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**Crossing Borders: Transregional  
Reformations 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: Scholar 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<sup>1</sup> *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: A Select Library of the Christian Church*, Series I, ed. Philip Schaff (14 vol.; repr. ~~*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: A Select Library of the Christian Church*~~, 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](http://www.vd16.de)).
- VD17 *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* ([www.vd17.de](http://www.vd17.de)).
- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> The ensuing focus on cities and capitals prompted

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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).

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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. Marocchi, "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 Grenzüberschreitungen. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung* (Frühneuezeit-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' (promoters V. Soen and J. Verberckmoes, and dr. Alexander Soetaert as researcher); project's website to be found at [www.transregionalhistory.eu](http://www.transregionalhistory.eu). The database built during this project can be searched through: [https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/ICC\\_search](https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/ICC_search).

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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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-*

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

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*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).

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 Ittész 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. Ittész 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 Melancthon (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.<sup>9</sup> The act of translation mobilizes scholars

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

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 re-contextualization. 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

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 Jurkowlanec 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’. Jurkowlanec 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.<sup>10</sup> 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’.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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)

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'.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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 Brillman, 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 Brillman 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 –

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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).



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

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.<sup>15</sup> 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, Brillkman 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. Itzész, 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.<sup>16</sup> Discussing the Rhineland as a natural division between the

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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

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

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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).

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

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Violet Soen

## Containing Students and Scholars Within Borders? The Foundation of Universities in Reims and Douai and Transregional Transfers in Early Modern Catholicism

This chapter examines the spectacular rise in the foundation of universities in sixteenth-century Europe from the perspective of local borderlands and peripheries. Most studies of the history of universities in this era have predominantly focused on an urban or a national context,<sup>1</sup> and have therefore understood early modern developments in higher education as a direct result of the confessionalisation process and its increased Church-State collaboration.<sup>2</sup> This work, however, offers a transregional perspective by analyzing coinciding and competing dynamics in areas bisected by political and ecclesiastical borders. As such, it makes clear that the foundation of sixteenth-century universities responded not only to the necessities of centralized confessional states and their churches, but also to the dynamics present within their insecure borderlands and the wider world.<sup>3</sup> Hence, borderland universities mattered in the geography of early modern Christian Europe to a much greater extent than has been previously argued.

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1 T. Amalou/B. Noguès (ed.), *Les Universités dans la ville XVIe–XIIIe siècles* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013). To cite one of the most influential interpretations of this Church-State collaboration, Heiko Oberman famously argued for a ‘German connection’, where competing Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist universities and colleges provided the intellectual infrastructure that brought together confessionally-divided territories and principalities. H.A. Oberman, “University and Society on the Threshold of Modern Times: the German Connection”, in J.M. Kittelson/P.J. Transue (ed.), *Rebirth, Reform and Resilience. Universities in Transition, 1300–1700* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1984) 30–35.

2 K. Schreiner, “Konfessionsgebundene Wissenschaft. Konfessionseide an Hohen Schulen der Frühen Neuzeit”, in R.C. Schwinges (ed.), *Universität, Religion und Kirchen* (Basel: Schwabe, 2011) 305–41 and W. Frijhoff, “Universiteit en religie, staat en natie in de zestiende eeuw: een comparatieve benadering”, in W.P. Blockmans/H. van Nuffel (ed.), *Staat en Religie in de 15e en 16e eeuw – État et religion aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Brussels: H. van Nuffel, 1986) 121–41.

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 for Early Modern History* 21 (2017) 343–64.



By the middle of the sixteenth century, two new academic institutions of higher education emerged within a short fifteen year period on the frontier between France and the Burgundian-Habsburg Low Countries: first, a university in French Reims was founded between 1548 and 1554, while another university opened only 150 kilometers to the west in Spanish Habsburg Douai, between 1559 and 1562.<sup>4</sup> Rather than only explaining how these university foundations contributed to early modern state formation and confessionalisation by gradually separating the French County of Champagne and the Habsburg County of Flanders, this chapter argues that academic life continued to transcend the Franco-Habsburg border and helped establishing transregional transfers in early modern Catholicism. Moreover, it also shows how a simple comparative undertaking can be transformed into an exercise in transregional history by focusing on mobility around and across borders.

## I. A Catholic Offensive

The emergence of universities in both Reims and Douai placed these two cities into what Willem Frijhoff has coined as the broader ‘Catholic offensive’ of university foundations in the Early Modern Era.<sup>5</sup> This energetic remodeling of Catholic education started with a humanist impulse at the end of the fifteenth century, and would continue unabated until the last few years of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> By the end of the 1530s, however, this movement was challenged by a similar ‘Protestant offensive’, which obviously started at a later date, but peaked much earlier.<sup>7</sup> All early modern confessions quickly understood that the education would become a crucial source and asset for determining religious truth and acquiring the true faith. Within early modern Catholicism, the Tridentine reform decrees specifically stressed the importance of education and pastoral

4 Since both cities are currently located in France, they figure in S. Guenée, *Bibliographie de l'histoire des universités françaises des origines à la révolution* (2 vol.; Paris: Picard, 1978–1981) 2.146–70 (Douai), and 2.369–78 (Reims). Thus, Douai is sometimes qualified (and counted) as being founded as a sixteenth-century university in France, though it should not. Douai became a French territory after Louis XIV besieged the city successfully in 1667–68.

5 W. Frijhoff, “Patterns”, in H. De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe, Volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 43–110, 71. A list and map of all foundations can be found on pp. 87–105; also, P.F. Grendler, “The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 2004 (57) 1–42 describes the differences between ‘southern’ and ‘northern’ institutions from 1400 until 1625 and offers a map on p. 5, though with some inaccuracies (for our purpose, both Reims and Douai are lacking).

6 P. Burke, “The Reform of European Universities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, *CRE-Information* 62 (1983) 59–68.

7 N. Hammerstein, “Universitäten und Reformation”, *Historische Zeitschrift* 258 (1994) 339–57.

training for its clergy, whether at universities or seminaries. The Council also required that university students pledge their allegiance to its own confessional creed as eventually codified in the 1564 *Professio Fidei*.<sup>8</sup> While the new universities of Reims and Douai were institutionally modeled after their medieval predecessors in Paris and Leuven respectively, and were thus arranged with curricula and degrees centered on faculties and colleges, Trent confessionalized their function from the very beginning.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, Reims and Douai were at the vanguard of implementing the three other novel types of higher education that fitted within the ‘Catholic offensive’: reformed convent-based learning institutions, ‘Tridentine’ diocesan great seminaries (once heralded as the only Tridentine invention) and, above all, an ever-growing number of Jesuit colleges. Beginning in the middle of the century, newly-established teaching centers emerged and blossomed within the many monastic houses of Reims and Douai. An important seminary for future priests was established in Reims by 1564 and a similar house was founded in Douai in 1568. In the same year, the Jesuits also established the famous *Collège d’Anchin* in Douai, which was later authorized to provide elementary courses on philosophy and theology for the university curriculum. In Reims, a Jesuit college started in 1606, and came to be incorporated into the university four years later.<sup>10</sup> Thus, by the advent of the seventeenth century, Reims and Douai, both of which were cities that had previously maintained only modest roles in higher education, now had emerged as important centers of Catholic instruction.

Even if humanism created a clear incentive for an increased international mobility among scholars and students, intensifying the medieval *peregrinatio academica*, Catholic elites considered it a much safer strategy to keep students within their own borders and to control the orthodoxy of their own educational

8 S. Merkle, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Universitäten* (Würzburg: Universitäts-druckerei, 1905). The alleged anti-university tone of the Council fathers was more of a nineteenth century projection than an actual fact: H. Finger, “Das Konzil von Trient und die Ausbildung der Säkularkleriker in Priesterseminaren während der Frühen Neuzeit”, in W. François/V. Soen (ed.), *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond* (3 vol.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018) 1.33–60; D. Lines, “Papal Power and University Control in Early Modern Italy: Bologna and Gregory XIII”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 44 (2013) 663–82; P.F. Grendler, “The University of Bologna, the City, and the Papacy”, *Renaissance Studies* 13 (1999) 475–85.

9 H. De Ridder-Symoens, “Management and Resources”, in De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, 154–208, 157–58.

10 H. Beylard, “Douai. Le Collège d’Anchin (1568–1764)” in P. Delattre (ed.), *Les établissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles: répertoire topo-bibliographique* (5 vols.; Enghien: Institut supérieur de théologie, 1940–57) 2.173–269. Contemporarily to the establishment of the universities of Reims and Douai, the Jesuits founded colleges in Messina (1548), Milan (1556), Prague (1556), Rome (1556), and Évora (1558), while the Dominicans founded schools in Almagro (1550), Tortosa (1551) and Orihuela (1552).

institutions. After the start of the Reformation, large-scale identification processes turned inhabitants of ‘the other nation’ into ‘natural heretics’, mixing traditional chauvinism with the new fight against heterodoxy.<sup>11</sup> Hence, Philip of Spain’s 1559 prohibition against students studying at universities outside of his royal territories was considered a logical step to preserve the unity of faith within his worldwide composite monarchy.<sup>12</sup> These proscriptions were also implemented in the Spanish Habsburg Low Countries, where students no longer had any (legal) choice but to study at either Leuven in Brabant or Dole in the Franche-Comté.<sup>13</sup> In the Kingdom of France, the contemporary embryonic tendencies to contain students within borders initially materialized when the Parliament of Paris issued an *arrêt* prohibiting students from studying abroad on 19 January 1603, a statute that eventually became codified as royal law in 1629.<sup>14</sup> As a result, early prescriptions by both Kings and their councils would fragment academic culture along confessions and states, and the institutional provisions, such as those in Reims and Douai, were a clear translation of these new ambitions.<sup>15</sup> However, in order to better place these universities within the concrete dynamics of the borderlands, it is helpful to first offer a brief narrative of the foundational processes of both the University of Reims in Champagne and the University of Douai in (Walloon) Flanders.

11 Instrumentalizing widespread early modern xenophobia, by 1558 the Inquisition in the Spanish Kingdoms would develop a very powerful arsenal of arguments to prove that the French *estrangero* was heretical by nature: B. Haan, “L’affirmation d’un sentiment national espagnol face à la France du début des guerres de religion”, in A. Tallon (ed.), *Le sentiment national dans l’Europe méridionale aux XVIe et XVIIe siècle (France, Espagne, Italie)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2007) 75–90, 80–81.

12 H. De Ridder-Symoens, “Mobility”, in H. De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, 416–48.

13 The prohibition was reiterated in 1570. In 1582, the Brussels councils also forbade Habsburg subjects to leave royal territory to study in the ‘rebel’ provinces, especially at the University of Leiden, a school that was newly founded and patronized by the insurgent Prince William of Orange. According to the narrative of the local 1582 prohibition, the University of Leiden only wanted to spread heresy, some of which was more dangerous than others: Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, *Papiers d’Etat et de l’Audience* (hereafter: AGR, PEA) 1146: Ordinance of 26 March 1582, sine folio. The prohibition was expanded in 1587 to prevent parents from allowing their children to learn crafts or trades in rebel territory, as the Councils feared negative repercussions towards Catholicism. AGR, PEA 1146: Ordinance 2 July 1587, [s. fol. 2](#), both mentioned by N. Simon, “The Council of Trent and its Impact on Philip II’s Legislation in the Habsburg Netherlands (1580–1598)”, in V. Soen/D. Vanyssacker/W. François (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Reform in the early modern Habsburg Netherlands* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) 197–212.

14 P. Vandermeersch/H. De Ridder-Symoens, “Verbod op studiereizen in de Spaanse Nederlanden”, *Spiegel Historiae* 31 (1996) 172–78.

15 Frijhoff, “Patterns”, 53.

## II. A Guise University

Even though France had championed the establishment of institutions of higher learning during the later Middle Ages, the dialectics of progress made the Kingdom a relative latecomer to the ‘Catholic offensive’: by 1500, universities and colleges were already spread throughout both central and peripheral provinces, and could even be found in cities that were not significant in either size or scale.<sup>16</sup> With its location in the northeast province of Champagne, the new University of Reims added to the already fragmented picture of universities across the Kingdom. The mainly rural province had originally proved to be an important node of trade through its annual fairs, but its medieval peak had long passed. Rather, since the late fifteenth century, the County of Champagne had turned into a theater of war between the French King, the rulers of the bordering independent Duchy of Lorraine-Bar, the imperial Prince-Bishopric of Liège, and the Habsburg Low Countries.

The lack of a university in Reims – despite being the metropolitan see of an impressive ecclesiastical province<sup>17</sup> – can be explained by the fact that its cathedral school already functioned as a center of learning and its *Collège de Bons-Enfants* provided a form of higher education in the liberal arts for future clergy (with Jean Gerson as its most famous student).<sup>18</sup> Another reason might have been its relative proximity to Paris, which, since the twelfth century, had housed one of the first European universities and, since the beginning of the fifteenth century, maintained an associated *Collège de Reims*.<sup>19</sup> Towards the beginning of the six-

16 Cities such as Cahors or Angers could serve as an example. W. Brulez, *Cultuur en getal. Aspecten van de relatie economie-maatschappij-cultuur in Europa tussen 1400 en 1800* (Amsterdam: Nederlandse vereniging tot beoefening van de sociale geschiedenis, 1986) 22–23. As an exception to the European rule, only a few academic institutions would be added during the Ancient Regime. In fact, only Reims was founded as a ‘common’ university (Nîmes, however, started in 1539, but never received papal endorsement, while Nice, erected in 1559, served as a similar institution for juris consultants); the foundation of universities in Douai (1559) and Pont-à-Mousson (1572) should not be counted, as they were founded in Habsburg and Lorraine territories respectively. Now also B. Noguès, “Perdre ou gagner une université. Les enjeux locaux de la géographie universitaire française”, in Amalou/Noguès (ed.), *Les Universités dans la ville*, 51–79.

17 P. Desportes/P. Bony, *Diocèse de Reims* (Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae: répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines de France de 1200 à 1500, 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), esp. “Notice institutionnelle”, 3–22; V. Beaulande (ed.), *La province ecclésiastique de Reims: quelles réalités? Journée d’études de l’université de Reims, 9 novembre 2007*, published in *Travaux de l’Académie de Reims* 178 (2008) 263–412.

18 E.-E. Cauly, *Histoire du collège des Bons-Enfants de l’Université de Reims, depuis son origine jusqu’à ses récentes transformations* (Reims: Michaud, 1885) 191 shows how this institution would be eventually integrated within the University of Reims.

19 H. Lacaille, “Étude sur le collège de Reims à Paris (1412–1763)”, *Travaux de l’Académie Nationale de Reims* 104 (1899) 1–250.

teenth century, the Reims Archbishop Robert Briçonnet, Chancellor of France, launched the idea of a new university in order to ‘repopulate’ his metropolitan city in decay, and to boost a reform of Catholicism. This proposal was dismissed when it came before the city magistrate, which preferred implementing other incentives that would help the local drapery economy. Briçonnet’s successor, and relative, lost the same battle over the same arguments.<sup>20</sup>

By the middle of the sixteenth century, then, the energetic archbishop Charles de Lorraine (1525–74) succeeded where his predecessors had failed.<sup>21</sup> He exploited his position as a member of the Lorraine-Guise family, which had emerged as an ascending power at the French court and in the home County of Champagne, where they served as governors and bishops.<sup>22</sup> Eager to boost humanist education and patronize the arts and letters, the twenty-three year old archbishop considered an *Academia Remensis* both as a necessary ‘ornament’ to the city and as an institutional anchor for family politics within the province.<sup>23</sup>

20 Guenée, *Bibliographie*, 2.369–70; Desportes, *Diocèse de Reims*, “Notice 804: Robert Briçonnet”, 215–16 and “Notice 1047: Guillaume Briçonnet”, 216–17.

21 C. Michon, “Les richesses de la faveur à la Renaissance: Jean de Lorraine (1498–1550) et François Ier”, *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 50 (2003) 34–61 shows how the episcopal appointment was part of a greater family scheme. The Cardinal of Lorraine remains a very controversial figure within the historiography, yet he lacks a modern up-to-date biography. His correspondence has been edited in *Lettres du cardinal Charles de Lorraine (1525–1574)*, ed. D. Cuisiat (Travaux d’humanisme et Renaissance 319; Genève: Droz, 1998), which provides a good introduction and overview of the literature. Some more recent articles on his activities include: B. Pierre, “Le cardinal-conseiller Charles de Lorraine, le roi et sa cour au temps des premières guerres de Religion”, *Parlement[s], Revue d’histoire politique* 6 (2010) 14–28; P. Benedict, “From Polemics to Wars: The Curious Case of the House of Guise and the Outbreak of the French Wars of Religion”, *Historein* 6 (2006) 97–105.

22 Stuart Carroll has written a splendid overview on the family’s fortune in the sixteenth century: S. Carroll, *Martyrs and Murders, the Guise family and the making of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), and for the later period J. Spangler, *The Society of Princes. The Lorraine-Guise and the Conservation of Power and Wealth in Seventeenth-Century France* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). For better understanding the ascension of the family: D. Crouzet, “Capital identitaire et engagement religieux: aux origines de l’engagement militant de la maison de Guise ou le tournant des années 1524–1525”, in J. Fouilleron/G. Le Thiec/H. Michel (ed.), *Sociétés et idéologies des temps modernes. Hommage à Arlette Jouanna* (2 vol.; Montpellier: Université de Montpellier III, 1996) 2.573–89.

23 J. Balsamo, “Le cardinal de Lorraine et l’Academia Remensis”, in C. Mouchel/C. Nativel (ed.), *République des Lettres, république des Arts. Mélanges offerts à Marc Fumaroli de l’Académie française* (Travaux d’humanisme et Renaissance 445; Genève: Droz, 2008) 13–36; J. Balsamo, “Ronsard et l’éloge du cardinal de Lorraine”, in A. Génétiot (ed.), *L’Eloge lyrique* (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 2009) 63–80. Similar patterns of patronage, university foundations and religious orders can be found in P.F. Grendler, *The University of Mantua, the Gonzaga and the Jesuits, 1584–1630* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Y. Bellenger, *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* (Colloques, congrès et conférences sur la Renaissance 9; Paris: Champion, 1997).

The Franco-Habsburg Peace treaty of Crépy-en-Laonnais, signed in 1544, created the conditions necessary to found a university, while Reims represented a proper location, as it was located far enough from the center of conflict to make academic life plausible during the inevitable future wars. Seizing the *momentum* of his first *sacre* on 26 July 1547, the archbishop convinced the new king, Henri II, to consent to his university scheme.<sup>24</sup> Heading off to Rome as the French minister for Italian affairs and to receive a cardinal's hat, Charles subsequently managed to obtain Pope Paul III's permission in return for support for the recently convened Council of Trent. The *dispositio* in the papal bull of 5 January 1548 mentioned the humanist inspiration to study both ancient languages and the Bible (stressing the previous excellent results of the *Collège des Bons-Enfants* in this respect), as well as the need for its students to serve an active Church.<sup>25</sup>

Discussing the 'real' motives behind the university's foundation, older literature tends to primarily focus on the cardinal's humanist convictions as a former student of *Collège de Navarre* and the University of Paris, where he also served as protector of the *Collège royal*. Recent literature has pointed to his role as *moyenneur* and interlocutor between Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, but the archbishop actually used the university as a counter-strategy against the spread of Calvinism in his own 'backyard'.<sup>26</sup> Hence, the Faculty of Theology, which opened in 1554, developed as the university's most important section, and provided educated clergy according to the 'needs of the time'.<sup>27</sup> After the closure of the Council of Trent in 1563, the Cardinal quickly erected a new seminary in Reims, being the first to open such an institution in post-Tridentine France. Henceforth, both the university and the seminary would serve as the *cenacle* where the cardinal would find his closest collaborators for his reform plans and

24 Having secured royal approbation, the city rewarded the young archbishop lavishly on the occasion. Cauly, *Bons-Enfants*, 195 lists all gifts.

25 G. Marlot, *Metropolis Remensis Historia* (vol. 1: Lille: Nicolas de Rache, 1666; vol. 2: Reims: Le Lorain, 1679), translated as *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims* (4 vol.; Reims: Jacquet, 1843–46) 4.313–20. See also Abbé Portagnier, "L'enseignement dans l'archidiocèse de Reims depuis l'établissement du christianisme jusqu'à sa proscription", *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims* 59 (1875) and 60 (1876) 99–140 gives a detailed description of the foundation process.

26 The Cardinal's politics and religious ideas have received much attention after the influential T. Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome, Ni Genève: des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVIe siècle* (Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance. Série 3, 36; Paris: Champion, 1997); also see M. Turchetti, "Une question mal posée: la confession d'Augsbourg, le cardinal de Lorraine et les moyennes au Colloque de Poissy en 1561", *Zwingliana* 20 (1993) 53–101, and S. Caroll, "The Compromise of Charles Cardinal 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; Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims*, 4.309–11.

27 E. Cauly, "L'ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Reims", *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims* 103 (1898) 151.

where he educated the future clergy for the ecclesiastical province in his *Hinterland*.<sup>28</sup>

The foundational bull hinted at changing regional dynamics in student mobility: the new university sought to attract young men from France, Lorraine, the Bishopric of Trier, and its 'neighboring provinces', continuing the medieval tradition of cross-border exchange. In the papal bull, at least, France's boundaries held little importance, as the conventional recruiting radius of 50 to 100 kilometers mattered more than the borders of the Kingdom of France, the Ecclesiastical Province of Reims, or the limits of the city. Clearly, the University of Reims desired to compete with Paris, which then attracted the largest share of students from both Picardy and Champagne in France, from the Duchy of Lorraine and from Hainaut, Tournai and Artois in the Habsburg Low Countries.<sup>29</sup> Leaving the promising tone of the bull aside, the Cardinal of Lorraine primarily sought to recruit students from France and Lorraine, a move that underlined how family and regional politics could effortlessly intertwine. The welcoming tone shown towards Habsburg students was reasonable: the archbishop was metropolitan over the bishoprics of Thérouanne until 1553 and Cambrai, Tournai, and Arras until 1559, most of which territories the Emperor had by then loosely aggregated into a personal union. Yet, the Guise family was very much involved in the planning of war against the Emperor in both Paris and Rome, underlining how non-existing borders in the ecclesiastical sphere could become all important in the political one.<sup>30</sup>

Due to the Guise affiliations of the archbishop and to the militant character of the Faculty of Theology, the university eventually became a stronghold for the ultra-Catholic League, which sought to pre-empt Henry IV's ascension to the French Crown. During the last few years of his life, the cardinal helped the Duke

28 J. Balsamo, "Le cénacle rémois du cardinal de Lorraine: littérature, théologie et politique (1548–1574)", in E. Mosele (ed.), *Il principe e il potere. Il discorso politico e letterario in Francia nel Cinquecento, actes du colloque, Vérone, 18–20 mai 2000* (Fasano: Schena, 2002) 99–113.

29 J.K. Farge, "Was Paris a Regional or an International University in the Era of the Renaissance?", in M. Bideaux/M.-M. Fragonard (ed.), *Les échanges entre les universités européennes à la Renaissance. Colloque international organisé par la Société Française d'Etude du XVIe siècle et l'Association Renaissance-Humanisme-Réforme. Valence, 15–18 mai 2002* (Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance; Genève: Droz, 2003) 62–63; L. Brockliss, "Patterns of Attendance at the University of Paris 1400–1800", *The Historical Journal* 21 (1978) 513–44, reprinted in D. Julia/J. Revel (ed.), *Les universités européennes du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle. Histoire sociale des populations étudiantes* (Recherches d'histoire et de sciences sociales 17–18; 2 vols.; Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1989) 2.487–526.

30 By 1559, with the erection of new bishoprics in the Low Countries, the Ecclesiastical Province of Reims had to share its jurisdiction with Cambrai, a newly-erected ecclesiastical province: M. Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II (1559–1570)* (Antwerpen: Standaard, 1950).

of Lorraine, his kinsman, to secure a foundational bull for a University of Pont-à-Mousson in 1572. Here, the Jesuits were immediately given the power to organize the Faculties of Theology and Arts. The inaugural lectures were given on 22 November 1574, a month before the Cardinal's death.<sup>31</sup> A year earlier, he had made a last vigorous call to reform all universities in France in order to counter the Reformation. As such, the University of Reims, and later that of Pont-à-Mousson, engaged in the religious strife of the era and area, preferring theology over law and preparing the local Catholic clergy for its duties in the fractured borderlands in and around France.<sup>32</sup>

### III. A Frontier University

Even though universities located on the other end of the political divide were thought of as 'forbidden land', they often originated under quite similar circumstances. In fact, the balances of power preceding the 1559 foundation of the University of Douai were remarkably comparable on an urban, regional, and state level to those already sketched out for Reims. The city's prosperity similarly relied on *draperies*, with its countryside housing a substantial number of proto-capitalistic firms producing cloth, yet the local economy faced hard times by the middle of the sixteenth century. Located in Walloon Flanders (a French-speaking semi-province with its own institutions belonging to the wider Dutch-speaking County of Flanders), Douai was perceived as part of the military buffer zone during the Habsburg-Valois Wars.<sup>33</sup> As with Reims, Douai was far enough inland

31 M. Pernot, "Le cardinal de Lorraine et la fondation de l'université de Pont-à-Mousson", in *L'université de Pont-à-Mousson et les problèmes de son temps. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut de recherche régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l'Université de Nancy II* (Nancy 16–19 octobre 1972) (Annales de l'Est. Mémoires 47; Nancy: Université de Nancy II, 1974) 45–66.

32 A. Bozon, "Fonctions et fonctionnement des communautés de curés: le cas des villes épiscopales de la province ecclésiastique de Reims au temps de la Réforme catholique", *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 93 (2007) 323–42; K. Gibbons, "No Home in exile? Elizabethan Catholics in Paris", *Reformation* 15 (2010) 115–31.

33 C. Dehaisnes, "Documents inédits sur les origines de l'Université de Douai (1531–1534)", *Souvenirs de Flandre wallonne* 2 (1862) 177–92 and 3 (1864) 59–75, here: 2 (1862) 187: In the enquiry written for the Emperor, it is feared that Douai "est assez de frontière" and that French students, in times of war, could easily spy for the enemy from within the university. Still, Douai was technically not on the border like Artois or Hainaut; the wider semi-province of Walloon-Flanders, or *Flandre Gallicante*, consisted of the three French-speaking cities of Lille, Orchies, and Douai, while these were the administrative centres for their more rural *châtellenies*. The French king claimed royal rights to the province of Flanders as a whole based on the rather obscure clauses of a dowry treaty from 1369. Although the King would renounce his *suzeraineté* in Flanders and Artois in the Treaty of Cambrai in 1529, Walloon Flanders, as Wim Blockmans explains, remained a *cordon sanitaire* for *Flandre Flamingante*:



that the university did not have to deal with the day-to-day repercussions of raids or other forms of military violence, but it could discourage students from the periphery of the Habsburg Low Countries to study across borders.

In its numerous solicitations for the establishment of a university (1531, 1538, and 1552), the city magistrate of Douai tried to exploit similar political and economic arguments as the Briçonnet bishops and the Cardinal of Lorraine: a university would keep students in place, and boost commerce and consumption. The language question served to reinforce the argument to stop cross-border mobility: students *de la langue thioise* (middle Dutch) should no longer go to France to learn French. The attractions of other university towns, such as Paris and Orléans, were literally mentioned.<sup>34</sup> Competing with Lille, Maubeuge, Tournai, Valenciennes, and Mons, the city stopped lobbying for a university after the Franco-Habsburg peace treaty of Le Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. The magistrate was more concerned at this time with the lodging of licensed troops within its city walls and citadel. As such, it ironically validated Leuven's old argument against Douai, that it was "a border city, limitrophe and perilous, where it was better to house a *gendarmerie* than learning, what requires a peaceful and tranquil place, without danger of war or enemies".<sup>35</sup>

Hence, the immediate initiative for the new university did not derive from the city magistrate; rather, it emerged from amongst the Leuven intelligentsia, most notably Jean de Vendeville, then a successful law professor at the university.<sup>36</sup> Unlike Charles de Lorraine, Vendeville was not of high noble birth, but belonged to an ennobled city patriciate able to maximize the profits of university education and royal service. In advocating his plan for a new university in the French-speaking borderlands, he relied upon personal experience and conviction: born in Walloon Flanders, and studying in both France and the Low Countries, Ven-

W. Blockmans, "La position du comté de Flandre dans le Royaume à la fin du XVe siècle", in B. Chevalier/P. Contamine (ed.), *La France de la fin du XVe siècle: renouveau et apogée: économie, pouvoirs, arts, culture et conscience nationales* (Paris: CNRS, 1985) 77–78.

34 H. De Ridder-Symoens, "Brabanders aan de rechtsuniversiteit van Orleans (1444–1546): een socio-professionele studie", *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 61 (1978) 195–347; Farge, "Was Paris a Regional or an International University?". The students stemming from the dioceses of Arras, Tournai, Cambrai, and Thérouanne accounted for only twenty students, or less than two percent of the school's enrollment for the period between 1493–1590.

35 "une ville frontière, limitrophe, périlleuse, où mieulx convient gendarmerie que estude, qui requiert lieu paisible en repos, sans dangier de guerres ou ennemys", mentioned in Dehaisnes, "Documents inédits", *Souvenirs de Flandre wallonne*, 3 (1864) 66.

36 V. Soen, "Vendeville (Venduillius), Jean de", *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* 20 (2011) 1105–9; V. Soen, "The Loyal Opposition of Jean Vendeville (1527–1592): Contributions to a Contextualized Biography", in D. Vansacker/P. Delsaerd/J.-P. Delville/H. Schwall (ed.), *The Quintessence of Lives. Intellectual Biographies in the Low Countries, presented to Jan Roegiers* (Turnhout/Leuven: Brepols, 2010) 43–62; see also the older biography of A. Possoz, *Mgr. Jean Vendeville, évêque de Tournai 1587–1592* (Lille: Lefort, 1862).

deville counted as one of the many students who crossed political borders for their education: his parents first sent him to Menen in Flanders *Flamingante* to learn Latin and Dutch and, at the age of fifteen, he attended the University of Paris, where he learned Greek and improved his Latin, while taking courses in jurisprudence. After a short period of professional practice as *procureur* in Arras, he chose to defend a doctorate at Leuven in 1553 and was appointed Professor of Civil Law in 1556. Vendeville utilized his contacts and their patrons in Brussels to successfully convince Philip II of the necessity of a university in the French-speaking borderlands.<sup>37</sup>

During this process, religious imperatives came to supersede the earlier political and economic arguments: Vendeville, like Charles de Lorraine, considered education as one of the more effective methods for counteracting heresy. Against the backdrop of his own experiences within the borderlands, the law professor pointed out that he considered the lack of knowledge in regard to different vernacular languages as a reason why Catholic conversions slowed down. Despite their very distinct social profile, both Lorraine and Vendeville considered education to be one of the most concrete and effective measures at countering the spread of the Reformation and spurring Tridentine Catholicism.

There has been much speculation as to why exactly Douai became the preferred site for a university, especially since the city magistrate was more preoccupied with the burden of lodging soldiers. The plan eventually fitted within the wider scheme of the ongoing episcopal reorganization of the Habsburg Low Countries, in which the King tried to realign outdated medieval ecclesiastical divisions with contemporary political boundaries. This reorganization in 1559 anticipated a high density of bishoprics in the French-speaking provinces, keeping the existing ones in Arras, Saint-Omer, and Tournai, while adding a new one in Namur. The bishopric of Thérouanne, located on the contested border and completely destroyed by the Emperor in 1553, was forfeited. These bishops came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cambrai, who lost a significant territory and jurisdiction, but gained a promotion as an archbishop on equal footing with his counterpart in Reims, his former metropolitan. Habsburg authorities preferred not to place the new university in the cities where episcopal

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37 In fact, this represented an ‘old boys’ network of students from the Leuven humanist law professor Gabriel Mudeaus, who reached out to the Frisian councillors Viglius and Hoppers at the Brussels court: J. Papy, *Recht uit Brecht: de Leuvense hoogleraar Gabriel Madaeus (1500–1560) als Europees humanist en jurist* (Brecht: Gemeente Brecht, 2011); R. Robaye, “Droit romain en Belgique: oeuvres et bibliographie de Gabriel Mudée”, *Revue internationale des droits de l’Antiquité* 30 (1983) 193–205; H. De Vocht, *Gabriël Van der Muyden* (Antwerpen: Vlijt, 1940), and R. Dekkers, *Het humanisme en de rechtswetenschap in de Nederlanden* (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1938) 97–143.

sees had been planned, leaving Douai to emerge as a qualified host location for providing another symbolic signpost in the military buffer zone against France.<sup>38</sup>

In practice, the contemporary 1559 peace treaty of Le Cateau-Cambrésis concluded with France once again smoothed the possibility of students living in the borderlands to go study in either Paris or Orléans. Equally, itinerant Calvinist preachers could now freely cross borders and emigrant students from Geneva eventually returned, often entering the Low Countries through the gateways of Picardy and Champagne.<sup>39</sup> Thus, Vendeville's two main arguments, that emigration could be prevented by establishing a new university in this border region and that Calvinist conversions could be pre-empted by educating the local clergy, had finally found support. To further boost his 1559 decree forbidding his Habsburg subjects from studying at universities other than those in either Leuven or Dole, Philip II offered henceforth a third legal option in Douai.

The foundation of the University of Douai was eventually confirmed by a papal bull of 31 July 1559 (reissued by Pius IV on 6 January 1560); Philip II's patent letters from 19 January 1561 reinforced the decision.<sup>40</sup> The University of Leuven, the only university in the Low Countries since its establishment in 1425, had long opposed a second university in the French-speaking south out of fear of losing its monopoly, privileges, prestige, and students. Nonetheless, the statutes and structure of Douai were modelled on the example of Leuven, and both institutions were subject to similar regulations and visitations from the authorities in Brussels. In time, Douai came to be considered a 'royal institution' in ways that Leuven would never experience, with clear influence and control coming from the Spanish Habsburg government.<sup>41</sup>

38 By then, both Tournai and Valenciennes had already established negative reputations for housing protestants and had fallen out of the race for a university: A. Lottin/P. Guignet, *Histoire des provinces françaises du Nord, de Charles Quint à la Révolution* (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2006). This strategy correlated with the Habsburg decision not to locate a bishopric in Leuven, as it already housed a university, and instead opted for Mechelen as center of the *ecclesia Belgica*.

39 P. M. Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

40 Older studies include: G. Cardon, *La fondation de l'Université de Douai* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1892); H.-R.-J. Duthilloeuil, *De l'Université de Douai, de son Académie, de sa Faculté des Lettres* (Douai: A. d'Aubers, 1855); and J. Laloup, "Douai, fille de Louvain", *Revue nouvelle* 22 (1966) 175–86. See also: S. Castelain, "L'université de Douai au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, un corps privilégié à la conquête de sa juridiction", *Les Épisodiques* 10 (2004) 7–14. One author has even contextualized the foundation of this university as the University of Leuven's first 'separation' (preceding the more painful separation between Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve in 1968): E. van Uffel, "Leuven en Douai, de 'splitsing van 1962'", *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen* 24 (1964–65) 473–80.

41 S. Castelain, "The University of Douai. From Judicial Independence to Assimilation With Royal Justice (1562–1749)", in G. Martyn/R. Vermeir/C. Vancoppenolle (ed.), *Intermediate Institutions in the County of Flanders in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era*

The University also received a clear Counter-Reformation outlook. In the inaugural speech of 5 October 1562, François Richardot, the Bishop of Arras, pointed to the need for education in a clear echo of Tridentine dispositions.<sup>42</sup> Vendeville, who relocated to Douai as its first Royal Professor of Law, would attract Jesuits to foresee the theological and pastoral training of young men. The new order was very keen to establish a college in Douai, especially after they met fierce opposition in Leuven and failed to affiliate themselves with the University. In Douai, the erection of the *College d'Anchin* went relatively smoothly, despite the classic conflicts over precedence and privileges. The Faculty of Theology became the school's driving force, preparing clergy for their duties in pastoral care.<sup>43</sup> Hence, the comparisons between Reims and Douai suggest remarkable similarities in borderland dynamics, while also emphasizing the importance of the 'Catholic offensive' in the foundation of contemporary universities.

#### IV. Transregional Transfers

Over the last few years, transregional history has developed into a valuable tool for studying both early modern borders and borderlands, as well as the mobility and transfers in these zones *sui generis*. In this chapter, the word 'borders' has been used up to this point as it appeared in sixteenth-century sources, that is, as a synonym for a frontier zone where war was imminent: *faire la frontière* meant as much as going to war, and borderlands were continuously associated with military undertakings. Hence, Leuven professors could reasonably claim that the *frontier city* of Douai was less a place of study than a place defined by martial activities. However, the concept of transregional history invites one to go further than thinking of 'the' or 'a singular' border linked to differentiation, state formation and war; rather, it invites us to find out how borders were in fact negotiated by a variety of actors and at many different levels, creating hybrid situations that were far more complex than the literature leads us to believe. As such, transregional history allows us to follow historical actors as they crossed borders (or not) and to find out where, when, how, and to whom which border mattered. With the universities of Douai and Reims situated on the same border, but in opposite political and ecclesiastical camps, they form an ideal case study

(Studia 135; Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2012) 167–75; N. Hammerstein, "Relations with authority", in H. De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, 146.

42 *Bref recueil et récit de la Solemnité faite à l'entrée et consécration de l'Université faite et érigée en la ville de Douai* (Douai, Jean Boscard, 1563; USTC 19276).

43 Cardon mentions six hundred students already in attendance within three months after its opening. Cardon, *Fondation*, 320, 370.

for examining the multiple positions and negotiated borders within the political and religious landscape of early modern Europe.<sup>44</sup>

As the establishment of two new universities around the Franco-Habsburg border seemed to have answered a need for higher education in the field of theology and law, both quickly attracted significant numbers of students, thus altering academic mobility on a provincial scale.<sup>45</sup> The absence of *matricules* in both Reims and Douai make it difficult to track individual students, but some indirect evidence hints at the regional provenance of the student population. As anticipated, most students in Reims stemmed from France and Lorraine, so that a *nation de France* and a *nation de Lorraine* was organized at the new Faculty of Arts. Some students also crossed over from the Holy Roman Empire, although less came than was expected (beginning in 1574, these German students were somehow naturally redirected to the geographically closer Pont-à-Mousson). It is also clear that the Parisian *Collège de Reims* lost much of its attraction, so it is safe to conclude that the basic scheme of Charles de Lorraine seemed to have worked. In its first century of existence, the university successfully recruited students for the Faculties of Arts and Theology, while the Faculties of Medicine and Law seemed to have been plagued by recurrent financial and logistic shortfalls.<sup>46</sup>

Hilde de Ridder-Symoens' impressive reconstruction of the Douai student population documents how this university equally succeeded in its recruitment in both the French-speaking and other southern provinces of the Habsburg Low Countries, mainly the *Hinterland* of (Walloon) Flanders, Hainaut, Artois and Namur. During the Dutch Revolt in the second half of the sixteenth century, however, students came from cities across all of the so-called Seventeen Provinces in the Low Countries, including those well beyond the 50–100 kilometer recruitment radius. This had several reasons. First, a crisis at the University of Leuven, due to an unfortunate combination of war and pestilence, fostered a

44 See: Soen/De Ridder *et al.*, "How to do Transregional History". More concretely for the Franco-Habsburg borderlands, see: V. Soen/Y. Junot/F. Mariage (ed.), *L'identité au pluriel. Jeux et enjeux des appartenances autour des anciens Pays-Bas, XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Revue du Nord, Hors-série, collection Histoire 30; Villeneuve-d'Ascq; Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 2014): Troisième partie: "Identités au-delà des frontières".

45 O. Sauvage, "L'âge d'or des libraires douaisiens sous les archiducs", in C. Bruneel/J.-M. Duvoisnel/P. Guignet/R. Vermeir (ed.), *Les 'Trente Glorieuses'. Pays-Bas méridionaux et France septentrionale. Aspects économiques, sociaux et religieux aux temps des archiducs Albert et Isabelle* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 2010) 249–58.

46 Balsamo, "Le cardinal de Lorraine", 19–20. In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, the Faculty of Medicine would serve as a new attraction for international students, mainly from England and the Low Countries: H. De Ridder-Symoens, "The Mobility of Medical Students from the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: The Institutional Context", in O.P. Grell/A. Cunningham/J. Arrizabalaga (ed.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010) 47–89, 63 and 88 (appendix 7).

temporal affluence of students.<sup>47</sup> Secondly, the emergence of Calvinist city regimes from 1577 onwards, made students from the northern provinces of Frisia and Groningen travel willingly more than 500 kilometers to study legally on Habsburg soil. Thirdly, even after the emergence of the Dutch Republic, with its equally harsh prohibitions on studying abroad and the high fines imposed upon those who did so, Catholic students continued to travel south to the Habsburg Low Countries (with students and professors from the city of Utrecht forming a surprising, but significant, minority).<sup>48</sup> Finally, Jesuit pupils, associated with the *Collège d'Anchin*, formed a substantial part of the student population, though the order seems to have stood quite aloof and was not always forthcoming in recommending Douai over Leuven.<sup>49</sup> Only a handful of students from the Holy Roman Empire studied in Douai, and usually did so as a sort of stop over on the route between Paris and Germanic lands. From this perspective, the universities in both Reims and Douai appear to have provided intellectual bulwarks on the border and complemented the military citadels erected on the same frontier lines, inevitably placing university leaders in a position to actively participate in patterns of early modern state formation.

While the Kings of both Spain and France tried to keep students within their borders, their normative prescriptions and prohibitions seemed to have had limited success at doing so. Located on the same Franco-Habsburg *frontière* – frequently mentioned as the source of all evil – the two universities actually sparked more cross-border movement than designed for. On the one hand, this continued the pre-1559 situation, where both cities belonged to the same ecclesiastical province of Reims before Philip's bishopric reform tore them apart, and were tied by pilgrimage and trade routes. On the other hand, the contemporary Wars of Religion that took place in both the Low Countries and France

47 J. Pollmann, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) 42–45; D. Lanoye/P. Vandermeersch, “The University of Louvain at the End of the Sixteenth Century: Coping with Crisis?”, *History of Universities* 20 (2005) 81–107.

48 C. Lenarduzzi, “De religieuze spagaat van katholieke studenten in de Republiek rond 1600”, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 31 (2015) 267–83.

49 H. De Ridder-Symoens, “Étude du rayonnement national et international d'une université sans livres matricules: le cas de l'université de Douai (1559–1795)”, in M. Bideaux/M.-M. Fragonard (ed.), *Les échanges entre les universités européennes*, 45–60; H. De Ridder-Symoens, “L'évolution quantitative et qualitative de la pérégrination académique des étudiants néerlandais méridionaux de la Renaissance à l'époque des Lumières”, in M. Kulczykowski (ed.), *Pérégrinations académiques. IVème Session scientifique internationale, Cracovie, 19–21 mai 1982* (Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 870; Cracow: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1989) 87–97. See also: S. Zijlstra, “Studying Abroad: the Student Years of Two Frisian Brothers at Cologne and Douai, 1582–1593”, in K. Goudriaan/J. Molenbroek/A. Tervoort (ed.), *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400–1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde De Ridder-Symoens* (Brill's studies in intellectual history 123; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 297–313.

created unstable and insecure borders, and cities on the borderline frequently switched between Catholic and Calvinist regimes. Even when borders formally existed in bulls and laws, they did not necessarily do so in early modern intellectual and religious communities. The new impetus for Catholic Reform, both from the Council of Trent and from other nodes, meant that new centers and peripheries could still be configured.

Rather than operating as inflexible lines on paper, borders were malleable. Douai, for example, attracted François Baudouin, the influential humanist lawyer and historian who was also one of Charles de Lorraine's protégées at that time. Born in Arras in 1520, Baudouin had first studied in Leuven and then moved to Paris, much in line with the cross-border patterns outlined above. Subscribing to the very scenario most feared by Habsburg authorities, it was in the French capital that he became a supporter of Calvin's teachings. Moving to Geneva, he gradually started to question the growing radicalism of Calvin and Beza, instead sharing the ecumenical and pacifying teachings of the spiritualist Joris Cassander, a Dutchman then living in imperial Cologne. During the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561, Baudouin, as *moyenneur*, tried to reconcile the Catholic and Calvinist delegations. Yet, his reconciliation with the Catholic Church during a carefully staged ceremony before the Archbishop of Cambrai, and his subsequent appointment at the University of Douai in 1563, provided a direct blow to both the French *moyenneurs* looking for a *via media* and the Calvinists crossing the border to preach in the Habsburg provinces. This conversion in Douai, aimed at an audience in both France and the Low Countries alike, represented a cautious victory for the Counter-Reformation.<sup>50</sup>

Later in the French and Dutch Wars of Religion, transregional transfers in the other direction also served the Catholic cause. The above mentioned League against Henri IV, largely patronized by the Guise family, used cross-border resources in the Habsburg Low Countries in order to achieve its aims back in France. The presses in Douai and the wider ecclesiastical province printed pamphlets for the ultra-Catholic cause (or re-printed Parisian editions), re-confirming the function of borderlands as zones of smuggle and *contrebande*.<sup>51</sup> The *ligueurs de l'exil* were welcomed into the region, and although most of them never settled permanently, they took home their exile experience. In this context, Jean Boucher (1548–1646) probably stands out as the most famous Leaguer in exile, preferring never to return to France. He had studied and lectured in both

50 M. Turchetti, *Concordia o tolleranza? François Baudouin (1520–1573) e i « Moyenneurs »* (Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 200; Genève: Droz, 1984); 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* n° 419 (2017) 41–65.

51 A. Soetaert, *Katholieke literatuur en transregionale uitwisseling in de kerkprovincie Kamerijk (1559–1659)* (unpublished PhD-thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2017), 93–97.

Reims and Paris, and eventually relocated to the Habsburg Low Countries in 1594, turning into a very active approbatory for the local book market.<sup>52</sup> As a result, the Franco-Habsburg borderlands became a sort of microcosm in which lessons for the ‘Universal Church’ of the Counter-Reformation were drawn from a patchwork of encounters along, across, and beyond these borders and boundaries.

## V. Exile Movements

Even more visibly, Catholic exiles fleeing the British Isles for the continent disrupted the discourse of ‘students within borders’.<sup>53</sup> As his niece was Mary Queen of Scots, Charles of Lorraine became involved in hosting these exiles from the onset; yet, the rulers of the Habsburg Low Countries soon patronized most of the fleeing Catholic clergy from across the Channel.<sup>54</sup> The English religious diaspora mattered, especially for the young University of Douai. The city magistrate and Vendeville convinced English professors from Leuven and Paris to relocate to Douai, so that they could be closer to their *patria*. These attempts succeeded, as professors like Richard Smyth and Thomas Stapleton helped to establish the reputation of the university for the next three centuries.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, when Vendeville met the future Cardinal William Allen in Douai, they joined forces to turn the city into an important anchor for Catholicism throughout north-western Europe. Travelling together to Rome, they received permission to found a college for the training of missionary priests. For his efforts, Allen obtained a professorship, bonding the college and university together, while the newly estab-

52 R. Descimon/J.J. Ruiz Ibañez, *Les Ligueurs d'exil. Le refuge catholique français après 1594* (Seysse: Champ Vallon, 2005); Soetaert, *Katholieke literatuur en transregionale uitwisseling*, 149–52.

53 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): published online 15 July 2015.

54 L. De Frenne, “Professions, prêtres et pensions. Les réfugiés catholiques aux Pays-Bas méridionaux sous l’administration des archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1598–1621/1633)”, Bruneel/Duvosquel/Guignet/Vermeir (ed.), *Les ‘Trente Glorieuses’*, 107–25; P. Arblaster, “The Southern Netherlands Connection: Networks of Support and Patronage”, in B. Kaplan/B. Moore/H. van Nierop/J. Pollmann (ed.), *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands ca. 1570–1720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009) 123–38.

55 J.A. Löwe, “Richard Smyth and the Foundation of the University of Douai”, *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 79 (1999) 142–69; W. François, “Thomas Stapleton, controversetheoloog tussen Engeland en de Nederlanden”, in V. Soen/P. Knevel (ed.), *Religie, hervorming en controverse, in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden* (Herzogenrath: Shaker Publishing, 2013) 37–64.



lished English College rapidly expanded to include 120 pensionaries less than a decade later.<sup>56</sup>

The same English group also sought patronage from the Reims Archbishop across the border, tapping into the English-Scottish connections of his family particularly, but also revitalizing the old trade, travel and peregrination routes towards Champagne.<sup>57</sup> When in March 1578 a coup in Douai expelled the Jesuits, Theatines, and English exiles as ‘partisans of the enemy’ (at that time, read: the King of Spain), William Allen moved his English college to Reims, with overt support from the Cardinal.<sup>58</sup> As a side-effect of this move, Jean de Foigny, a local printer from Reims, published the English Catholic New Testament, rather than John Fowler in Douai, who might have initially been contacted for the job.<sup>59</sup> In 1593 they returned to Douai “comme a raison des troubles regnans presentement

56 H. De Ridder-Symoens, “The Place of the University of Douai in the Peregrinatio Academica Britannica”, in J.M. Fletcher/H. De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *Lines of contact. Proceedings of the Second Conference of Belgian, British, Irish and Dutch Historians of Universities held at St. Anne’s College Oxford 15–17 September 1989* (Studia Historica Gandensia 279; Gent: Universiteit Gent. Opleiding geschiedenis, 1994) 21–34; R. Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais dans les Pays-Bas espagnols durant le règne d’Elisabeth (1558–1603)* (Leuven: Bureaux du Recueil, 1914); A. Haudecœur, *La conservation providentielle du catholicisme en Angleterre ou histoire du Collège anglais: Douai (1568–1578), Reims (1578–1593), Douai (1593–1793)* (Reims: Dubois-Poplumont 1898); F. Fabre, “Le collège anglais de Douai, son histoire héroïque”, *Revue de littérature comparée* 10 (1930) 201–29; L. Trenard, “Collèges anglais, écossais, irlandais dans les Pays-Bas français (1568–1793)”, in *Actes 95e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims, 1970. Section Histoire moderne et contemporaine. 1: Histoire de l’enseignement de 1610 à nos jours* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1974) 501–36. Later on, Allen was appointed as a Professor of Controversy in Douai in 1571, a position that solidified the bonds between the English College and the university. I thank Dr. Alexander Soetaert for this curious detail, retrieved from accounts of the university made by Paul Du Mont, and preserved in the Archives municipales de Douai, 1 NC 1484, *Comptes pour le paiement des professeurs, 1563–1564, 1566, 1571, 1573*.

57 J. Balsamo, “L’Université de Reims, les Guise et les étudiants anglais”, in Bideaux/Fragonard (ed.), *Les échanges entre les universités européennes*, 318; L. Brockliss, “The University of Paris and the Maintenance of Catholicism in the British Isles, 1426–1789: A Study in Clerical Recruitment”, in Julia/Revel (ed.), *Les Universités européennes du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*, 2.577–616.

58 Cf. the contemporary problems in Artois: C. Hirschauer, “Les troubles d’Artois de 1577–1578”, *Bulletin de l’institut historique belge de Rome* 2 (1912) 45–60; F. Duquenne, “Des ‘républiques calvinistes’ avortées? La contestation des échevinages à Douai et Arras en 1577 et 1578”, in M. Weis (ed.), *Des villes en révolte: les républiques urbaines aux Pays-Bas et en France pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle* (Studies in European urban history (1100–1800) 23; Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 53–63.

59 V. Soen/A. Soetaert/J. Verberckmoes, “Verborgen meertaligheid. De katholieke drukpers in de kerkprovincie Kamerijk (1560–1600)”, *Queeste. Journal of Medieval Literature in the Low Countries* 22 (2015) 62–81; A. Soetaert, *Katholieke literatuur en transregionale uitwisseling*, 134–35; Balsamo, “L’Université de Reims”; A. Walsham, “Unclasping the book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible”, *Journal of British Studies* 42 (2003) 141–66.

en France” in order to protect the university from the troops of Henri IV.<sup>60</sup> The second part of the English bible, the Old Testament, was ultimately printed by the English printer Laurence Kellam in Douai in 1609.<sup>61</sup> Hence, the *Douai-Rheims Bible* (or, more accurately, the *Rheims-Douai Bible*) proved to be the most tangible evidence of the two-way traffic between Douai and Reims.

Likewise, the remarkable biography of William Gifford (1557/8–1629) serves to depict the transregional transfers between Leuven/Douai, on the one hand, and Reims/Pont-à-Mousson on the other, as well as highlighting the important mediating role of the English College. Leaving Oxford in exile around 1573, Gifford proceeded to Leuven, but left the University some years later, after an outbreak of pestilence swept through the city. Having initially chosen Paris as his preferred destination, he was invited by Allen to join the English College then in Reims, where he taught theology and, while enjoying Guise patronage, defended his doctorate in 1584 at Pont-à-Mousson. After Allen’s death, and with the English College back in Douai, he was invited to move again to Habsburg lands and was made dean of the collegiate church of Saint-Pierre in Lille. After his *peregrinatio* from Leuven, Reims, and Pont-à-Mousson, Gifford became a staunch advocate of Douai, even convincing the English Benedictines to open another college there, but his diplomatic activities in England turned him into a *persona non grata* of the Habsburg Archdukes Albert and Isabella.<sup>62</sup> Banished from the Low Countries in 1606, he again traveled across the border to Reims, where he was welcomed and patronized by the newly appointed Cardinal de Guise, made rector of the university, and entered into the Benedictine order under the name of Gabriel de Sainte-Marie. Promoted in 1618 to act as the coadjutor of the Reims archbishop,

60 Douai, Archives municipales, *Registre aux mémoires, 1575–1605*, BB 13: Ernst of Mansfelt to the city magistrate of Douai, 14 January 1593, fol. 205 r°. I again thank Alexander Soetaert for this reference. M.W. Konnert, *Local Politics during the French Wars of Religion: the Towns of Champagne, the duc de Guise, and the Catholic League, 1560–95* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); M.W. Konnert, *Civic Agendas and Religious Passion: Châlons-sur-Marne during the French Wars of Religion, 1560–1594* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Publishers, 1997); J. Bossy, “Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography”, *The Historical Journal* 7 (1964) 139–40.

61 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; K. Gibbons, “A Reserved Place? Catholic Exiles and Contested Space in Later Sixteenth-Century Paris”, *French Historical Studies* 32 (2009) 33–62.

62 Pope Clemens VIII tried to make him an intermediary in the ongoing negotiations between England and the papacy L. Hicks, “The Exile of Dr William Gifford from Lille in 1606”, *Recusant History* 7 (1964) 214–38; Y. Chaussy, *Les bénédictins anglais réfugiés en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1611–1669)* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1967) 8, 17–21; T. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain’s Monarchy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) 270. See also: A. Lottin, *Lille, citadelle de la Contre-Réforme? 1598–1668* (Villeneuve-d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013) 103, n. 13.

Gifford took the archiepiscopal see himself in 1623, but died some six years later.<sup>63</sup> Hence, the universities of Douai and Reims, as well as the English College that repeatedly switched back and forth between the two cities, became infrastructural strongholds that frequently enabled transregional transfers across borders.

## Conclusion

Borderland universities mattered in the geography of early modern Europe: they facilitated both an increasingly important Church-State collaboration within the borders of emerging states and fostered transregional transfers beyond them through the continued mobility of students and scholars. Comparing, as this chapter did, the mid-sixteenth-century foundations of the Catholic universities of Reims and Douai, established along the same contested border, unravels how these processes could become heavily dependent on each other, even if they are usually studied separately. Hence, borderland universities both challenged and enhanced earlier existing patterns of cross-border exchange for either educational or religious imperatives.

The foundations of the Universities of Reims and Douai responded to similar societal developments: they were established in adjacent regions that were re-configured as borderlands in the growing state formation of the sixteenth century, and that were struggling to maintain the economic vitality that they had acquired in the previous centuries. During this novel era of changing relationships between political and ecclesiastical centres and peripheries, governments wanted to discourage any further scholastic border-crossing in order to keep young men on native soil. Along with these long-term governmental imperatives to buttress borders with universities, the short-term lobbying of local Catholic elites aimed to pre-empt possible student contact with the Reformation abroad, and reinforce orthodoxy at home by training its intelligentsia. As a result, both universities provided the infrastructural answer to the early modern prohibitions on studying abroad, a practice already prominent within the Spanish Habsburg Low Countries since 1559, and under consideration throughout the rest of Europe. In borderlands such as French Champagne and Habsburg Flanders, universities became markers of the increasing Church-State collaboration tying centre and peripheries together.

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63 M. E. William, "Gifford, William (1557/8–1629)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Edition* [hereafter: *ODNB*], accessed 27 Sept 2015, accessed 2 May 2012; A. Haudecoeur, "William Gifford, dit Gabriel de Sainte-Marie de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît, 87<sup>e</sup> archevêque de Reims", *Travaux Academie Nationale de Reims*, 103 (1897–1898) 291–313; Balsamo, "L'Université de Reims", 320–21.

While borderland universities were set up to prevent students from studying abroad, their impact on the ground was a very different one.<sup>64</sup> As this chapter contends, the Universities of Reims and Douai created new routes of exchange and communication, adding to the older established cross-border patterns of trade, peregrination, and warfare. This development was even reinforced by the contemporary influx of Catholic refugees from the British Isles and the cross-border solidarity of the Catholic elites and princes who hosted them. As Reims and Douai became laboratories for both Catholic militancy and redefining orthodoxy within and beyond established boundaries, a two-way intellectual and infrastructural traffic emerged between two institutions that were never designed for this purpose. Contemporary events, especially those tied to the Wars of Religion, thus altered the aims codified within the foundational bulls. Future research should integrate and compare the University of Pont-à-Mousson (which will likely reveal more triangular transfers, such as in case of William Gifford), while extending it to similar borderland universities (such as those in Cologne, Duisburg, and Harderwijk). As in many other instances, the religious troubles of the sixteenth century twisted the logic of confessional states, making comparative history intersect with transregional history.

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64 R. C. Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des alten Reiches* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung Universalgeschichte 123; Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1986) 222–340 shows that the recruitment of the University of Cologne was similarly transregional, in attracting Catholic students from neighboring Calvinist regions, both within the Dutch Republic and the Empire.

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