eve of the Catholic Renewal, 1515-59', in *Episcopal Reform and Politics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by J. DESILVA, Kirksville: Truman State University, 2012, pp. 46-62, echoing e.g. T. DE HEMPTINNE, 'De geestelijken', in *Prinsen en Poorters. Beelden van de laat-middeleeuwse samenleving in de Bourgondische Nederlanden 1384-1530*, ed. by W. PREVENIER, Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1998, pp. 60-61. Since then, Nicole Lemaitre has contributed to the reassessment of pre-Tridentine episcopacy and its role in Catholic Reform: 'L'idéal pastoral de réforme et le Concile de Trente (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle)', in *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1540-1700)*, 3 volumes ed. by W. FRANÇOIS – V. SOEN, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018, vol. II, pp. 9-32, and the forthcoming W. FRANÇOIS – G. GIELIS, 'From Princes to Pastors. The "episcopal turn" in Sixteenth-Century Catholicism', in *The Reshaping of Catholicism: Twelve Events That Shaped Today's Church*, ed. by T. MERRIGAN – M. LAMBERIGTS – J. GELDHOF – W. FRANÇOIS (forthcoming). For the Low Countries, see: G. GIELIS, 'Viri docti et periti rerum divinarum. Leuven Theologians, Ecclesiastical Reform and the "Episcopal Turn"

Pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam nova, ed. by Jean-Marie AUWERS & Dries VANYSACKER, Turnhout, 2020 (*Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 107), pp. 129-144.

the late medieval curia and courts attracted bishops – and continued to do so throughout the early modern period – scholars often underestimate how noble bishops seized upon the Council of Trent and matters of Catholic Reform as a means of refashioning their own noble identity and to explore new sources of power and prestige during the pan-European Wars of Religion.² Thus, in reassessing the relationship between nobility, episcopacy, and Catholic Reform in the Age of Trent, this chapter blends the histories of both church councils and bishops, reflecting two lifelong academic interests of Mathijs Lamberigts, our highly esteemed colleague and church historian to whom we dedicate this essay and volume.

Focusing on the diocese of Cambrai, this essay examines the very specific setting of early modern borderlands in the fractured regions of north-western Europe.³ Since the Merovingian era, the bishopric stretched along the Scheldt River towards its estuary in the North Sea near Antwerp. As a late testimony to the fractured Middle Kingdom of Lotharingia, it developed into a quintessential ‘border diocese’ during the high Middle Ages.⁴ Despite privileges of neutrality

in the early modern Low Countries’, in *Louvain, Belgium, and Beyond: Studies in Religious History in Honour of Leo Kenis*, ed. by M. LAMBERIGTS – W. DE PRIL, Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2018, pp. 23-38, which links the teachings of early sixteenth-century Louvain theologians on the pastoral role of the bishop with the 1559 bishopric reform. For more on recent wider reflection on elite formation and ecclesiastical careers, consult: F. D’AVENIA, ‘Elites and Ecclesiastical Careers in Early Modern Sicily: Bishops, Abbots and Knights’, *Revue d’Histoire ecclésiastique*, 109 (2014), 625-655.

- 2 D. VANYSACKER, ‘Bilancio storiografico della storia delle diocesi nell’area Belga-Olandese dopo la riorganizzazione del 1559’, *Storia della Chiesa in Europa tra ordinamento politico-amministrativo e strutture ecclesiastiche*, ed. by L. VACCARO, Brescia: Morcelliana, 2005, pp. 121-138. For the most recent update on Catholic reform before and after 1559 in the Low Countries, consult the different chapters in: *Church, Censorship and Reform in the early modern Habsburg Netherlands*, ed. by V. SOEN – D. VANYSACKER – W. FRANÇOIS, Turnhout/Leuven-Louvain-la-Neuve: Brepols Publishers/Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique, 2017.
- 3 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*, 21:3 (2017), 343-364 sketches the broader methodological framework for border and borderlands research. For its repercussions on the broader field of Reformation Studies: *Transregional Reformations: Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by V. SOEN – A. SOETAERT – J. VERBERCKMOES – W. FRANÇOIS, and its introduction, ‘Crossing (Disciplinary) Borders: When Reformation Studies Meet Transregional History’, pp. 157-186. Also see: *Les sociétés de frontière. De la Méditerranée à l’Atlantique (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, ed. by M. BERTRAND – N. PLANAS, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011.
- 4 M. CHARTIER, ‘Cambrai’, *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. XI, Paris: Letouzey, 1949, col. 547-548; J. S. OTT, ‘Both Mary and Martha’: Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese around 1100’, in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by J. S. OTT – A. TRUMBORE JONES, Routledge: Aldershot, 2007, pp. 137-160. A more recent bibliography on Catholic Reform in Cambrai is to be found in A. SOETAERT, *De katholieke drukpers in de kerkprovincie Kamerijk: Contacten, mobiliteit & transfers in een grensgebied (1559-1659)*, Leuven: Peeters Publishers (KVAB Series 34), 2019, introduction.

since the fourteenth century, the frontier city experienced repeated episodes of plundering and sacking during the late medieval Franco-Burgundian and later Franco-Habsburg dynastic wars. By the early sixteenth century, then, the bishopric figured as the southernmost principality of the Westphalian Circle in the Holy Roman Empire, with Maximilian I promoting the bishop to Duke of Cambrai (the city) and Count of Le Cateau-Cambrésis (the surroundings) and vesting him with the right to participate in the Diet. Endowed with important revenues and geostrategic interests, the see developed into a highly desirable position for second or younger sons of noble (and even aristocratic) families from these border regions, and nomination conflicts between French and Burgundian-Habsburg candidates often made it to the papal curia.⁵

With the 1559 bishopric reform in the Low Countries desired by King Philip II, Pope Paul IV promoted Cambrai to a metropolitan see that reigned over a vast ecclesiastical province including most of the Francophone Netherlands at its southern the border with France. As such, the new archiepiscopal see became even more attractive for those noble houses from the borderlands seeking support and patronage from the Habsburg dynasty.⁶ As a result, Robert de Croÿ and Maximilien de Berghes, respectively holding the see of Cambrai between 1517 and 1570, stemmed from aristocratic families which aligned their interests with the Burgundian and Habsburg dynasties in the Low Countries, yet hedged their bets by maintaining kin and property in both France and the Empire.⁷ Somewhat counterintuitively, the factional strife between their noble lineages made them more – rather than less – active in spreading Catholic Reform: it served as a means of reasserting their position in a rapidly changing religious landscape torn apart by religious war and divisions within Christianity. Moreover, their position at the crossroads of the Holy Roman Empire, France, and the Low Countries turned these ‘borderland bishops’ into crucial actors who defined the frontiers of faith during the Reformation era.⁸

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- 5 J. SPANGLER, ‘Those in Between: Princely Families on the Margins of the Great Powers – The Franco-German Frontier, 1477-1830’, in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages*, ed. by C. H. JOHNSON – D. W. SABEAN – S. TEUSCHER – F. TRIVELLATO, New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2011, pp. 131-154; Also see the introduction by the editors.
 - 6 Although most potential bishops were now required to hold a university degree, a condition that some grandees vehemently opposed: M. DIERICKX, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II, 1559-1570*, Antwerpen/Utrecht: Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1950, pp. 52-53.
 - 7 V. SOEN, ‘La nobleza y la frontera entre los Países Bajos y Francia: las casas nobiliarias Croÿ, Lalaing y Berlaymont en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI’, in *Fronteras. Procesos y prácticas de integración y conflictos entre Europa y América (siglos XVI-XX)*, ed. by V. FAVARÒ – M. MERLUZZI – G. SABATINI, Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica/Red Columnaria, 2017, pp. 427-436.
 - 8 Based on his extensive data concerning the Catholic printing press in this new ecclesiastical province, Alexander Soetaert has been able to develop a similar argument about

Borderland nobility

Not surprisingly so, in the Cambrai border diocese, matters of Catholic reform became a part of the perennial conflict between the Burgundian-Habsburg and Valois dynasties. At least by the late fifteenth century, the southernmost part of the bishopric of Cambrai, adjacent to that of Thérouanne, had turned into the preferential battlefield for the Duke of Burgundy's and the King of France's battles over influence and (over)lordship in such border provinces as Artois, Hainaut, Tournai, and aristocratic enclaves like Saint-Pol. Since most of the bishopric's northern region consisted of the Burgundian counties of Flanders and Brabant, the Duke anticipated the bishop's loyalty, while the King of France claimed a similar fidelity, leading to the aforementioned factional struggles that eventually reached the papal curia.⁹ Charles V, who held the combined titles of Duke of Burgundy and Emperor maintained a life-long aspiration to align ecclesiastical and political boundaries across the Low Countries, causing him to build a citadel in Cambrai in 1543 and destroy the city of Thérouanne ten years later, successfully precipitating the suppression of its see.

Cesaropapism peaked in the region when Philip II, Charles's son, eventually succeeded in obtaining a far-reaching episcopal reform program with the bull *Super Universas* of 1559: this papal endorsement significantly changed the geography of the bishopric from a long territory that stretched along the Scheldt to a compact jurisdiction surrounding the city.¹⁰ As compensation, and likely out of respect for its historical significance, the Pope promoted the see of Cambrai to an archdiocese, separate from the ecclesiastical province of Reims. Consisting of the dioceses of Tournai, Arras, Saint Omer, and Namur, the jurisdiction of the new ecclesiastical province of Cambrai roughly covered the French-speaking provinces of the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands. Due to the aforementioned citadel's construction in 1543 and the bishopric reform in 1559, the city and county of Cambrai-Cambrésis functioned as a satellite state of the Seventeen Provinces, but, simultaneously, it legally existed as a semi-sovereign imperial enclave falling under the regime of the 1555 Treaty of Augsburg. By straddling the Franco-Dutch-German border, it

contemporary Catholic Reform between the Holy Roman Empire and France, even extending his analysis to incorporate England: "Transferring Catholic Literature to the British Isles: The Publication of English Translations in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai, c. 1600-1650", in *Transregional Reformations*, pp. 157-185, cf. his database *Impressa Catholica Cameracensia* (https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/ICC_search).

9 H. COOLS, *Mannen met macht. Edellieden en de Moderne Staat in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse Nederlanden (1475-1530)*, Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2001, p. 65 and pp. 138-139.

10 G. DEREGNAUCOURT, 'Diocèses et évêques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux: les difficultés d'une frontière religieuse et politique (xvi^e-xviii^e siècles)', *Storia della Chiesa in Europa*, op. cit., pp. 237-238.

also became a religious frontier between Catholicism and Lutheranism on one side and Catholicism and Calvinism on the other. From onwards 1578, during the French Wars of Religion, Huguenots seized and ruled the city. Only as an unanticipated result of Philip's assistance to the French Catholic League and after waging an open siege in 1595, did Cambrai become formally integrated into the Habsburg Low Countries.¹¹

In the Franco-Burgundian borderlands, early modern rulers remained dependent on local elites to carry out their policies, yet the collaboration between princes and nobility was never straightforward. Both favoured and feared by the Burgundian dukes and their offspring, the House of Croÿ could count on their support to accumulate the impressive series of powerful episcopacies in the borderlands: from the late fifteenth century onwards, the family found great success in placing its male progeny in positions of power within the sees of Cambrai, Tournai, Saint Omer and Arras, all of which then belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Reims. Originally from Amiens in Picardy, the family name came from the nearby lordship Crouy-Saint-Pierre, situated in a region that had experienced a variety of shifting allegiances since the Hundred Years War.¹² Although the Burgundian dynasty clearly patronised this noble lineage, the House of Croÿ firmly established its place by keeping influence, titles, lordships, and estates in the Kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire.

Above all, the family took great pride in its control over the see of Cambrai, which allowed them to maintain prestige and seniority over the other bishoprics in the borderlands. The attachment must somehow have started in 1438 with the appointment of a bastard son of Duke John the Fearless, carried by his Croÿ mistress. In 1502, Jacques de Croÿ was the first official member of the family to occupy the see, with his nephew Guillaume succeeding him in 1516. With the latter's appointment as Archbishop of Toledo, the see fell into the hands of his

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- 11 J. J. RUIZ IBÁÑEZ – S. RAB, 'Théories et pratiques de la souveraineté dans la Monarchie hispanique : un conflit de juridictions à Cambrai', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 55:3 (2000), pp. 623-644; J. J. RUIZ IBÁÑEZ, *Felipe II y Cambrai: el consenso del pueblo. La soberanía entre la práctica y la teoría política (1595-1677)*, Madrid: Rosario Prohistoria, 2003, a French translation is currently in preparation.
- 12 *Noblesses transrégionales: Les Croÿ et les frontières pendant les guerres de religion en France, Lorraine et aux Pays-Bas*, ed. by V. SOEN – Y. JUNOT, Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming. For the fifteenth century particularly: V. SOEN, 'La Causa Croÿ et les limites du mythe bourguignon: la frontière, le lignage et la mémoire (1465-1475)', in *Mémoires conflictuelles et mythes concurrents dans les pays bourguignons (ca. 1380-1580)*, ed. by J.-M. CAUCHIES – P. PEPORTE, Neuchâtel: PCEEB, 2012, pp. 81-97; V. SOEN – H. COOLS, 'L'aristocratie transrégionale et les frontières. Les processus d'identification politique dans les maisons de Luxembourg-Saint-Pol et de Croÿ (1470-1530)', in *L'identité au pluriel. Jeux et enjeux des appartenances autour des anciens Pays-Bas, XIV^e-XVIII^e siècles*, ed. by V. SOEN – Y. JUNOT – F. MARIAGE, Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université de Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 2014, pp. 209-228; J.-M. CAUCHIES, "'Croît conseil" et ses "ministres". L'entourage politique de Philippe le Beau (1494-1506)', in *À l'ombre du pouvoir. Les entourages princiers au Moyen Âge*, ed. by A. MARCHANDISSE – J.-L. KUPPER, Liège: Université de Liège/Genève: Droz, 2003, pp. 291-411.

younger brother Robert; soon after, Charles, Robert's even younger brother, became Bishop of Tournai.¹³ The House of Croÿ witnessed a silent fall from grace with the abdication of Charles V in 1555: some have argued that Philip II likely acted upon his resentment of the Castilians, as one of the reasons for the *Comuneros* uprising had been Guillaume de Croÿ's appointment to the rich Toledo archdiocese. Even without that particular motive, however, it is clear that the King sought to break the Croÿ family's omnipotence favoured by his father, using Robert de Croÿ's death to carry out this plan.

As a result, in 1556, the see 'fell back' to the House of Glymes-Berghes, which had held the Cambrai see before the row of the three Croÿ bishops, and which since had family members on the see in Liège, also a prince-bishopric within the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁴ For that reason, Philip II, in concert with Antoine de Granvelle, the Bishop of Arras and the king's most-trusted advisor, pushed the cathedral chapter towards the election of Maximilien, son of a recognized bastard of the Berghes family. There were some clear advantages to this *divide et impera* strategy between the noble houses of the region: first, the Spanish King anticipated loyalty to his Crown rather than to Emperor Ferdinand, especially from a candidate with a 'bastard' background¹⁵; secondly, Philip II warned the new bishop to not over-aggrandize his power, as other noblemen with semi-sovereign statutes had earlier tried to do, all with negative outcomes.¹⁶

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- 13 A. DELOFFRE, 'La cité de Cambrai et les pays de Cambrésis sous les trois Croÿ, 1502-1556', *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai*, 43 (1888), 243-316; G. MOREAU, 'Guillaume (II) de Croÿ', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. by P. BIETENHOLZ – T. DEUTSCHER, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003, p. 367; R. BORN, *Les Croÿ. Une grande lignée hennuyère d'hommes de guerre, de diplomates, de conseillers secrets, dans les coulisses du pouvoir, sous les ducs de Bourgogne et la Maison d'Autriche (1390-1612)*, Brussels: Edit. d'Art Associés, 1981, p. 106. The powerful lord of Chièvres, Guillaume de Croÿ, once thought to have been the young Emperor Charles V's alter ego and guardian of his brother's siblings, orchestrated all of the favourable outcomes for the family: V. SOEN, 'The Chièvres legacy, the Croÿ family and litigation in Paris. Dynastic Identities between the Low Countries and France (1519-1559)', in *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities*, ed. by L. GEEVERS – M. MARINI, Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 1-15; SPANGLER, 'Those in between. Princely Families on the Franco-German Frontier, 1477-1830', *op. cit.*, p. 137.
- 14 On the precarious position of the Glymes-Berghes, see: V. SOEN, *Vredehandel. Adellijke en Habsburgse verzoeningspogingen tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand (1564-1581)*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012, pp. 65-68.
- 15 The taint of being born a bastard often led to frustrations on the part of the new (arch) bishop: while chosen to bless the marriage of the son of the governor-general on 11 November 1565, he only received an invitation for the festivities on the day itself and proceeded to spoil the wedding party with his bitter complaints that this was a result of his 'dishonor': Maximilien Morillon to Granvelle, 9 December 1565: *Correspondance du cardinal de Granvelle, 1565-1586* (hereafter CGr), ed. by C. POULLET – C. PIOT, 12 volumes, Bruxelles: Hayez, 1877-1896, vol. I, p. 44.
- 16 W. PARAVICINI, 'Peur, pratiques, intelligences. Formes de l'opposition aristocratique à Louis XI d'après les interrogatoires du connétable de Saint-Pol', in *La France de la fin du xv^e siècle. Renouveau et apogée. Économie – Pouvoirs – Arts – Culture et conscience nationale*, ed. by B. CHEVALIER – P. CONTAMINE, Paris: CNRS, 1985, pp. 186-189.

In 1559, the King appointed Jean de Glymes-Berghes, Maximilien's relative and *chef de famille*, governor of the province of Hainaut, thereby furthering the family's control over the diocese and creating a powerful orchestration between State and Church. This Habsburg strategy resulted in severe backlash, however, due to a combination of the unanticipated opposition of the Hainaut governor to the executions of heretics, his childless death during a mission to Spain in 1567, and his posthumous trial that led to a conviction for lese-majesty before the Council of Troubles and the confiscation of the family's castle in Bergen-op-Zoom. When the Archbishop eventually and unexpectedly died from apoplexy in August 1570. The King and the Duke of Alba had arranged everything so that the cathedral chapter could elect the son of the increasingly omnipresent Count of Berlaymont, despite not meeting the conditions imposed by Trent.¹⁷ It is remarkable that, even though Philip II promoted numerous Louvain alumni or university-trained candidates from non-noble background to the new bishoprics inaugurating an 'episcopal turn'¹⁸, he made a constant exception to this rule for the Cambrai border diocese, which increased the factional strife between the region's noble houses and made it a tangible reality both before and after Trent.

Promoting Catholic Reform

At least in 1519, Robert de Croÿ's appointment seemed to fit every stereotype of the pre-Tridentine noble bishop: his election happened at a very young age to substitute his brother Guillaume now promoted to Archbishop of Toledo and his nomination bull provided him with ample time to study before taking possession of the see. Hence, his absenteeism was not only foreseen by the Pope, but also legitimately sanctioned.¹⁹ As such, after his election, Robert's main residence remained in Leuven, where he had matriculated at the university the previous year, and lived in a city mansion close to one of the main Croÿ family castles in adjacent Heverlee.²⁰ Soon after his election, he was instructed by papal legate Alexander to promulgate the bull *Exsurge Domine*

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- 17 The Count of Berlaymont had recently been made a new trustee in Brussels's government, Violet SOEN, 'Collaborators and Parvenus? Berlaymont and Noircarmes, Loyal Noblemen in the Dutch Revolt', *Dutch Crossing: Journal for Low Countries Studies*, 35 (2011), 20-38 (p. 27).
- 18 V. SOEN, *Geen pardon zonder paus! Studie over de complementariteit van het koninklijk en pauselijk generaal pardon (1570-1574) en over inquisiteur-generaal Michael Baius (1560-1576)*, Brussels: KVAB Press, 2007, pp. 225-239 and passim; G. GIELIS, 'Franciscus Sonnius, 'vader aller nieuwe bisschoppen' en eerste bisschop van 's-Hertogenbosch en Antwerpen', *Post Factum. Jaarboek voor Geschiedenis en Volkskunde*, 2 (2010), 37-60.
- 19 [H.] GUILLAUME, 'Croÿ, (Robert de)', in: *Biographie Nationale*, dl. 4, Brussel, 1873, 566-567; V. SOEN – A. VAN DE MEULEBROUCKE, 'Vanguard Tridentine Reform in the Habsburg Netherlands: The Episcopacy of Robert de Croÿ, Bishop of Cambrai (1519-1556)', in *Church, Censorship and Reform in the early modern Habsburg Netherlands*, op. cit., pp. 125-144.
- 20 *Een stad en een geslacht: Leuven & Croÿ, Catalogus tentoonstelling in Museum Vanderkelen-Mertens van 9 mei tot 28 juni 1987*, ed. by J.-M. DUVOSQUEL, Kessel-Lo, 1987.



Fig. 1: A posthumous portrait of Robert de Croÿ, alluding to his many donations and foundations in Cambrai and especially in its Cathedral of Our Lady, dans [Jacques de Bie, graveur], *Livre contenant la genealogie et descente de ceux de la Maison de Croÿ tant de la ligne principale estant chef du nom* [Anvers, c. 1612] © Collection privée, photo by Violet Soen

excommunicating Luther, and he also legally endorsed the executions of the first Lutheran martyrs in Brussels.²¹ Robert was first tutored by the famous Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, but then switched to Jacobus Latomus, professor at the Faculty of Theology, which academic censures against Luther predated the papal condemnation. Spurred by the anti-Lutheran mentality of his new tutor, Robert soon engaged in the theological debate by acting as a patron for a local reprint of Pope Clement VII's apostolic brief *Pastoralis Curae* in 1524. In his introduction to the brief, entitled *Universis et Singulis Christifidelibus*, he outlined a defence of frequent confession in a rather overt reply to Luther's teachings.²²

In the decade between his election in 1519 and his instalment in 1529, borders seemed to haunt the mind of the young man. Once out of university and residing in a family castle in Havré, located on the border of Habsburg Hainaut and France, in 1527, he suddenly travelled to Hungary in order to obtain permission to fight the Ottomans on the frontiers of Christianity. As the war between the Emperor and the French King drew to an end, and their aunt and sister respectively began peace negotiations in the 'neutral' enclave of Cambrai, the family most likely instructed Robert to return to finally take possession of his see.²³ His Joyous Entry into Cambrai on 13 June 1529 and

- 21 J. FÜHNER, *Die kirchen- und die antireformatorische Religionspolitik Kaiser Karls V. in den siebzehn Provinzen der Niederlande 1515-1555*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, p. 187; G. GIELIS – V. SOEN, 'La "Inquisición" en los Países Bajos de los Habsburgo en el siglo XVI: una perspectiva dinámica', in *Historia imperial del Santo Oficio (siglos XV-XIX)*, ed. by F. CIARAMITARO – M. RODRIGUES LOURENÇO, Bonilla Artigas: Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, forthcoming.
- 22 ROBERT DE CROÿ, *Universis et Singulis Christifidelibus [Litterae quibus in dioecesi sua indulgentiae, a papa Clemente VII concessae, 04.06.1524, publicantur]*, Antwerp, Michael Hillenius Hoochstratanus, 1524. For an analysis focusing on the role of this tutor among the Louvain Faculty of Theology, see: A. VAN DE MEULEBROUCKE – V. SOEN – W. FRANÇOIS, 'Robrecht van Croÿ, bisschop van Kamerijk (1519-1556): tussen adellijke traditie, Leuvense theologie en tridentijnse kerkhervorming', *Trajecta: Religion, Culture and Society in the Low Countries*, 27:1 (2018), 27-56. This printed edition relates to the ongoing debate on the sacrament of penance between Catholic and Lutheran controversialists: whereas Luther and his followers had renounced most Catholic sacraments, they were still in doubt about the usefulness of confession and its sacramental nature. It may certainly not come as a surprise that Latomus joined the debate from the very beginning, and he might even have acted as his pupil's ghostwriter. In any case, the edition Antwerp printer Michel van Hoogstraten, who had already printed several of Latomus's earlier works, published this edition, causing the theologians to respond with an even more elaborate treatise against Oecolampadius about penance in 1525, cf. W. FRANÇOIS – M. GIELIS, 'Een herbronning van het ambt van de zielzorgers. De visie van de Leuvense theoloog Jacobus Latomus (1516-1518)', *Bisdommen, seminaries en de Leuvense theologische Faculteit (16de-20ste eeuw)*, ed. by W. FRANÇOIS – L. KENIS – V. SOEN, Leuven, forthcoming; W. FRANÇOIS – V. SOEN, 'Het Concilie van Trente (1545-1563). Een tussentijdse balans van 450 jaar onderzoek', *Perspectief*, 23 (2014), p. 6 and 37. Robert de Croÿ later paid for the doctorate of Latomus and provided him with a canonry in Cambrai so that he could dedicate himself to study and scholarship.
- 23 The chronicles do not mention, however, that his presence at the negotiations of the *Ladies Peace* served the family's international interests, as the treaty also included the sale of Croÿ properties in France, cf. SOEN, 'The Chièvres' legacy', 10.

his first mass, along with formally hosting the diplomatic rounds of the so-called *Ladies Peace*, served as the initial milestones to Robert's episcopacy. By combining his Joyous Entry with the start of the peace treaty, his episcopacy received international attention, a fact that the chronicle narratives on his entry did not fail to notice.²⁴

During the first decade of his episcopacy, Robert engaged with the standard tropes of the chivalric codes, which included an affair (he later recognised an illegitimate child), investments in a *Montplaisir* residence, improvements to the city and its defence works. With the French-Habsburg hostilities resuming in 1536, Robert de Croÿ appeared ready for battle. The chronicler Antoine de Lusy relates that the Cambrai bishop left for Venice in 1534, hoping to embark incognito on a ship that would take him to the Holy Land to fight on the frontier against Islam, a journey which ended in Venice due to the Italian Wars.²⁵ If one recalls the Robert's wish to fight the Turks from five years earlier, one gets the impression that the Bishop, third son of his parents's marriage, had been predestined for a military career and did not want to give up on that destiny. By the beginning of the 1540s, the Cambrai bishop fell out of favour with the Emperor, who called him 'a crazy bishop' in a letter to his sister²⁶: Robert had allegedly permitted the French army access to (neutral) Cambrai territory, while refusing the same privilege to Habsburg troops.²⁷ Eventually, in 1543, Charles V punished Cambrai by constructing a Habsburg citadel and ended its century-old political neutrality by symbolically transforming it into a satellite state for the Low Countries.²⁸

By the early 1540s, it was not yet apparent that Robert would change his course of action in matters of Catholic Reform, although he did donate many religious foundations to his episcopal city. When the peace treaty of Crépy between the Emperor and the French King finally allowed for a general oecumenical council in 1543, Emperor Charles V proposed to use Cambrai, Trent, or Metz as the host town. Cambrai's inclusion was unsurprising, for it was a neutral city at a strategic border location, part of the Holy Roman Empire, yet Francophone. Eventually the bilingual German-Italian Trent, also part of the Holy Roman Empire yet located closer to Rome, represented a

24 A. VAN DE MEULEBROUCKE, "'Sur l'ombre d'une bonne paix?'" Hertog-bisschop Robrecht van Croÿ en de retoriek van zijn Blijde Intrede in Kamerijk (1529), *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 69 (2016), 249-264.

25 A. DE LUSY, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Mons*, ed. by A. LOUANT, Brussels, 1969, p. 319.

26 'un fou evesque': DELOFFRE, 'La cité de Cambrai', op. cit., pp. 282-283.

27 It is clear that Robert de Croÿ consulted with his brother on multiple occasions concerning military endeavours: some of the correspondence from 1543 is to be found in the Archives Générales de Belgique, Papiers de l'État et de l'Audience 1660/5, fol. 79.

28 J. DESILVE, 'Prise et démantèlement du Cateau-Cambrésis par Charles-Quint, 1543-1544', *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai*, 35 (1820), pp. 213-237.

better compromise site.²⁹ In addition, one can assume that the contemporary construction of a Habsburg citadel also influenced the decision to not hold the council in Cambrai. Due to the seniority of his see, Robert de Croÿ headed the delegation of the Low Countries during the Council's first period. He included his younger brother Charles, who had been as the Bishop of Tournai since 1521, in his delegation, but it is increasingly unsure as to whether the latter actually travelled to Trent.³⁰ Nonetheless, Robert was present at the Council of Trent from the 7th or 8th of June until the 28th of August 1546. He held an oration during the fifth session on justification, with the Louvain and Franciscan theologians in his retinue likely serving as ghost-writers.

Four years after assisting at Trent, and chiefly acting upon the Emperor's request, Robert de Croÿ convoked a diocesan synod, thus implementing the decrees of Trent's first period requiring bishops to be pastors of their flock. As a response to 'contemporary religious quarrels', the synod aimed to reform the ancient Cambrai statutes sanctioned by Bishop Pierre D'Ailly,³¹ but more urgently, it aimed at introducing the just announced imperial reform measures included in the *Formula Reformationis* in this principality of the Holy Roman Empire as well.³² The printed edition of the *Acta & Decreta Synodi Diocessanae Cameracensis* offers some insights into the organization of the Cambrai church assembly.³³ A brief (but now lost) edition of the synodal statutes must have appeared in 1550, shortly after the synod had ended. The second, extended edition followed the next year on a Paris press: the heraldry of the title pages fashioned the Cambrai bishop as a part of the leading French dynasties, while

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- 29 J. W. O'MALLEY, *Trent: What happened at the Council*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 72. Besides its strategic position in the Holy Roman Empire, Trent was populated by mostly Italian inhabitants and was located a courier's distance from Rome: FRANÇOIS – SOEN, 'Het Concilie van Trente (1545-1563)'; op. cit., p. 11.
- 30 G. GIELIS, *Hemelbestormers. Leuvense theologen en hun streven naar geloofseenheid en kerkvernieuwing (1519-1578)* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, KU Leuven, 2014), p. 354.
- 31 F. WILLOCKX, *L'introduction des décrets du concile de Trente dans les Pays-Bas et dans la principauté de Liège*, Leuven: Librairie Universitaire, 1929.
- 32 For more information examining the interdependence between this Cambrai initiative and the German reform context, see: V. SOEN, 'From the Interim of Augsburg until the Treaty of Augsburg (1548-1555)', *Martin Luther. A Christian between Reforms and Modernity (1517-2017)*, ed. by A. MELLONI, 3 volumes, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017, vol. I, pp. 548-564.
- 33 *Acta & Decreta Synodi dioecessanae Cameracensis*, Paris: Matthieu David, 1551. This edition is analysed and its title pages reproduced in V. SOEN, 'Noblesse oblige? Adellijke bisschoppen en hervorming in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden', *Quadragesima margaritae. Veertig jaar Maurits Sabbebibliotheek. Faculteit Theologie en Religiewetenschappen*, ed. by L. KENIS – V. VERSPEURT – Y. VAN LOON – H. STORME, Leuven: s.n., 2014, pp. 38-39. The edition struck a chord, and its long lasting public favour is documented by its multiple reprints in Mainz (1559), Douai (1604, 1614), Cambrai (1614), and Mons (1686), cf.: *Répertoire des Statuts Synodaux des Diocèses de l'Ancienne France du XIII^e à la fin du XVII^e siècle*, ed. by A. ARTONNE – L. GUIZARD – O. PONTAL, Paris: CNRS, 1969, p. 173; A. LABARRE, *Répertoire Bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVII^e siècle*, Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1982, p. 121. In 1551, publishers planned an edition in Leuven, which, for unknown reasons, never materialized.

it now also included a copy of the *Formula Reformationis*, materializing in print how Cambrai was at the crossroads of developments in the Empire and France alike. During the years immediately following the synod, Robert de Croÿ made efforts to implement Catholic Reform within his diocese, even sending a petition to Charles V asking for more support in the execution of some of his reform measures, many of which encountered fierce opposition. While the chapters of Anderlecht, Dendermonde, and Turnhout promised to carry out the synodal decrees in 1550, the Bishop summoned repeatedly the chapter of Antwerp to discuss their neglect to do so.³⁴

Very little is known about the last years of Robert's episcopacy. The Bishop probably spent most of his time combatting both the French army and the rise of Protestantism, although he was never able to defeat either of them. Like other bishops from the Low Countries, he did not participate in the second period of Trent and died shortly after on 31 August 1556, with his funeral taking place in October. He was the only bishop of his family buried in the Cathedral of Our Lady in Cambrai, where he lay until his tomb was destroyed during the French Revolution. However, a drawing of his tomb survives, making it possible to roughly outline the original appearance of what must have been a very impressive structure. Statues of two (as yet unidentified) saints flanked the high mausoleum, with the resting bishop, dressed in his habit, lying across the top of the sarcophagus. The centre piece was a large coat of arms engraved with his device, *A Iamais Croy*, which connected Robert de Croÿ to his beloved and glorious family, and to the Cambrai religious landscape.³⁵ As sketched above, the cathedral chapter, under close royal monitoring, proceeded to 'elect' Maximilien de Berghes as Robert's successor. The new incumbent, however, could not take immediate possession of his see due to the ongoing war with France, just as had been the case in 1519. His Joyous Entry had to be postponed for three years until on his seigniorial lands, Philip II and Henri II signed the Peace of Le Cateau-Cambrésis, which ended the Italian or Franco-Habsburg Wars.³⁶

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- 34 A. JANS, 'De "Formula Reformationis" van Karel V en haar toepassing in het bisdom Kamerijk. I,' *Provinciale commissie voor geschiedenis en volkskunde. Jaarboek*, 11 (2001), 318-333, and part II in (2002), 89-103.
- 35 D. MERVEILLE, 'Le Tombeau de Robert de Croÿ, évêque-duc de Cambrai,' *Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation de Cambrai. Agriculture, Séance et des Arts*, 66 (1911), 1-31; R. FAILLE, *Iconographie des évêques et archevêques de Cambrai*, Cambrai: Société d'émulation de Cambrai, 1974, pp. 223-228 (with reproduction of the tomb). The original Latin epitaph read 'HIC IACET REVERENDISSIMVS ET ILLVSTRISSIMVS // PRINCEPS DOMINVS ROBERT DE CROY // DVM VIXIT EPISCOPVS ET DVX CAMERACENSIS // PRINCEPS ST. IMPERII, COMES CAMERACESII, ETC., QVI OBIIT DIE VLTIMA MENSIS AVGVSTI 1556'.
- 36 V. SOEN – L. HOLLEVOET, 'Le Borromée des anciens Pays-Bas? Maximilien de Berghes, (arch)évêque de Cambrai et l'application du Concile de Trente (1564-1567),' *Revue du Nord*, 99 (n° 419) (2017), 41-65. On a related borderland bishop, who was the mastermind behind

Promulgating Trent

By the time the third period of the Council of Trent convened in 1562, Cambrai's borderlands had experienced a number of significant reconfigurations.³⁷ First, the 1555 conclusion of the Peace of Augsburg had inaugurated a new era of *ejus region, cuius religio*: while as an imperial prince, the Bishop of Cambrai continued to defend and prescribe Catholicism for his vassals, he would now encounter embassies of Lutheran princes asking for mercy in convicting their coreligionists. Secondly, in 1559, the King and Pope had initiated the grand plan to reform the dioceses in the Low Countries. Cambrai represented the only episcopal see in which the Pope maintained his right of nomination after the cathedral chapter held its election. Even if this procedure had become obsolete by the end of the sixteenth century, it remained in effect during the century's first few decades. Finally, the French Wars of Religion erupted in 1561, leading to multiple pacification edicts granting Huguenots provisional rights of worship, which allowed Calvinist preachers and exiles to frequently cross the border regions. These reconfigurations made friends and foes. Despite his promotion to archbishop, Maximilien de Berghes carried a lifelong frustration over the fact that the title of Primate of the Belgian Church had gone to the newly created (and more centrally located) Archbishopric of Mechelen and had been bestowed upon Antoine de Granvelle.³⁸ Still, until the new Bishop of Antwerp officially took his seat – which only occurred a few months before his death – Berghes continued to hold jurisdiction over the cities of Antwerp and Brussels in the core of Brabant. His other competitor was Charles de Lorraine, the Archbishop of Reims and

the university of Douai and later bishop of Tournai, see: V. SOEN, 'The Loyal Opposition of Jean Vendeville (1527-1592)', in *The Quintessence of Lives. Intellectual Biographies in the Low Countries, presented to Jan Roegiers*, ed. by D. VANYSACKER – P. DELSAERDT – J.-P. DELVILLE – H. SCHWALL, Turnhout/Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve: Brepols/Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 2010, pp. 43-62.

- 37 Y. JUNOT – M. KERVYN, 'Los Países Bajos como tierra recepción de exiliados', in *Los exiliados del rey de España*, ed. by Jose Javier Ruiz Ibáñez and Igor Pérez Tostado, Madrid: FCE, Red Columbaria, 2015, pp. 207-231; V. SOEN, 'Exile Encounters and Cross-Border Mobility in Early Modern Borderlands: The Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai as a Transregional Node, 1559-1600', *Belgeo. Revue Belge de Géographie – Belgian Journal of Geography*, 2 (2015), 2-13; V. SOEN, 'Containing Students and Scholars Within Borders? The Foundation of Universities in Reims and Douai and Transregional Transfers in Early Modern Catholicism', in *Transregional Reformations*, op. cit., pp. 267-294; Y. JUNOT – V. SOEN, 'La Révolte dans les Pays-Bas habsbourgeois. Réconsiderations à partir du cas des provinces francophones (Hainaut, Artois, Flandre wallonne, 1566-1579)', in *Paradigmes rebelles: Pratiques et cultures de la désobéissance à l'époque moderne*, ed. by G. SALINERO – Á. GARCÍA GARRIDO – R. G. PAUN, Brussels: Peter Lang, 2018, pp. 203-234.
- 38 Although we should note that this information stems from the vicar-general of Granvelle, it is a telling sign: Morillon to Granvelle, 9 June 1566: *CGr*, I, 294, and again 10 February 1567: *CGr*, II, 264.

later Cardinal, who vehemently protested against the dismemberment of his vast ecclesiastical province.

Countering admonitions of both the King and Pope, Maximilien de Berghes did not participate in the well-attended last period of Trent, although his suffragan bishops from Arras, Saint Omer, and Namur did participate. After the solemn closure of the Council, though, he aimed to be the first to implement Trent's doctrines "above the Pyrenees and the Alps" (read also: in Habsburg territory), mimicking the endeavours of Charles Borromeus. While also patronising the Jesuits within his archiepiscopal city, the Archbishop sought to impress Pope and King by adhering to the Tridentine decrees, especially when compared to fellow-nobles who used the promulgation of Trent to express their discontent about the repression and punishment of Protestants, calling for the end of 'the Inquisition.'³⁹ When the Count of Egmont was sent to Madrid to mediate in the Spring of 1565, the Archbishop invited the Count and other nobles before to his archiepiscopal palace to discuss the state of affairs in the Low Countries. When some of the dissident nobles voiced anticlerical and dissident opinions during dinner, he defended the privileges and the very existence of clergy. Maximilien de Berghes continued to take the lead in calling bishops and theologians to Cambrai to discuss the religious situation in the Low Countries, which led to the creation of a collective letter of advice to the governor-general in Brussels.

There are many reasons as to why this borderland Archbishop was the first to convoke a provincial council after the closure of the Council of Trent, triumphing over his peers in Utrecht and Mechelen. First, he likely tried to informally claim status as Primate of the Belgian Church by inviting bishops from the ecclesiastical province of Mechelen, where Granvelle was still absent and Morillon acted as his vicar-general. Secondly, he tried to imitate Charles de Lorraine's council from 1564, to which de Berghes had been invited in apparent denial of the episcopal reform of the Low Countries. Finally, he also sought to outperform his predecessor Robert de Croÿ, whose synodal statutes were still reprinted. After some delay, Maximilien de Berghes officially opened his provincial council on 25 June 1565. In it, the attendees accepted the Tridentine decrees, yet with considerable obstruction from the cathedral and collegial chapters.

The Iconoclastic Fury in the summer of 1566, which hit the frontier lordships of Le Cateau-Cambrésis especially hard, made the practical implementation

39 V. SOEN, 'The Council of Trent and the Preconditions of the Dutch Revolt (1563-1566)', in *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1540-1700)*, op. cit., II, 255-278; A. LOTTIN, 'La mise en œuvre de la réforme catholique, à travers les conciles provinciaux de Cambrai (1565, 1586, 1631)', in *Conciles provinciaux et synodes diocésains du Concile de Trente à la Révolution française. Défis ecclésiastiques et enjeux politiques? Actes du colloque tenu à Strasbourg les 4 et 5 mai 2009, organisé par l'Institut de droit canonique de l'Université de Strasbourg*, ed. by M. AOUN – J.-M. TUFFERY-ANDRIEU, Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2010 (Collection de l'Université de Strasbourg), pp. 167-186.

of the Tridentine decrees a difficult endeavour. Afterwards, as Andrew Spicer has noted, Maximilien de Berghes quickly travelled to the city of Antwerp, where, in a final demonstration of his power over Brabant, he sought to reconsecrate the church buildings affected by the Fury. He also convinced bishops from the surrounding regions to act in a similar manner, and invited Louvain theologians to launch a 'fight against heresy' and convoked a diocesan synod in April 1567. By doing this, he would maintain the support of the Lord of Noircarmes, the captain of the city's Spanish citadel.⁴⁰

Echoing Charles V who had described his predecessor as a 'crazy bishop', Philip II gradually viewed the Archbishop's diligent attempts (though his motto was ironically *nec cito, nec temere*) to implement Catholic Reform as a liability. As previously mentioned, the King had made secret arrangements to have Maximilien de Berghes replaced by a candidate from a more recently ennobled pedigree in the hope that a new bishop would show proper loyalty to Philip's policies. Still, in July 1570, the Archbishop of Cambrai functioned as main executor of the papal pardon, a choice which Philip II endorsed *pro su cualidad y dignidad*.⁴¹ Chosen to accompany the king's future spouse to Vlissingen's harbour immediately afterwards, de Berghes died unexpectedly at the confiscated family castle in Bergen-op-Zoom, and his sudden death thus pre-empted either a clear fall out of royal favour or an imposed resignation. Inscriptions added to his tomb in the seventeenth century boasted that he was the 'first bishop' to promulgate the Tridentine decrees within the Low Countries.⁴²

Conclusions

This contribution underlined the extent to which noble descent, habits, and mindset can explain the lives and careers of Cambrai's (arch)bishops during the age of the Council of Trent. As Bishop of Cambrai, Robert de Croÿ never hesitated to propagate his heraldry and devices, whether on the printed edition

40 SOEN, 'Berlaymont and Noircarmes', *passim*.

41 SOEN, *Geen pardon zonder paus*, op. cit., p. 179-182.

42 R. FAILLE, 'Iconographie des évêques et archevêques de Cambrai', *Société d'émulation de Cambrai*, 94 (1974), 101 and 112. The inscription to the later mausoleum reads: 'D. O. M. S. Maximiliano a Bergis, primo archiepiscopo, duci Cameracensi, comiti Cameracesii, sacri imperii principi, qui anno M. DLXV synodo provinciali habita Concilii Tridentini decreta primus in Belgio promulgavit, deinde a comitiis imperii Augusta Vindelicorum reversus, ateram synodum dioecesanum habuit, fidem catholicam adversus nascentes haereses non minus feliciter quam strenue tutatus est. Seditiosorum hominum motibus, summa prudentia in ipso limine compressis, tandem cum ex celebri comitatu Annae Austriacae Philippi II futurae conjugis in Hispaniam proficiscentis, ipse Bergas ad Zooman secessisset apoplexia correptus IV Kalendas Septembris anno M. DLXX, archiepiscopatus sui XIV subito occubuit, relato huc defuncti corpore Ludovicus de Berlaymont ejus successor F. C.: E. BERTEAUX, *Étude historique sur l'ancienne cathédrale, les évêques et les archevêques, les églises de la ville de Cambrai de l'an 500 à l'an 1798*, 2 volumes, Cambrai: d'Halluin-Carion, 1908, vol. I, pp. 168-169.

of synodal statutes or on his tomb in the cathedral. His successor Maximilien de Berghes, son of a recognised bastard father from a noble lineage on the verge of extinction, displayed a lifelong obsession (and frustration) with matters of rank, status, and ceremony. By analysing the extent to which noble descent and titles mattered before, during, and after the Council of Trent, this chapter argues that Catholic Reform came to mould a part of the two individuals' noble identity. As Christian soldiers, these bishops engaged in (re)defining the frontiers of the medieval Catholic faith they and their families continued to profess, and, as such, they helped refashion Catholicism in a pan-European Tridentine manner. Since the Council's first period in 1545, and particularly after its closure in 1563, the Cambrai bishops engaged in organizing diocesan synods and provincial councils, reforming old statutes, promulgating new decrees, and carrying out visitations, often on the vanguard of their peers in the rest of the Habsburg Low Countries.

While the editor of *Episcopal Reform and Politics in Early Modern Europe* suggested that the history of episcopal reform in the Tridentine period remains a local story, this essay argues that, at least in the case of borderlands, it is necessary to study episcopal reform within a transregional framework along, across, and beyond boundaries.⁴³ As a principality within the Holy Roman Empire, Cambrai and the Cambrésis became an increasingly important part of the Habsburg Netherlands, eventually annexed to them in 1595. During these regime changes, the Cambrai bishops not only aligned their principality with events occurring in the Low Countries, but they knew, acted, and reacted to situations in both the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of France. As such, their implementation of the imperial *Formula Reformationis* in 1548-1550 within the Habsburg Netherlands placed them at the vanguard of German religious developments, and they deliberately attended the Diet in 1557 to settle consequences that resulted from the Peace of Augsburg. In the same vein, they reacted to what happened in both Picardy and Paris, and the border crossing of Calvinist preachers only intensified their preoccupation with religious developments in France. The same 1548 Cambrai statutes containing the German *Formula Reformationis* were published in Paris, displaying the heraldry of the Croÿ family between those of its ancestors from (amongst others) Lorraine and Estouteville pedigrees, turning Catholic Reform into a pan-European noble affair. Maximilien de Berghes followed up on the initiatives of his predecessor, even though he also copied the actions of Charles of Lorraine, Archbishop of Reims, his competitor from across the territorial divide. Hence, an episcopal see located on a multi-layered frontier, situated 'in-between' many political centres, turned its sixteenth century holders into 'borderland bishops' defining and defending the frontiers of faith in a continent and a border region fractured by the Reformation.

43 J. DESILVA, 'Introduction: A living Example', in *Episcopal Reform and Politics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by eadem, Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2012, pp. 1-25.