

# STUDY GUIDE

PEACE OF WESTPHALIA





# Peace of Westphalia Study Guide

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# Letter from the Secretary-General

Esteemed Participants,

It is my greatest honour to welcome you all to EUROsimA 2017. This year marks the 13<sup>th</sup> anniversary of our conference and with an experience of over ten years, historical committees has always been one of our oldest and most important traditions.

The study guide you are holding in your hands is prepared for you to comprehensively study the historical background and understand the importance of it, and be ready for every single possibility that the topics could evolve into. Moreover, this academic work would not have been achieved without Mr. Tayanç Güngör's efforts and his invaluable contributions. I feel myself obliged to thank her for everything that she has done for this committee.

I once again welcome you all to EUROsimA and wish you an amazing experience here in the Peace of Westphalia committee.

Kind Regards,

**Ali Berk İdil**

Secretary-General

# Letter from the Under-Secretary General

Most Honourable Participants,

It is my utmost pleasure to welcome you all to the 13<sup>th</sup> annual session of EUROsimA. My name is Tayanç GÜNGÖR, a third-year International Relations student in Middle East Technical University; and I have the honour to be the under-secretary general responsible for the Peace of Westphalia.

In this 13<sup>th</sup> session of EUROsimA, participants will find an inimitable experience which will certainly improve both their academic and social abilities. In this year, participants will go to the very roots of the structure which can be considered as the beginning of modern international system. In this very root, hearth of the European diplomacy and a system that dominate the European structure nearly for 300 years, exists. Therefore, importance of this peace gives every delegate a chance to restore the future of Europe.

In this respect, there is a lot of work to be done in Peace of Westphalia. After thirty years of struggle and conflict, Europe has a chance to restore peace and stability within itself. Although, many states are tired from fighting this endless, bitter war, rivalries and interest still affecting the relations between countries. Above all, as the most important issue, religion stays as the main motive for both sides and their ambitions. Also, apart from internal dangers, outside Europe rose as another challenge to the stability and peace. While The Holy Roman Empire trying to solve its issues within themselves, rising threat from the East became an incentive for peace negotiations to end the Thirty Years' War. In this complex situation, delegates will try to unite the states within and outside of the Holy Roman Empire to make peace in order to save the Europe's future. Dangers are many, but the goal is only one. Peace must be brought to the Holy Roman Empire, one way or another to save the Europe's future.

To conclude, I would like to express my profound gratitude to the EUROsimA 2017 academic team for their hard work and support during the preparation of this conference; particularly to our Secretary General Ali Berk IDIL for his guidance and endless patience, and to the Assistant to Secretary General Yargı AKDAN for her crucial and irreplaceable contributions to the study guide.

Should you have questions about any academic matter regarding the committee, please do not hesitate to contact me as I would be glad to help you out.

Yours Faithfully,

**Tayanç GÜNGÖR**

Under-Secretary General

# Introduction

It is 1648, Europe is in turmoil. Thirty Years' War devastated many places in Europe, mainly Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, and both sides are tired. Peace of Westphalia is the outcome of these years of fighting, killing and trying to destroy the other side. Although at first glance it seemed like a war of religion within Europe, many conflicting interests and aims of the great powers in Europe made the case very complicated and it lasted longer than anyone had expected. Thirty Years' War saw the bloodiest battles of Europe, much treason done for the sake of the country and now, both sides have gathered to end these dark times for Europe and bring prosperity to the continent. But there are many problems which need to be solved and conflicting interest of the countries have become the greatest obstacle to the peace within Europe. To understand the balance of power, roots of the problem must be investigated, which is the Protestant Reformation.

## Protestant Reformation

### a. Avignon Papacy

After the East-West Schism (also known as the Great Schism) which divided Christianity into two, Catholic and Orthodox Church, Avignon Papacy became much more interesting for the papal authority and prestige. Following the rivalry between Philip IV of France and Pope Boniface VIII, and the death of his successor Benedict XI after only eight months in office, papal conclave finally elected Clement V, a Frenchman, as Pope in 1305 after long sessions of deadlocked elections. He was born in Gascony, in southern France, but he had no direct connection with the French court. He owed his election results to the French clerics. After his election, he made most of the cardinal appointments among the Frenchmen. Curia was under the French influence and with Clement V, this influence would rise. Italian families showed a reaction to those appointments and it raised the heat in Rome against the Pope<sup>1</sup>.

But there was another important matter which became a challenge to Clement V. On October 13, 1307, Clement V got the news which said that Templars in France were arrested. Downfall of the Templars expedited the decision of Clement to leave French territories in order not to be under influence, for more neutral ground. On August 8, 1308, the pope called the council about the Templar issue and other issues. He decided to move his court to Vienne, which belonged to the county of Provence. It was close to France but not under French territory. The council opened on October 1, 1310. In the meanwhile, the pope chose Avignon as its place to stay and established his court.

<sup>1</sup> Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its papacy, 1309-1417 popes, institutions, and society* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015).

<sup>2</sup>This created a huge controversy in the Catholic Church because papacy had always been associated with the city of Rome and by taking his court to Avignon, Clement V admitted the submission of the Catholic church to French influence. To elaborate, Avignon was a papal territory outside of the French borders but it was still too close to French territory so it was open to the influence of France. The main example of this submission is that, after Clement V, 6 popes of the Catholic Church were Frenchmen. This turned out to be the greatest problem of the Avignon Papacy, as many Avignon popes were seen as puppets of the French King.

On the other hand, a papacy which was not settled in Rome is not something unique to Clement's papacy. There were many popes in the 13<sup>th</sup> century who did not live in Rome. Avignon papacy used these examples as a justification for its settlement in Avignon. The Great Canonist Henry of Segusio declared in 1260 that, "It is not the place that sanctifies the man, it is the man who sanctifies the place." Therefore, Avignon papacy used the "Ubi est papa, ibi est Roma" (Rome is where the pope is) argument as a justification. Also for Clement, families' rivalry in the city of Rome made the city very unsafe for a Pope to live.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, this image created a huge loss of reputation for the Catholic Church throughout the Christendom. Also, Avignon Papacy made some reforms in the church such as the promotion of university education and administrative reforms but those were not as effective as they had expected and they remained unable to make efficient reforms afterwards. Also, failure to end the Hundred Years' War between England and France, and Black Death which struck Europe in October 1347 decreased the liability and reputation of the Avignon Papacy. Urban V, who was elected as pope in 1362 started to plan to bring back papal court to Rome. After Rome was cleansed from Italian families' influence, they would be excluded from positions inside Rome. But he failed to initiate his plans and with the Hundred Years' War between France and England starting again, he had to go back to his court. After a short time, he died on December 19, 1370. After the death of the Pope Urban V, papal conclave elected Gregory XI as pope. <sup>4</sup>Pope Gregory XI with the influence of two women, Catherine of Siena and St. Bridget of Sweden, persuaded the Papal court to return to Rome. But this return did not end the hostilities. Under huge pressure within Rome, Gregory XI considered going back to Avignon but he never had the time. He died on March 1378 and with his death, Catholic Church faced its second greatest challenge, the Western Schism.

## b. Western Schism

With the death of Pope Gregory XI on March 1378, Papal conclave gathered in Rome. In this election, there was huge pressure coming from the people of Rome for the next

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Ibid



pope to be Roman, or at least Italian. But when none of the Roman candidates present themselves, Papal conclave chose Urban VI, a Neapolitan pope. At first Urban VI seemed to act in good faith but after a while, there was great suspicion about him that he was a reformer and his hostile attitude against the other cardinals created unrest. Therefore, some cardinals abandoned Rome and went to Anagni. On August 2 1378, cardinals proclaimed that Pope Urban VI's election was null and void on the basis that the pressure from the Romans created distractions. Cardinals elected another pontiff, Cardinal Robert of Geneva, on September 20 and he took the name Clement VII. Clement tried to capture Rome and banish Urban but he failed, so he went to Avignon in June 1379 and set up his papal court there.

With this action, the Christian world was forced to choose one of the popes in Avignon or Rome, and both popes excommunicated each other. This crisis divided Europe into two factions. The side recognizing Clement VII in Avignon as the pope consisted of France, Aragon, Castile and León, Cyprus, Burgundy, Savoy, Naples, Scotland and Owain Glyndwr's rebellion in Wales. On the other hand, Denmark, England, Flanders, the Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, Ireland (English Dominion), Norway, Portugal, Poland (later Poland-Lithuania), Sweden, Republic of Venice, and other City States of northern Italy, recognized the Roman claimant Urban VI.<sup>5</sup> Many people thought that this division would end with the death of the pope of one side, but it didn't. Roman pope Urban VI died in 1389 but Roman cardinals refused to submit to the Clement VII and elected a successor, Boniface IX and decide to continue the schism. Likewise, when Clement died, Avignon cardinals chose Benedict XIII as the Pope of Rome. Both sides remained persistent and tension of the schism grew. When Boniface IX died, the Roman cardinals elected Innocent VII. Innocent ruled for two years and after his death, Gregory XII was elected as pope by Roman cardinals. Meanwhile there were attempts to restore order and end the schism but they all failed.

But soon after, with the concerning actions of popes on both sides - such as Gregory's appointment of his nephews as cardinals - cardinals from both sides left the popes and decided to convoke a council to end the schism and rivalry within Christendom. Therefore, Council of Pisa was held in 1409 and they declared that the Council represents all Christendom's will. But both popes refused to attend the meeting and thus, on June 5 1409, the Council deposed both popes. After that cardinals elected a new pope, Alexander V. But his election did not end the schism; in fact, it increased the gap between rivalries because both sides refused to abdicate their positions. So in 1409 there were three popes claiming that they were the true pope and the successor of the Peter the Apostle. But in 1413, Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund persuaded John XXII who came after Alexander V, to convoke a council to end the schism. There-

<sup>5</sup> "Western Schism." Western Schism | Open Access articles | Open Access journals | Conference Proceedings | Editors | Authors | Reviewers | scientific events. Accessed March 23, 2017. [http://research.omicsgroup.org/index.php/Western\\_Schism](http://research.omicsgroup.org/index.php/Western_Schism).

fore, John XXII called for a meeting in Constance and most bishoprics, theologians and canon law makers came along with the Pisan pope and the Emperor himself. The Council opened on November 5, 1414. After series of negotiations and speeches the Council decided that all three popes should resign. Although there were some cardinals which supported John XXII's papacy it did not change the council's decision. After that, John XXII fled from the city and went to Austria-Tyrol hoping that the council would dissolve. But with Sigismund's exertion council remained and they declared that the Council was the supreme authority, even ranking over the popes. On May 29, the Council deposed John XXIII; and on July 4, Gregory XII, after convoking the Council, abdicated. The Avignon pope, Benedict XIII, refused to submit and was deposed on July 26, 1417.

Having a clear field, a conclave of 23 cardinals and six delegates from each of the five nations on November 11, 1417, elected Cardinal Otto Colonna, who took the name Martin V. Martin V ended the schism. Benedict XIII resisted the decisions and kept calling himself the pope until the end of his life. Cardinals chose Clement VIII as his successor but he submitted to Pope Martin V six years later. With Clement's submission, Western schism ended.

Western schism's outcomes were very important for the Christendom. Firstly, failure of the papal leadership and the lack of the papal authority to unite the Christian world under one pope showed the sensitivity of the papal rule. Two pope's rule, lately three, and their actions against their loyal subjects created huge unrest and disappointment in many parts of Europe. In addition to that, schism created a "conciliar" theory within the Catholic Church which claims that ecumenical church's powers are superior and supreme authority lies within ecumenical church, even over the pope himself. To conclude, these developments and reactions with the growing tension and corruption within the Catholic Church led to the Protestant Reformation.

### **c. Early Reformation, Germany and Martin Luther**

Beginnings of the Protestant reformation are mainly associated with German lands and Martin Luther. The Holy Roman Empire then was divided into many principalities and ruled by an emperor elected by prince-electors in the electoral college of the Holy Roman Empire. Main structure of the empire allows high autonomy to the German princes within the empire and Martin Luther was in one of the German principalities when he started the Protestant Reformation, Kingdom of Saxony.

There are many initiatives that drove the Christian world into reformation process. But the corruption in the Catholic Church, Church's actions and policies, significant events such as Western Schism and the Black Death decreased the trust for the Catholic Church and led to the reformation. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, arguments against the Church highly increased. Especially during the papacy of Alexander VI, Rodrigo Bor-

gia, was full of scandals and corruption. Even before Alexander VI's death, Rome was in political instability and its authority was weakening. Although his successors had promised to fix the situation, their actions made it worse. The peak of this corruption was the sale of "indulgences", forgiveness for certain sins in exchange for payment to the Church. In 1517, Pope Leo X gave permission to sell indulgences to rebuild St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. This provoked Martin Luther and created an outrage in some parts of the Christian world. Luther believed that eternal salvation could only be reached through God's favour, not with indulgences; and he strongly opposed many practices of the Catholic Church including the sale of indulgences. He wrote the "Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences," also known as "The 95 Theses," which is a list of propositions for the indulgences and other discussions. On October 31, 1517 Martin Luther sent his "The 95 Theses" to the Archbishopric of Mainz. This is widely accepted as the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. This thesis criticized the selling of indulgences with these words:

- a. 82- *Such as: "Why does not the pope empty purgatory for the sake of holy love and the dire need of the souls that are there if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of miserable money with which to build a church?" The former reason would be most just; the latter is most trivial.*<sup>6</sup>
- b. 86- *Again, "Why does not the pope, whose wealth is today greater than the wealth of the richest Crassus, build this one basilica of St. Peter with his own money rather than with the money of poor believers?"*

News of "The 95 Theses" created a shock in Rome. At first, Luther only intervened to the situation as a priest. But his reaction found huge ground in the Holy Roman Empire. This ground gave him courage and he began to act more outspoken and focus his arguments and attacks on the papacy. Against all these attacks, papal reaction showed itself. Pope declared with a papal bull that these claims are heretical and called an inquisitorial tribunal at Rome. Martin Luther burned the papal bull and a copy of the church's canon law. On the other hand, as this chain of events was commencing, Emperor Maximilian died. Since the emperor had no heir to take the throne, electors of the Holy Roman Empire started to look for a candidate who could rule the Holy Roman Empire. French king Francis I was a suitable candidate. But his main ambitions lay within the empire's borders so he could not be elected by the imperial council. Instead of Francis, electors of the Holy Roman Empire chose Charles V, Emperor of the Spanish Empire and Habsburg Netherlands. His ancestry came from the Habsburg line so there would be no problem for the election. He became the Holy

<sup>6</sup> "Martin Luther's 95 Theses." Martin Luther's 95 Theses. Accessed March 23, 2017. <http://www.luther.de/en/95thesen.html>.  
<sup>7</sup> Ibid

Roman Emperor in 1519. After seeing Luther reject the pope's call he ordered Luther to recant in 1521. Luther, who also had significant support among German princes, rejected the order once again. With that support, way for the reformation was paved and ready to spread the ideal to other countries.

#### d. Switzerland and Ulrich Zwingli

*“The Christian man is nothing else but a faithful and good citizen  
and the Christian city nothing other than the Christian church.”*

-Ulrich Zwingli, Swedish Reformer

While in Germany, Reformation sparked after Luther's initiation of “The 95 Theses” to the Catholic Church for a controversy about the sacrament of penance and indulgences, the Swiss Reformation rose from a very interesting debate, with so-called “Affair of the Sausages.”<sup>8</sup>

Lent is a Christian tradition which is a time of sacrifice and prayer. Many of the sects in the Christendom such as Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Coptic have that practice. Many Christians saw the Lent as an opportunity to improve their faith and devotion, trying to give up unhealthy foods and end their bad habits.<sup>9</sup> On March 5, 1522, Ulrich Zwingli was invited to the house of Christoph Froschauer, who had dedicated himself to the ideology of Martin Luther. Froschauer was also a printer who was working on the new edition of the epistles of Paul. In the dinner, some of the Zwingli's friends and supporters ate sausages. It was a time of Lent which forbade Catholics from eating sausages for a 40 days' period prior to Easter. This public breaking of Lenten created a fury within the clerics and some of the people in Zurich. After a time, the Zurich town council ordered the arrest of Froschauer, but Zwingli did not arrest because he had not eaten the sausage himself.<sup>10</sup> Although Zwingli had a chance to end the dispute - because at that time, Zwingli held the eminent post of people's priest at the Great Minster church in Zurich - he took this issue to the public while he was preaching a sermon called “On the Choice of Freedom of Foods” in 23 March 1522.<sup>11</sup> In this sermon, Zwingli did not only show his support for the actions of Froschauer and the others, but he also claimed that every individual had the right to choose his/her food freely.<sup>12</sup>

After the “Affair of the sausages” Zwingli's disputation with the Catholic Church increased. In July 1522, Zwingli and ten other Swiss priests sent a petition to the Bishop of Constance, the official who headed the churches based in Constance, asking for the recognition of marriages.<sup>13</sup> But this request was not the ending. Zwingli also rose

<sup>8</sup> Lindberg, Carter. The European Reformations. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Lazarus, William P, and Mark Sullivan. Comparative Religion For Dummies. Hoboken: Wiley, 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Lindberg, Carter. The European Reformations. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>12</sup> Carnagie, Julie, Aaron Maurice Saari, and Peggy Saari. Renaissance and Reformation. Detroit: UXL, 2004.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

against some of the practices of the Catholic Church such as praying to the saints for help and favours. He questioned the miracles of the saints and argued that the Church was taking advantage from those issues to make itself more prosperous, and he was also against the pictures and sculptures in the churches. He believed that those images led people to paganism and the worship of false gods. Many of his followers adapted his words and between 1523 and 1525 many decorations, statues and pictures stripped from the churches in Zurich.<sup>14</sup>

In 1523, public debates about the disputations within the Catholic Church started. In January 1523, Zwingli invited the significant members of clergy from different cantons, the member states of the Swiss confederation, to Zurich to discuss the issues within the church and recent problems. This invitation even included the bishop of Constance with whom Zwingli had many disputes. Most of his opponents refused the invitation and the bishop of Constance sent his personal adviser as an observer.<sup>15</sup> In the Great Council of Zurich, which consisted of 600 people, Zwingli offered his sixty-seven theses. These include the freedom of choosing foods, legalizing the marriage of the priests and many other reformative offers.<sup>16</sup> There was some opposition against this thesis but most of the participants of the Great Council were supporters of Zwingli. Also to relieve the priest from the pressure coming from the Catholic Church which would cut their salaries and appoint others to their place, the state took control of the church like in Lutheran Germany. Priests, with their salaries guaranteed by the State with the support of the Zwingli's followers, accepted the Council's order. Also, Zwingli was acquitted from heresy by the Council.<sup>17</sup>

The Council's decisions created violence among the cantons. Zwingli, disturbed from the violence, held another altercation in October 26, 1523 which 550 laymen and 350 clergymen attended. After the altercation, the Council decided that a committee including Zwingli himself would prepare a booklet that explained the new doctrine to the people, and the in the meanwhile all violence would cease.<sup>18</sup>

Zwingli and the committee quickly wrote down a document and the document was sent to the all clergy of the canton. The Catholic clergy protested the document, after that the Diet of the Confederation gathered in Lucerne in January 26, 1524. The Diet also supported the protest against Zwingli and promised to make ecclesiastical reforms. The Council ignored the protest.<sup>19</sup>

The Reformation had divided the Confederation and after a time, people thought that it would destroy the Confederation altogether. Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, Appen-

<sup>14</sup> Carnagie, Julie, Aaron Maurice Saari, and Peggy Saari. Renaissance and Reformation. Detroit: UXL, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>16</sup> S. V. Langsjoen and Will Durant, "The Story of Civilization. VI: The Reformation. A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564," Books Abroad 33, no. 4 (1959): , doi:10.2307/40096738.

<sup>17</sup> S. V. Langsjoen and Will Durant, "The Story of Civilization. VI: The Reformation. A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564," Books Abroad 33, no. 4 (1959): , doi:10.2307/40096738.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

zell, and the Grisons supported Zurich, others were hostile. Five cantons, Lucerne, Uri Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug formed a Catholic League to suppress all reformist movements in 1524. Archduke Ferdinand of Austria urged all Catholic states to unite against the reformation threat and promised to support the cantons, while hoping to restore the Habsburg dominance in Switzerland. On July 16, all cantons except Appenzell and Schaffhausen agreed to exclude Zurich from future diets.<sup>20</sup> In 1526, a conference was held in Baden. Catholic dominance in the conference was clear and Zwingli did not attend this conference because of his concern about personal safety. Many of his opponents thought of Zwingli's absence as an act of cowardice. Also, the conference condemned the Zwinglian reforms and accused him of becoming the anti-Christ. On January 6, 1528, a religious debate took place in Bern, the largest state of the confederation. All Clergy of Bern, four bishops from Lausanne, Sion, Basel and Constance and Zwingli and Johannes Oekolampadius of Basel attended the meeting. Many Catholic priests refused to attend but several of them attended to the meeting. The debate lasted until January and Zwingli gained victory by introducing the reformation to the canton of Bern except for one region, Bernr Oberland which resisted this decision and asked for help from neighbouring states. Bern sent its troops and soon after, Bernr Oberland also accepted the reforms which took place in Zurich.<sup>21</sup>

After Zwingli's triumph in Zurich, he extended his influence to the Saint Gall and the Lake of Constance. But when Jacob Kaiser, a reformed priest who did not obey the Catholic cantons, was sentenced to death by burning at the stake, Zurich declared war on the Catholic cantons. The Catholic and Protestant armies came face to face near Kappel but just before the fighting started, both leaders called for peace and negotiations started. Truce was signed but for it was not enough for either party.<sup>22</sup>

Soon after the First Kappel War, Catholic cantons and opposition within Zurich united against Zwingli. Zwingli proposed a military campaign but his allies offered an economic blockade instead, which affected Catholic cantons deeply because their trade mainly relied on Zurich markets. But after a time, it seemed that, economic blockade not just affected Catholic cantons but also it affected Zurich as well. Therefore, popularity of Zwingli was deeply damaged because of the merchants, millers and other artisans' complaints and the pressures of the economic blockade.<sup>23</sup>

When the news of Catholic forces gathering near Zug (which is very close to Zurich) arrived, Zwingli had no time to ask for Protestant help. The Zurich army countered the well-prepared Catholic army near Kappel once again in October 1531. The Protestant army was weak and after only a few days, they were defeated. 500 men were killed and among them was Ulrich Zwingli. After Zwingli's death, Heinrich Bullinger took his

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Carnagie, Julie, Aaron Maurice Saari, and Peggy Saari. Renaissance and Reformation. Detroit: UXL, 2004.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> Ibid



place and became the leader of the reform movement in Switzerland<sup>24</sup>. Even though the reform movement in Switzerland took heavy damage with Zwingli's death, it did not stop and with the spread of the reformation to other countries, hopes for a protestant Switzerland lived on.

### e. England and Henry VIII

*“Be of good cheer, Ridley; and play the man. We shall this day, by God's grace, light up such a candle in England, as, I trust, will never be put out.”*

-Latimer to Ridley at the stake

Among all the Reformation processes in countries, probably England's is the most interesting that one can ever see. Henry VIII, although a self-defined devout Catholic, opened the way for Reformation process and started the chain of events which led to England's final break from Rome. The reason was not struggle for power, nor the desire of reformation. The main reason which led to Henry's break away from Rome was a marriage issue. But to analyse this dispute we should go back Henry's succession to the English throne and his first years as the King of England.



Henry VII, Portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger, 1537-1547

Henry VIII's father Henry VII had two sons. One of them was Arthur and the other one was Henry. Arthur, older than Henry, had the right to be the heir to the English throne. In order to secure an alliance with the newly-formed Castile-Aragon (which was formed with a personal union by the marriage of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon) he arranged the marriage of Arthur with the Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Isabella I and Ferdinand II. But soon after the marriage, Arthur died and while Catherine of Aragon became a widow, Henry became the heir to the English throne. Catherine, who thought that becoming the queen of England was her destiny, tried to marry Henry and after a troubled process she succeeded. When Henry VII died, Henry VIII became the king and Catherine of Aragon became the queen of England.

Henry VIII was eighteen when he took the throne. He was young and energetic and most of the ambassadors in English court described him as a healthy sportsman. Everything went very good for England but after a time Henry had a problem which was the most important problem for a King if his dynasty had usurped the throne from a

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

bloody civil war: a lack of heir to the throne of England.

By 1525, Catherine had given birth to six children and only Princess Mary, born in 1516, had survived; and more concerning was the fact that Catherine was 40 years old. Although Mary could be considered as an heir to the English throne, there was a high risk of civil war in the case of a female inheriting the throne. From Henry's perspective, Tudor dynasty would not be secure if the lack of a male heir continued. There were also other claimants to the English throne and Henry feared that those claimants could bring back the old days of civil war any time if the Tudor throne was insecure.<sup>25</sup>

In this case, there were two options for Henry VIII. The first one was to legitimize one of his bastards and make him the heir to the throne, and the second one was to divorce from Catherine and remarry to produce a legitimate male heir. Henry chose the second option. This choice was not only about his political intention. Henry had become convinced that his marriage with Catherine was sinful in the eyes of God, because before Henry, Catherine had married Henry's brother Arthur. Henry, as an intellectual and educated renaissance prince, knew that in the Bible, the Book of Leviticus warned that the man who took his brother's wife would be "childless" and described this action as an "unclean action".<sup>26</sup> Concerned about both the theological and political aspects of the situation, this problem became the king's "great matter".

But it is not only theology and politics that drove Henry to divorce. Henry wanted to marry not just any other woman; he wanted to marry Anne Boleyn who was Catherine's lady-in-waiting. He became obsessed with Anne around 1525-26, and Anne persuaded Henry that Catherine could not bear him a son but she could. The important part was that, Anne had evangelical interests and proved that she was a powerful patron of English reformers. She provided Henry with some books which could be considered heretic and anti-papal, also influencing Henry's mind with evangelical ideas. But while she was doing this, she was keeping the King's hands away from her body. She was resolute to become the queen of England, not just a royal mistress. Anne's devotion to her cause created more pressure for the divorce campaign.<sup>27</sup> But divorce was not that easy.

Firstly, Catherine of Aragon was not just a simple princess to deal with. She was the daughter of the two most popular monarchs of Europe, Ferdinand II and Isabella I. This also made Catherine the aunt of Charles V, Emperor of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. If a divorce agreement was settled with England and the Papacy, it could attract the fury of Charles V, who at that time was the strongest monarch in Europe and had promised his aunt that he would stop the annulment of the marriage. Another reason is that in Catholicism, if a marriage occurred in the eyes of God it cannot be broken. For Papacy, accepting the divorce meant opposing both the canon law and

<sup>25</sup> Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid

<sup>27</sup> Ibid



the Emperor of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. While papacy understood Henry's concerns about dynastic stability, it was unwise to upset the Charles at that time.

In addition to those, events which for a very long time had helped England improve their relations with the papacy now seemed to work against England. Pope Clement VI found himself in the middle of a bloody struggle between King Francis of France and the Habsburg Emperor Charles V, over the control of northern Italy. While Charles V strongly opposed Henry's divorce, the Pope's final decision about the King's "great matter" depended of the outcome of the war between Charles and Francis.<sup>28</sup> At that time Henry sent delegations headed by his most trusted advisor and chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey. While Wolsey was in France, he declared the King's wish to marry Anne Boleyn. Clement took 3 requests around that time and he had to refuse all of them. But when England joined France against the Charles V, Pope decided to send Cardinal Campeggio to investigate the situation. But he advised Campeggio to delay the decision as much as possible, because at that time Clement was the prison of Charles after the sack of Rome in 1527<sup>29</sup> and pope had not decided which side would win the war yet. But when Francis' armies were defeated at Landriano in June 1529, Clement had no chance but to decline Henry's request for divorce. Driven by his anger against this refusal, Henry first tried to bully Clement into granting the divorce and when that strategy failed, Henry took control of the situation and produced the term of "Royal Supremacy" to settle the matter unilaterally in England.<sup>30</sup>

On November 3, 1529, the Parliament assembled in Westminster. Nobles in the upper house and merchants in the Commons agreed upon seizing the clergy's wealth and power, improvement of the trade with Flanders and supporting the King's campaign for a male heir. Anne Boleyn was not mentioned since she was not popular like Catherine. There was some opposition to the campaign mainly in Northern provinces which were mostly populated by Catholics who sided with the Pope. Henry remained silent in many matters except for the Pope's right to govern the English Church.<sup>31</sup> And of course, after divorcing Catherine and leaving her in a summer house, Henry married Anne on January 15, 1533.

Cardinal Wolsey, who once was the most trusted advisor of the Henry VIII, was fired from chancellorship and his advisory position after his failure to finish the negotiation with the Pope about the annulment of the marriage and soon after he died. After Wolsey, Thomas More took his place but like Wolsey he failed to satisfy Henry due to his insufficient policies concerning the rebellions against the rule and he rose against Henry in the matter of a church of England headed by the King; which caused

<sup>28</sup> Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> S. V. Langsjoen and Will Durant, "The Story of Civilization. VI: The Reformation. A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564," *Books Abroad* 33, no. 4 (1959): , doi:10.2307/40096738.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012).

<sup>31</sup> S. V. Langsjoen and Will Durant, "The Story of Civilization. VI: The Reformation. A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564," *Books Abroad* 33, no. 4 (1959): , doi:10.2307/40096738.

him to be charged as a traitor. Both of these men were supporters of the Catholic Church and they saw the Protestant Reformation as heresy. After two failures, Henry finally found his most trusted agent who interestingly had not been in the ranks of noblemen or clergy. Thomas Cromwell, who served faithfully to Cardinal Wolsey for five years, became the chancellor and secretary to the king in May 1534. His main aim was to consolidate the King's power over English life and make money for the monarchy by seizing the wealth of the clergy and the Church.<sup>32</sup> In Cromwell's time, many opponents to Henry's reformation was sent to "the Tower" and later they were mostly tortured or executed. This terror reached its peak when both John Fisher and Thomas More were arrested by the King's order. And when Fisher was at the Tower, Pope made him a cardinal. Although Fisher denied the request, Henry saw this appointment as a challenge to his authority. Therefore, on June 22 John Fisher was executed.<sup>33</sup> Two of the most important Catholic figures in England were gone and Protestantism was ready to spread in England.

This situation would not last long. While Thomas Cromwell was continuing to attack all Catholics throughout the kingdom, Anne Boleyn failed to give Henry a son. Once again, desire for a male heir became the King's biggest problem. Anne Boleyn had failed Henry and in return, Henry charged her for treason, cheating and incest and sent her to the Tower of London. After a short amount of time, Anne was executed and Henry had his new wedding ceremony. With Anne's death, Protestants lost one of their greatest supporters. Henry's new queen was Jane Seymour, who finally gave him a son –Edward- but she died in childbirth. Henry got what he wanted but he lost his beloved wife. But although Jane created the biggest effect on Henry's life, the King had to remarry and that marriage came with Cromwell's suggestion to Henry: Anne of Cleves. She was also a Protestant and a princess of Duchy of Cleves, which was a very strong Protestant supporter in the Holy Roman Empire. Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves took place in 1540, but Henry had always carried suspicions about this marriage and the alliance with Lutherans<sup>34</sup> and most importantly, he apparently did not like Anne of Cleves. Henry ordered to immediately find a way to annul their marriage. His wish was fulfilled and the marriage was declared unlawful, and Henry gave the title of "King's sister" to Anne of Cleves who refused to go back to her home. But Henry's rage did not stop there. He blamed Cromwell for the marriage; and Thomas Cromwell had many enemies in the court because of his actions and his lowborn status. With the evidence presented to the King which proving Cromwell had supported some heretic movements in Calais, King sent him to the Tower of London. He was executed in July 28, 1540 and England's flirt with Protestant movement halted. After these events, Henry married Catherine Howard, who was a twenty-year-old coming from a Catholic

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid

<sup>33</sup> Ibid

<sup>34</sup> Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012).

house. This marriage changed Henry's policies and Protestant movement which had already halted in England began to decline. But Henry followed very different actions than other Kings and Princes in religious matters. One day, a Protestant priest was burned at the stake and the other day, Catholic bishops were executed; and although Cromwell was gone, Catholic Churches and abbeys were not restored. Henry's intention was to break away from the Catholic Church but he did not try to convert his country to Lutheran ways. He was in the middle.

Catherine Howard shared the same fate with Anne Boleyn and was charged with treason and premarital relations with other people. She was sent to the Tower of London and was executed where Anne Boleyn had been six years before. Shortly after Catherine Howard, Henry found another Catherine who was the last of the Catherine's and his wives. He lived the rest of his life without a huge scandal and his marriage with Catherine Parr went well. Henry VIII died on 27 January 1547 and according the Tudor legislation throne passed to Edward I, then Mary and lastly to Elizabeth.<sup>35</sup> During that three-monarch's time, Edward tried to implement reforms but his short life did not allow that. After his death, Mary dedicated herself to turning England to the old Catholic days and for that cause, she burned thousands at the stakes, which is why she is remembered as "Bloody Mary". Subsequently Elizabeth I, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, initiated the last turn for England and England became a Protestant county from her time onwards.

## **f. Swedish Reformation and Scandinavia**

To understand the situation of Scandinavia in Reformation period we must look its historical process first. When Martin Luther published his 95 Theses in 1517, Scandinavian countries were in a union called "Calmar Union". This union bound the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under one ruler and at that time, 1517, Christian II was the King of all three countries.

Like in most of the European countries, in Scandinavia, the Church retained the best economic situation. Even some of the great trade cities were under the Church's control. They controlled nearly everything and gained a huge amount of taxes from their fiefs. But Church also had many rivals. Merchants had complaints about their trade disruption which were mostly initiated by Hanseatic merchants, and nobles in Scandinavia were after the Church holdings which had been generating a huge amount of income at that time.<sup>36</sup> The Church was also the greatest supporter of the Calmar Union in three countries but in Sweden peasants and burghers were against the Union because it opened the way for Danish dominance over Sweden. In 1512, they announced Sten Sture the Younger to be the regent of the independent Sweden.

<sup>35</sup> Carter Lindberg, "The European Reformations," 2009, doi:10.1002/9781444315776.

<sup>36</sup> S. V. Langsjoen and Will Durant, "The Story of Civilization. VI: The Reformation. A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564," Books Abroad 33, no. 4 (1959): , doi:10.2307/40096738.

Gustav Trolle, Archbishop of Uppsala, rejected this idea and defended the Union even in the capital Stockholm. Sten Sture the Younger opposed the idea of Calmar Union and deposed Gustav Trolle. When the news reached Rome, Pope Leo X ordered Sture to reinstate Gustav but his order was refused by Sture. Against this action, Pope Leo X stopped all religious services in Sweden by an interdict and asked Christian II of Denmark to invade Sweden and suppress the rebellion. In first campaign, Christian took a heavy defeat but in his second attempt, he succeeded and Sture died because of his battle wounds. After the siege of Stockholm carried out by Danish armies led by Christian, Sture's wife agreed to surrender but only with the promise of a general pardon. On November 5, 1520, Christian was crowned King of Sweden.<sup>37</sup> But Christian did not keep his promise. On November 7, he summoned the supporters of Sture to the capital and put them on trial; some of the leading figures were sentenced to death against the promise. They were beheaded on November 8, and there were other trials and executions in the following day. All Sweden was shocked. "Stockholm Bath of Blood", the common Swedish saying for that event, destroyed the last hopes for the continuation of the Calmar Union and the reputation of the Catholic Church was damaged heavily after the event due to their complicity.<sup>38</sup> But hopes for independent Sweden did not end after the massacre in Stockholm.

After the events in Stockholm, Gustavus Eriksson (later known as Gustavus Vasa) went to Mora and prepared an army to bring an end to Danish rule over Sweden. When the rebellion started, he won important battles and in the sea battles against the Danish fleet he asked for Lübeck's help, a free state located in north of the Holy Roman Empire, and they provided Vasa with significant naval force to. In June 20 1523, Stockholm surrendered to the forces of Vasa and he declared Stockholm as Sweden's capital. Around that time, Christian II was overthrown in Denmark and Frederick I, his successor, relinquished his claim over the Swedish throne. The Calmar Union came to an end and Gustavus Vasa became the King of Sweden and started the Vasa dynasty.<sup>39</sup>

In the meantime, Reformation began spread quickly over German territories and it reached Denmark and Sweden. Fortunately for the Reformists, Frederick had sympathy for the Protestants and most of the time he protected them. In 1523, he broke his bounds with the papacy and began to turn Denmark into a Protestant country. But while he was doing that, he did not try to destroy the Catholic Church's holdings and their influence. Therefore, when he died in 1533, the bishops in Denmark were very unwilling to choose his eldest son as King because he was a more devout Protestant than his father. Of course, this clash led to a civil war which delayed the election for one year. "Count's War" ended with a decisive Protestant victory and Copenhagen sur-

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid

<sup>38</sup> S. V. Langsjoen and Will Durant, "The Story of Civilization. VI: The Reformation. A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564," *Books Abroad* 33, no. 4 (1959): , doi:10.2307/40096738.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid

rendered on July 29, 1536. Christian III became the King of Denmark. After this victory, he immediately arrested the Catholic bishops and on October 30, he declared the Reformation in Denmark. Catholic bishops were replaced with Lutheran ones, Church's property was seized by the King and Catholic monasteries were dissolved. Reformation thus succeeded in Denmark.<sup>40</sup>

Although Denmark had a very troubled time embracing the Reformation, Sweden's reformation process was far more difficult. When Denmark decided to embrace the Reformation, it had already been introduced to Sweden After the death of Vasteras in 1527.<sup>41</sup> But unlike in Denmark, Sweden's reformation desire did not depend upon the King's devout Lutheran personality. Both Gustav Vasa and Frederick I had incurred huge debts during their reigns, but Gustav's debts were relatively higher because of his military campaigns in the independence war. Also, defence spending increased because of a threat of an invasion from Frederick I of Denmark. For Gustav, supporting evangelical movements was mostly about economic motives. Because in case of a reformation, holdings and assets of Catholic Church would be mostly taken over by the King and with that he could fix his financial difficulties, as it can be easily seen from the Denmark example. When Christian III entered Copenhagen after his victory in Count's War, he declared Reformation and holdings of the Catholic church were taken over by the state and by the King.<sup>42</sup> But unlike Denmark, Sweden's reformation process was much slower. Sweden after a point became the most heterodox country in Scandinavia. Lutherans and Calvinists in addition to Catholics lived together. Gustav Vasa allowed Swedish priest to marry, he held communions with bread and wine, and altered some important Catholic rituals. But in Rome, Pope once again saw the danger. He requested Gustav to stop those activities which were bringing him into heretic ways day by day. But Gustav could not give up all that money which were necessary for the royal treasury. Therefore, he summoned the Diet of Vesteres in 1527 to make that crucial decision. Members of every class from bishops to nobles, burghers, members of Riksråd came together and started the debate. Before the diet, pope ordered every bishop to defend the Church properties. At first the Diet voted in favour of the Pope. But after seeing that, Gustav threatened the members by saying he would leave the country. After a series of debates, the Diet decided that Gustav was their first priority. Most of the assets of the Catholic Church were given to the King of Sweden, papal confirmation for bishops' appointment was deemed unnecessary and practices which were not written in the Bible were removed. In the diet, Gustav officially declared the reformation and Swedish state triumph over the Catholic Church.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Sverre Bagge, *Cross & scepter: the rise of the Scandinavian kingdoms from the Vikings to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>42</sup> Grell, Ole Peter. *The Scandinavian reformation: from evangelical movement to institutionalisation of reform*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 2003.

<sup>43</sup> S. V. Langsjoen and Will Durant, "The Story of Civilization. VI: The Reformation. A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564," *Books Abroad* 33, no. 4 (1959): , doi:10.2307/40096738.

After the death of Gustav Vasa, Eric XIV succeeded the throne. During his reign, reformation process seemed to decline but Eric XIV protected the rights and freedom of the reformed immigrants.<sup>44</sup> But when Johan III succeeded the Swedish throne through a rebellion, he tried to close the gap between the Catholic and Lutheran churches in Sweden. In his time, counter-reformation had been already introduced to Europe and he wished the same for Sweden. But his attempts faced a strong opposition and he stopped his attempts for a counter-reformation. Finally, in 1593, Swedish Church was confirmed Lutheran in the Uppsala Assembly.

### **g. France and Wars of Religion**

During the time Reformation had started in the Holy Roman Empire, France was the Pope's favourite. Although Spain and Portugal spread Roman Catholicism throughout the New World and gained Pope's respect and good will, Kingdom of France was still "the eldest daughter of the Church" and their position was privileged. That's why when reformation was introduced in France it would create a very large conflict not only filled with religious problems but also some disputes between royal houses, and these features made the French Wars of Religion the second largest conflict in Reformation history after the Thirty Years' War.

Main role in the French Reformation belonged to John Calvin, a Frenchman born in 1509, in Noyon in Picardy. When he was young, he was sent to Paris to study theology, and for his legal studies, he went to Orleans and Bourges. When he was back in Paris in 1531, he started to study the classics. After that, with suspicion, he converted to Protestantism in 1533.<sup>45</sup> At that time, there was little repression to the Protestants for their religion. But events started to change after famous "Affair of the Placards" in 1534.

## **Affair of the placards**

In 18 October 1534, which was a good Sunday morning, large numbers of placards were hanged in many places in Paris and some cities in Northern France. It was done by the exiled French Protestants in Switzerland, and the placards could be seen by Catholics easily since it was mass day. Headline was simple: "True Articles On The Horrible, Gross And Insufferable Abuses Of The Papal Mass". It was deeply shocking and it created 4 direct arguments questioning Catholic Church's authority. Disputes of the placards were so deep that many priests and most of the clergy got involved. The timing on Sunday after a mass made this so revolutionary for a country which was referred to as the eldest daughter of the Catholic Church.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Grell, Ole Peter. *The Scandinavian reformation: from evangelical movement to institutionalisation of reform*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 2003.

<sup>45</sup> R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2010).

<sup>46</sup> Mack P. Holt, *The French wars of religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).



In addition, these actions were an alarm for King Francis I, because the last sentence of the placards directly attacked the Catholic priests and for a Christian King, it was an attack on his authority as the sovereign ruler of France. Of course, reaction was harsh. A search for the culprits began and at least six of them were burned in November. When Francis returned to Paris in December, he ordered a religious procession in the city of Paris and on 21 January 1535 groups of people came together for an event. It was a religious sacrament more than a place to discuss religious developments. Francis I himself joined sacraments and it was deemed a glorious event which affected everyone deeply and it was the first signal that French Catholics would not so easily accept reformation without a difficult fight.<sup>47</sup>

Calvin fled to Basle during the persecutions that followed the Affair of the Placards. In 1536, he published "Institutes of the Christian Religion" which openly addressed Francis I and accused him for the persecutions of the Lutheran people; this book increased the popularity of Reformation among the French people.<sup>48</sup> After his trip to Geneva, a Calvinist church was founded and Calvinist missionaries began to train to spread their ideologies in France.<sup>49</sup> While Calvinists operated as secretly as possible, eventually their actions were revealed and in 1557 Catholics broke up a Huguenot (French protestant) meeting in Paris. 132 Protestants were arrested and some of them were burned.<sup>50</sup>

After arrests and pressure to the Huguenots, John Calvin tried to ally with Protestant German princes, and with Anthony of Navarre who was a member of House of Bourbon and the King of Navarre. Negotiations between sides were run by an agent whose name was de Bury. De Bury tried to maintain an alliance with Count Palatine of the Rhine. But after a time, De Bury's intentions were revealed and he was arrested. The documents clearly showed the intervention of Geneva and Huguenots to the negotiations. This deeply raised the opposition to the Huguenots by King Henry II of France. Although some of the German princes intervened and tried to negotiate with King Henry II in favour of Huguenots, he blamed Huguenots for acts which had deeply disturbed the public peace and divided Christianity. During those times, there were many plots against the French Government and one way or another, most of the plots involved Geneva and Calvinists.<sup>51</sup> Most famous one of these plots was the Conspiracy of Amboise in 1560. This conspiracy finally divided the Kingdom into two and became one of the main events of the French Wars of Religion. The plan was to attempt to seize the young French King Francis II, successor of King Henry II, and arrest Duke of Guise and put the kingdom under a regent whose line came from the Bourbon dynasty. However, John Calvin opposed the plot. He wanted Anthony, King of Navarre, to

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>48</sup> R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2010).

<sup>49</sup> Ibid

<sup>50</sup> R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2010).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid

rule the Regent because he thought that only Anthony had the right to be the Regent of France. Although not all priests shared Calvin's opinion on that matter, most of the churches followed his advice and it was one of the main reasons why the plot failed.<sup>52</sup> Hundreds of Protestant were executed and this conspiracy led to an understanding for French people that these provocative rebels aimed to overthrow the French state, which was very close to the understanding of the Catholic perspective and it was the most dangerous thing for the Huguenots.<sup>53</sup>

In 1559, there were important changes in France which eventually affected both sides. On 30 June 1559 King Henry II was struck in a tournament and ten days later he died. With this death, throne was inherited by his fifteen-year-old son Francis II. He was a suitable candidate for his age but he lacked experience. The French government immediately gave powers to the king's mother, Catherine de Medici. Queen Mother had a moderate policy against both Catholics and Huguenots and she tried to bring them to the middle ground for the realm which had many issues of finance and stability at the time. With her approval, Estates General, legislative and constitutive assembly of France, summoned two meetings in December 1560 at Orleans and in August 1561 at Pontoise, but these resulted in failure and did not solve the religious problem. After that, Catherine de Medici invited leaders from both sides to Poissy in September 1561 to solve the religious dispute and to put all Frenchmen under the authority of a united Gallican church. It was another failure.<sup>54</sup>

## Counter Reformation

### a. Precursors

While the storm of reformation took down Catholic countries one by one and led them go into a religious disorder, Pope Clement VII, who had seen the English Reformation and the sack of Rome by the Spanish Empire during his reign, died. Following Clement's death, after two days of conclave, Paul III became the Pope of Rome. Knowing that he had a very hard task due to Protestant Reformation, he immediately started working on solving the Protestant problem to increase the reputation and prestige of the Catholic Church in the eyes of others. His idea was to summon a council from both sides to end the division within Christian world. To achieve that goal, in 1535, he sent papal nuncios (ambassadors) to France, Spain and to Holy Roman Empire to get their opinions about the council.<sup>55</sup>

Even before Clement's attempts, in 1520's Luther, the imperial estates and Charles V had also called for a council. Neither side could agree upon the aspects of the council.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid

<sup>53</sup> Mack P. Holt, *The French wars of religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>54</sup> Mack P. Holt, *The French wars of religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>55</sup> Glenn S. Sunshine and Robert Bireley, "The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (2000): , doi:10.2307/2671107.



On 2 June 1536, a council was summoned in Mantua (Northern Italy) but Protestants refused to attend because it was outside Holy Roman Empire's borders and it was under papal leadership. Not just Protestants, also France herself saw this council as Charles' attempt to unite the Empire under Habsburg banner and therefore, opposed it. Because of those reasons, attempt to summon a council in Mantua failed.<sup>56</sup>

While attempts to summon a council were not possible at that moment, Paul III's intentions did not stop. On one hand, he was trying to unite Protestants and Catholic under a same roof, on the other hand, he was beginning the reformation within the Catholic Church. He appointed some cardinals which had open-minded ideas for the future of the Catholic Church. Also, he asked them to write down a report stating the Church condition. After a year, a report came out from cardinals called "*Advice concerning the Reform of the Church*". In the report it stated that the Church's condition was highly critical and it presented strict evidences which proved the corruption and decadence in Rome. Eventually this report turned up in Germany and became a weapon at Protestants' hands.<sup>57</sup>

Even though situation was bad, Paul III was insistent about summoning a council. It was clear that Protestants would not attend a council outside the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore, to solve the conflict between Protestants and Catholics and unite them against the biggest threat to the Empire at the time, Ottoman Empire, Charles V proposed to Paul III a town within the Empire, Trent. It was both in Empire's territory and also it is in the Italian side of the Alps. On 22 May 1542, Pope Paul III formally summoned the council to Trent for 1 November. But there were some delays such as a war between Francis (France) and Charles (Habsburg) and Schmalkaldic War. Therefore, Council of Trent finally convened on 13 December 1545.<sup>58</sup>

## b. Council of Trent

For its opening session, there were 4 archbishops, 22 bishops, five generals of the religious orders, three papal legates, cardinals Giovanni Maria del Monte and Marcello Cervini and Cardinal Reginald Pole. Paul III trusted his legates under the leadership of Cardinal del Monte. But soon it turned out that, determining their aim was very hard for the legates. But they managed to determine the agenda although they had to give freedom of speech to everyone and problems reared from its beginning. Confusions and disagreements between reform types such as disciplinary reforms of Emperor Charles and doctrinal issues for the Paul III created important problems. Also, absence of the Protestants at the beginning was another source of the problem. Despite these problems, some reforms had been passed from the Council and they began to

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> Glenn S. Sunshine and Robert Bireley, "The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (2000): , doi:10.2307/2671107.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid

make progress.<sup>59</sup> While they debated over the Eucharist, a Christian rite, a plague began to spread to Trent. Pope proposed to transfer the Council to Bologna which was a territory of Papal States. Pope's intention in that move was not to create a situation which would eventually lead to Habsburg domination over the Holy Roman Empire; Pope himself preferred to make the negotiations with Protestants with France on his side. But meanwhile Schmalkaldic War also continued and Charles of France won a major victory against the Protestant princes of Saxony and Hesse but nobody wanted to dissolve the council so meetings continued. Despite the support of the sides; occupation of Piacenza, region in Italy, and murder of the Pope's son during occupation led to a final break between Pope and the Charles V. When Charles V threatened the Pope to continue the council at Trent, pope suspended the Council on 1 February 1548. And only after Paul's death in 1549 could the council reconvene.<sup>60</sup>

After Paul's death, Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte, who was in the delegation at the first period of the Council of Trent, became the Pope and took the name Julius III on 8 February 1550. With his intention, council once again was summoned to Trent. This time, some of the Protestant states such as Brandenburg and Saxony also agreed to join, but their terms and their presence in the council were unexpectedly low. But when the newly crowned French king Henry II decided to side with German princes and threatened the overrun Trent, council once again had to be disbanded. This led Pope Julius III to realise his intention to start reforms within the Catholic Church. Although he made bulls to reform the curia, he died before its proclamation. After del Monte, also one of the other presidents in papal delegation sent to Trent, Marcello Cervini became the Pope but he died after only 20 days in his papacy. Therefore, attempts to reconvene the council failed at that time.<sup>61</sup>

Finally, during Pius IV's papacy, council reassembled at Trent on 18 January 1562. In addition to that, not both sides had changed during this period. Following Charles V's abdication from the throne, Ferdinand became the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburgs and Catherine de Medici became the regent of France. Both sides wanted to forget previous tensions and decided to make a fresh start. But Philip II, King of Spain, strongly stood with the resumption of the previous debates. With Pope's support to Philip II, debates continued. German princes also got their invitations from papal nuncios but they refused to join a council under papal leadership and assembled at Naumburg.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Glenn S. Sunshine and Robert Bireley, "The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (2000): , doi:10.2307/2671107.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid

<sup>61</sup> Ibid

<sup>62</sup> Glenn S. Sunshine and Robert Bireley, "The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (2000): , doi:10.2307/2671107.

## c. Roman Inquisition

To deal with the unstoppable heresy and certainly the biggest one, papacy did not just stand in a council at Trent and tried to negotiate with Protestants or reform themselves. They also launched their most feared and efficient weapon: The Inquisition. Until counter-reformation there had been 3 other Inquisitions set up by kingdoms: Medieval Inquisition, initiated by the papacy, Spanish Inquisition initiated by Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, and Portuguese Inquisition initiated by Portuguese with a papal approval. The last Inquisition was Roman and it was initiated by Pope Paul III in 1542 against Protestantism.<sup>63</sup>

The Roman Inquisition was directly controlled by Rome and even inquisitors' appointments were done by the papacy. Inquisitors were highly independent from authority of outsiders regardless of their rank.<sup>64</sup> The plan was to create a network between inquisitors in the courts through Europe and act against the heretics without getting the permission of local bishops. From the eyes of Rome, Inquisition was supreme to any other court but this proved to be wrong. Spain and Portugal refused Roman Inquisition since they both had their own, France and other Catholic states did not allow them to function in their territories and even in Italy, states put restriction against Inquisitor's actions.<sup>65</sup>

Contrary to Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition, Roman Inquisition was not as harsh as its counterparts. Although there were 50-60 executions done by the Inquisitors, lighter charges against people who were suspected to be heretics were far more than the of executions. Also, its operation radius was relatively small and generally there were lawyers who were ready to defend the accused against charges and papacy allowed them to defend themselves.<sup>66</sup> But after all it was an Inquisition and it created a huge concern among the Protestants for their safety and caused a limited diminishing effect of the spread of Protestant Reformation.

# Way to Thirty Years' War

## a. Diet of Worms

Before its destruction during the Thirty Years' War, Worms was a glorious city with its splendour and it was chosen for the next Imperial Diet. Diet of Worms was important because it was the first time that Luther and his ideas would be tested against the very symbols of the Church. Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, papal nuncios and many catholic princes were ready to discuss about Protestantism and its effects through

<sup>63</sup> Ibid

<sup>64</sup> Paul F. Grendler, "The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605," 2015, doi:10.1515/9781400869237.

<sup>65</sup> Glenn S. Sunshine and Robert Bireley, "The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (2000): , doi:10.2307/2671107.

<sup>66</sup> Glenn S. Sunshine and Robert Bireley, "The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (2000): , doi:10.2307/2671107.

the Holy Roman Empire. Martin Luther was also summoned to the Diet by Charles V himself. Also, this diet was a challenge to Charles V because he became the Emperor of all Romans at 1519, and in his second year, reformation had begun with its full force. In addition to all these, there were also domestic problems within the Holy Roman Empire. “Reichsregiment”, administrative body of the Empire, brought many problems to the diet especially concerning the Emperor’s actions which became a burden to the German princes.<sup>67</sup> But the main problem was Luther. One of the electors of the Empire, Frederick III the Elector of Saxony, was protecting him and he had many friends in many cities, also had many supporters throughout the Empire and most importantly, people in every rank in the society had gotten tired from the papal policies and church’s acts.<sup>68</sup> When Luther came to Worms, his hand was strong and he was ready to defend himself and his principals. The only thing he was worried was his safety but that was ensured by Charles V. In this atmosphere, the Elector of Saxony came on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, Duke Henry of Brunswick on the 7<sup>th</sup>, Elector Palatine on the 8<sup>th</sup>, Elector of Brandenburg came 7<sup>th</sup> of February after the opening of the Diet. English and French ambassadors, papal nuncios, representatives from Kingdoms of Poland, Hungary, Venice and Mantua also were at Worms. <sup>69</sup>That was the situation even before its opening.

Although Luther position was strong, opposition against him had equal powers with him. Especially the papal nuncio Aleander who lead this opposition was a loyal servant of the Rome<sup>70</sup>. His instructions were very clear. He ordered to demand the destruction of all Luther’s books and brought him to justice to Rome. Rome did not even want any kingdom or any power to listen what Luther said; and wished for the execution of the people <sup>71</sup>who violated their will because in the eyes of Rome, it was heresy. First suggestion was achieved partially and Charles V ordered to burn the books in Burgundian dominions, and Köln and Mainz. But this partial victory met its resistance when Aleander’s second request. In fact, Diet demanded Luther’s presence to listen to his defence to the charges against him. This caused another dispute between the Pope and the Emperor.<sup>72</sup>

One of the reasons of this papal reaction was the excommunication of Martin Luther. In 1520, Luther was under constant attack of the Catholic Church from all sides. Between 1520-1521 he wrote “Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation”, “The Babylonian Captivity”, and “The Freedom of the Christian Man” which was the final sign that he broke up with Rome. Papacy initiated an inquisition against Luther because of these books and on June 15, 1520, with the Papal Bull of excommunication

<sup>67</sup> Charles Beard and J. Frederick. Smith, Martin Luther and the reformation in Germany until the close of the diet of Worms, by the late Charles Beard, ... Edited by J. Frederick Smith (London: K. Paul, Trench and Co, 1889).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid

<sup>69</sup> Ibid

<sup>70</sup> Charles Beard and J. Frederick. Smith, Martin Luther and the reformation in Germany until the close of the diet of Worms, by the late Charles Beard, ... Edited by J. Frederick Smith (London: K. Paul, Trench and Co, 1889).

<sup>71</sup> Ibid

<sup>72</sup> Ibid

in which Luther was ordered to recant his teachings, last warning had been given to Luther. Luther's reaction was burning the Papal Bull. He said: *"Because you, godless book, have grieved or shamed the holiness of the Father, be saddened and consumed by the eternal flames of Hell"*. This action led to the last phase of the conflict and on January 3, 1521 the Pope excommunicated Luther.<sup>73</sup>

Neither the excommunication nor the nuncio's requests could stop Luther from coming to Worms and joining the Diet after taking the promise of safe conduct to the region, personally given by Charles V. Finally on April 2, 1521 Martin Luther began his journey to Worms to join the Diet and on April 16 he arrived in Worms.<sup>74</sup> After one day of rest on April 17, he appeared in the Diet of Worms.

Archbishop of Trier, Johann Maier von Eck, gave his injunction to Luther and specifically asked him two questions both in Latin and German. First, von Eck showed some books and asked Luther whether these were his books, and the second question was would he withdraw and give up the claim written in the books or continue to his persistence about the claims. Luther said that names of the books were his. However, for the second question Luther asked for a time to think about it due to its complication and difficulty to answer. Diet granted Luther's request and gave him a twenty-four-hour period to prepare his answer.<sup>75</sup> On April 18, 1521, after one day of preparation, Luther gave a speech to the Diet to defend his books with these words: *"...I answered the first directly, and I adhere to that answer: that these books are mine and published by me, except so far as they may have been altered or interpolated by the craft or officiousness of opponents..."*<sup>76</sup> after that he divided his books into three parts. After finishing his speech, he was asked to answer the second question at the very beginning: whether he would retract or not. Thus, he continued:<sup>77</sup>

*"Since your most serene majesty and your high mightinesses require of me a simple, clear and direct answer, I will give one, and it is this: I cannot submit my faith either to the pope or to the council, because it is as clear as noonday that they have fallen into error and even into glaring inconsistency with themselves. If, then, I am not convinced by proof from Holy Scripture, or by cogent reasons, if I am not satisfied by the very text I have cited, and if my judgment is not in this way brought into subjection to God's word, I neither can nor will retract anything; for it cannot be either safe or honest for a Christian to speak against his conscience. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise;*

<sup>73</sup> "M. Luther's Life: Excommunication." M. Luther's Life: Excommunication. Accessed March 23, 2017. <http://www.luther.de/en/bann.html>.

<sup>74</sup> "Martin Luther's Life: The Imperial Diet of Worms." Martin Luther's Life: The Imperial Diet of Worms. Accessed March 23, 2017. <http://www.luther.de/en/worms.html>.

<sup>75</sup> Charles Beard and J. Frederick. Smith, Martin Luther and the reformation in Germany until the close of the diet of Worms, by the late Charles Beard, ... Edited by J. Frederick Smith (London: K. Paul, Trench and Co, 1889).

<sup>76</sup> Martin Luther's Speech at the Imperial Diet in Worms (18 April 1521)

<sup>77</sup> Ibid

*God help me! Amen.”<sup>78</sup>*

When his speech was over, Luther left the room and waited for the outcome. His speech was a sign of uprising against both the Emperor and the Pope and this led to an alliance between them. With his move, Luther put the newly-crowned emperor's position in danger. Negotiations continued for some time but during these times, elector of Saxony and Palatine left the diet just as many Protestants did. On Friday, April 26<sup>th</sup> Martin Luther left Worms safely due to his guarantee taken from Charles V.<sup>79</sup> After Luther's and his allies' departure, control of the diet went to the Emperor and the papal nuncio. On 26 May 1521, Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, issued the Edict of Worms and declared that:

*“For this reason, we forbid anyone from this time forward to dare, either by words or by deeds, to receive, defend, sustain, or favour the said Martin Luther. On the contrary, we want him to be apprehended and punished as a notorious heretic, as he deserves, to be brought personally before us, or to be securely guarded until those who have captured him inform us, whereupon we will order the appropriate manner of proceeding against the said Luther. Those who will help in his capture will be rewarded generously for their good work.”<sup>80</sup>*

After the edict, Luther had to hide from those who would try to kill him. For that purpose, Frederick III, Elector of Saxony ordered the kidnapping of Luther and on May 4<sup>th</sup> Luther was kidnapped by the Saxon soldiers. He was sent to a hidden town of Wartburg and in there he found time to recover from the effects of the edict and time to heal himself for future conflicts.<sup>81</sup>

## **b. Diet of Speyer (1526)**

After the application of the Diet of Worms, it was expected to bring a slowdown for the reformation. But it turned out otherwise. Protestantism advanced rapidly and the effects of Diet of Worms reduced significantly. Therefore, Charles V tried to summon another Diet at the City of Speyer, which was a seat of a bishopric, to enforce the Diet of Worms' orders once again. Although Charles himself wanted to join to the Diet, other developments through the Empire's territories kept him away and hindered his visit to the Diet.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, he sent his brother, Archduke Ferdinand in the name of the Emperor to lead the Diet.

On one hand Protestantism gained significant power after the Diet of Worms (1521).

<sup>78</sup> Ibid

<sup>79</sup> Charles Beard and J. Frederick. Smith, Martin Luther and the reformation in Germany until the close of the diet of Worms, by the late Charles Beard, ... Edited by J. Frederick Smith (London: K. Paul, Trench and Co, 1889).

<sup>80</sup> “The Edict of Worms (1521).” The Edict of Worms (1521). Accessed March 23, 2017. <http://www.criovoice.org/creededictworms.html>.

<sup>81</sup> “Martin Luther's Life: The Imperial Diet of Worms.” Martin Luther's Life: The Imperial Diet of Worms. Accessed March 23, 2017. <http://www.luther.de/en/worms.html>.

<sup>82</sup> Schaff, Philip. Modern Christianity: the German Reformation. Grand Rapids: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1988.



Protestant Princes saw the right to openly be against their emperor within themselves about reformation. Also, there was a dispute between the Pope and the Emperor and lastly, threat of invasion came from the Ottoman Empire, putting the Protestants in an advanced position against Charles V.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand, just before the Diet of Speyer, Charles won a decisive victory against King Francis I of France at Pavia (1525). Treaty of Madrid, not just give an advantage to Charles against Francis, also he secured his Italian territories for a while and Charles at that moment,<sup>84</sup> had a time to solve issues within the Empire. This gave Catholics an advantage. But the threat coming from the Ottoman Empire was still strong and created deep concerns for Charles V.

The Diet concluded on August 27 and decided to temporarily leave the matter until a general or national council's convention about the issue. The decision was:

- c. *“As to religion and the Edict of Worms, in the meanwhile till a General or National Council can be had, all so shall behave themselves in their several provinces as that they may be able to render an account of their doings both to God and the Emperor...”*<sup>85</sup>

It was not an annulment of the Edict of Worms but the outcome was nonetheless very pleasing for Protestants. Lutheranism would not be completely free but at least they would have the right to choose their sides at that moment until general council decided otherwise. Also, it was a shocking blast to the supreme authority of Rome which should have been above all.<sup>86</sup> Protestants interpreted this decision as a freedom to choose religion and some Protestant princes, mainly Elector of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, took advantage of it and issued decrees which would completely omit the Emperor's limitations on them. Even Luther' himself saw the diet as his exculpation from the guilt of heresy temporarily.<sup>87</sup>

After the Edict, Protestant sovereigns implemented Protestant Churches in their states and began to spread Reformation. Saxony, Hesse, Prussia, Anhalt, Lüneburg, East-Friesland, Schleswig-Holstein, Silesia, and the cities of Nürnberg, Augsburg, Frankfurt, Ulm, Strassburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, adopted the Reformation. Most importantly, Protestant princes just like their Catholic counterparts put huge pressure on their subjects to convert them to Protestantism.<sup>88</sup> House of Habsburg and Dukes of Bavaria remained Catholic in the meantime and put an exclusive and intolerant policy to their subjects about religious matters. But Protestants' intolerance was less than the Catholic monarchies.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid

<sup>84</sup> Angus Konstam and Graham Turner, Pavia 1525: the climax of the Italian wars (Oxford: Osprey, 2005).

<sup>85</sup> “The Protest at Speyers 1529.” The Protest at Speyers 1529. Accessed March 23, 2017. <http://www.thereformation.info/Protest%20at%20Speyers.htm>.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid

<sup>87</sup> Schaff, Philip. Modern Christianity: the German Reformation. Grand Rapids: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1988.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid

<sup>89</sup> Ibid

### c. Diet of Speyer (1529) and the word “Protestant”

After the declaration of the Diet in Speyer (1526), Emperor Charles V and Catholic monarch realized their mistakes. Reformation at that time gained the momentum and began spreading rapidly through every region in Europe. Holy Roman Empire was continuing to divide itself into two and outsiders - mainly Kingdom of France and the Ottoman Empire, whose army was marching through Hungary to siege Vienna, were always ready to take advantage over it. In these circumstances, Second Diet at Speyer convened in March 15, 1529, to act against both the Turks and the Protestant movement. Charles V once again wanted to join the Diet but war with France stopped him again and Ferdinand took his place at the Diet.

Although the Charles messenger to Ferdinand could not reach in time, their thinking was relatively same. Ferdinand accused the Protestant princes and condemned their way of interpreting the Diet of Speyer’s (1526) text. Also, he declared that any further reformation movements would be punishable and reformation was under imperial ban throughout the Holy Roman Empire until the meeting of the council promised for next year by Pope and the Emperor.<sup>90</sup> His further declaration was:

- d. *“Those that until now have followed the Edict of Worms should continue to do so. In the areas where this has been deviated from, there shall be no further new developments and no-one shall be refused Mass. Finally, the sects which contradict the sacrament of the true body and blood, shall absolutely not be tolerated, no more than the Anabaptists.”<sup>91</sup>*

Lutheran princes were alarmed from that moment. They realized that acceptance of this Diet was also the acceptance of the end of Protestant Reformation. On April 25 1529, they made their famous protests in Speyer which gave them the name “Protestants”. 6 Protestant princes, with 14 free imperial cities, issued the Protest at Speyer.<sup>92</sup> The document was signed by the Elector John of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Dukes Ernest and Francis of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the representatives of fourteen imperial cities, including Strassburg and St. Gall of the Zwinglian persuasion.<sup>93</sup> In the protest they explained their intention with these words:

- e. *“Should we also agree with you, that those who up to this time have stood by the Edict should henceforth abide by it until the coming Council, etc., we should acknowledge not only that the opinion of your party*

<sup>90</sup> Ibid

<sup>91</sup> Leopold Von Ranke, Sarah Austin, and Robert A. Johnson, History of the Reformation in Germany (New York: F. Unger Pub. Co., 1972).

<sup>92</sup> Schaff, Philip. Modern Christianity: the German Reformation. Grand Rapids: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1988.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid



*is right, but also that the Edict is still in existence. Nevertheless, it was suspended and annulled by the decree of the former Diet of Speyer; so that every State in the Empire, in such matters as concern the Edict, may live and rule for itself and its people as it hopes to answer for itself, first of all before God and his imperial Majesty. Therefore, we cannot let ourselves be longer burdened with such an unmerited yoke of the Edict.”<sup>94</sup>*

At Worms, Luther stood alone while he was making his speeches against the papacy. But in Speyer, protest of the Protestant princes became the expansion of Luther’s protests and soon it reached to the important cities of the Empire.<sup>95</sup>

The Emperor refused the appeal of the Protestant princes. In fact, he first made peace with the Pope (June 29,1529) and with the King of France (August 5,1529). Therefore, he did not even send a delegation to the Protestant prince and even he kept some of the ambassadors as his prisoners for a while.<sup>96</sup> This protest was the final break of the Protestants and Catholics which finally led to a religious conflict both within Europe and the Empire.

#### **d. Schmalkaldic War**

In September 1529, Ottomans led by Suleiman the Magnificent, laid siege to Vienna. This action created huge fear within Christian Europe especially for Charles V. Although Ottoman army retreated from Vienna after an unsuccessful siege, question of the Ottoman Empire led to another Diet within the Holy Roman Empire, Diet of Augsburg.<sup>97</sup>

Goal was to settle the religious issue and prepare a united defence against Ottoman invasion. But the actual diet went differently because in the eyes of both Protestants and Catholics, the other was a bigger enemy than the Ottomans. The Emperor supported the Diet of Worms and the Pope; in return Protestants were insistent upon not obeying the Emperor’s orders and prohibitions. <sup>98</sup>While Emperor wanted to settle the issue with the Turks, Protestants’ main priority was the question of churches. After long negotiations, “Augsburg Confession” which is one of the most important documents of the Protestantism was read out loud. This confession basically explained the Protestant rules and ethics to the whole Europe. Document was signed by the Elector John of Saxony, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernest of Lüneburg, Duke John Frederick of Saxony, Duke Francis of Lüneburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt; and by two representatives of free cities, Nürnberg and Reutlin-

<sup>94</sup> “The Protest at Speyer 1529.” Northern Catholic Archives. March 01, 2011. Accessed March 23, 2017. <https://northerncatholicarchives.wordpress.com/2011/01/17/the-protest-at-speyer/>.

<sup>95</sup> Schaff, Philip. *Modern Christianity: the German Reformation*. Grand Rapids: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1988.

<sup>96</sup> Schaff, Philip. *Modern Christianity: the German Reformation*. Grand Rapids: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1988.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid

<sup>98</sup> Ibid

gen.<sup>99</sup>

But soon after, negotiations stopped and after the confession, as a response, Spanish Inquisition was introduced to Holy Roman Empire by the papal legate, Campeggi. Although Emperor's himself wanted a peaceful resolution, he refuted the Confession of Augsburg and announced the recess of the Diet on 22<sup>nd</sup> of September. Against this action, Protestant princes also refuted the recess because it partially meant re-affirmation of the Diet of Worms.<sup>100</sup>

After the recess, some Lutheran states led by Elector John Frederick I of Saxony and Landgrave Philip I of Hesse met at the town of Schmalkalden, where they established the Schmalkaldic League in 1531. First it was a defensive alliance against any possible Catholic attacks, but when Charles V went to war with France and Ottoman Empire for Italy, Protestant princes were relieved. When Charles V made peace with the Kingdom of France, Treaty of Ardres, on September 1545, he became free to act against the Protestant princes. The Emperor gathered around 52.000 men for the campaign. Protestant cities realized the danger and to stop Charles they decided to make a pre-emptive strike and when a united Protestant army invaded Füssen, a Catholic town, they officially started the Schmalkaldic War.

Successful Imperial moves led by Ferdinand I, and lack of help from Bohemian Lutherans forced Elector John Frederick I to retreat. Finally, united forces of Charles V and Ferdinand I won a decisive victory at Mühlberg against John Frederick and took him as prisoner. This was the greatest battle of Schmalkaldic War and it led to the final break of Schmalkaldic forces. With the Capitulation of Wittenberg, John Frederick lost his electoral seat and gave some territories to his cousin. After that, remaining cities showed little resistance against the Emperor and Schmalkaldic League dissolved.<sup>101</sup> In addition to that, after the Schmalkaldic War Charles V issued The Augsburg Interim ("Declaration of His Roman Imperial Majesty on the Observance of Religion Within the Holy Empire Until the Decision of the General Council"), an imperial decree ordered on 15 May 1548 at the 1548 Diet of Augsburg by Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, who had just defeated the forces of the Protestant Schmalkaldic League in the Schmalkaldic War of 1546/47.<sup>102</sup>

### e. Peace of Augsburg

After the Catholic victory in Schmalkaldic War against the Protestants, Charles V imposed Augsburg Interim to remove Protestant reformation and convert princes to the Catholic faith. But this intention encountered a resistance within the Empire. Led by Maurice of Saxony, Protestant princes formed an alliance with King Henry II of France

<sup>99</sup> Ibid

<sup>100</sup> Schaff, Philip. *Modern Christianity: the German Reformation*. Grand Rapids: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1988.

<sup>101</sup> Pach, Zsigmond. *History of Hungary, 1526-1686*. Editor: R. Várkonyi, Ágnes. Academy Publisher, Budapest, 1985. ISBN 963-05-0929-6

<sup>102</sup> Acton, John Emerich Edward Dalberg; Benians, Ernest Alfred; Ward, Sir Adolphus William; Prothero, George Walter (1904). *The Cambridge Modern History*. New York: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

in January 1552. This alliance led to Princes' War which resulted in Protestant victory over Charles V. Charles pushed to Italy from Germany and France took Metz, Verdun and Toul. After the war, Peace of Passau was signed between sides which included the release of the Protestant princes, including Philip of Hesse and John Frederic, and this led to the Peace of Augsburg.<sup>103</sup>

Peace of Augsburg was the first conference which could eventually mean religious peace within the Empire. It was established on September 25, 1555, and for a time it ended the religious struggle between Protestants and Catholics. With the Augsburg peace, principle of "cuius regio, eius religio" (Whose realm, his religion) system was established. According to that, Catholics would respect the rights of the people who governed them and Lutherans would do the same way. If they got caught in other's land they would have a right to migrate to their congenial religious counterparts. Religious peace within the Holy Roman Empire was established with these words:

f. *"And in order that such peace is respected and maintained despite the religious chasm, as is necessary in the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation and between his Roman Imperial Majesty and Us, on the one hand, and the electors, princes, and estates of the Holy Empire of the German nation, on the other, therefore His Imperial Majesty, and We, and the electors, princes, and estates of the Holy Empire will not make war upon any estate of the empire on account of the Augsburg Confession and the doctrine, religion, and faith of the same, nor injure nor do violence to those estates that hold it, nor force them, against their conscience, knowledge, and will, to abandon the religion, faith, church usages, ordinances, and ceremonies of the Augsburg Confession, where these have been established, or may hereafter be established, in their principalities, lands, and dominions. Nor shall We, through mandate or in any other way, trouble or disparage them, but shall let them quietly and peacefully enjoy their religion, faith, church usages, ordinances, and ceremonies, as well as their possessions, real and personal property, lands, people, dominions, governments, honours, and rights. Further, a complete peace within the disputed Christian religion shall be attained only by Christian, friendly, and peaceful means through his Imperial and Royal Majesties, the honourable princes, and by threat of punishment for breach of the Public Peace."*<sup>104</sup>

Although Peace of Augsburg established peace within the Empire for a while it had some certain problems. Most important problem was that sides only consisted of

<sup>103</sup> Rady, Martyn C. The emperor Charles V. London: Longman, 1998.

<sup>104</sup> "The Religious Peace of Augsburg (September 25, 1555)." German History in Documents and Images. Accessed March 23, 2017. <http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/Index.cfm?language=english>.

Catholics and Protestants so at that time, Anabaptists and Calvinists were excluded from the peace with the Article 17: “However, all such as do not belong to the two above named religions shall not be included in the present peace but be totally excluded from it.”<sup>105</sup>

Last effect of the Peace of Augsburg was that after the peace Charles V abdicated as the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and decided to divide Habsburgs’ land into two as Spanish Habsburgs and Austrian Habsburgs. While Ferdinand, his brother, took the Austrian Habsburgs’ lands, Charles’ devoted Catholic son, Philip II, became the King of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, parts of Italy, and other overseas holdings.

## f. Protestant Union (Evangelical Union)

Although the Peace of Augsburg halted the religious tension between Catholic and Protestant states, it did not stop it completely. Two important events led to the formation of Protestant Union. Firstly, elector and Duke of Bavaria Maximilian I who was a devout Catholic attacked the free Protestant city of Donauwörth to execute the imperial ban against the city. After successfully capturing the city, Maximilian I restored Roman Catholicism and this alarmed the Protestant princes.<sup>106</sup> Secondly, in February 1608, Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire saw a motion to extradite all former Catholic Churches which at that time were secularized because of the Reformation for the renewal of the Peace of Augsburg. Protestant princes protested the Diet and walked out. Then Protestant princes met in Auhausen and established the Protestant alliance under the leadership of Frederick IV of the Palatinate on May 14, 1608.<sup>107</sup>

Members of the Protestant Union included the Palatinate, Neuburg, Württemberg, Baden-Durlach, Ansbach, Bayreuth, Anhalt, Zweibrücken, Oettingen, Hesse-Kassel, Brandenburg, and the free cities of Ulm, Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Rothenburg, Windhseim, Schweinfurt, Weissenburg, Nördlingen, Schwäbisch Hall, Heilbronn, Memmingen, Kempten, Landau, Worms, Speyer, Aalen and Giengen while England, the Dutch Republic, and Sweden all promised support.<sup>108</sup> Important aspects of the union were specified in the letter which established the Protestant Union:

- g. “2. That we and all our heirs who are in this Union shall keep a secret correspondence effectively to inform each other of all dangerous and offensive affairs which may threaten each other’s heirs, land and people, and to this purpose each will keep in good contact with one another.”<sup>109</sup>*

<sup>105</sup> Ibid

<sup>106</sup> “MAXIMILIAN I.” The Encyclopaedia Britannica: a dictionary of arts, sciences, literature and general information. Vol. 17. New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica. 920-21.

<sup>107</sup> N. Geoffrey Parker. “Protestant Union.” Encyclopædia Britannica. Accessed March 23, 2017. <https://global.britannica.com/topic/Protestant-Union>.

<sup>108</sup> Ward, Adolphus William (1905). “The Empire Under Rudolf II”. In Ward, Adolphus William; Prothero, George Walter; Leathes, Stanley. The Cambridge Modern History, Volume III: The Wars of Religion. New York and London: Macmillan.

<sup>109</sup> “The Crown & The Cross: The Protestant Union, 1608.” The Crown & The Cross: The Protestant Union, 1608. Accessed March 23,

- h. "5. We also agree that this secret Union shall not affect our disagreement on several points of religion, but that notwithstanding these, we have agreed to support each other. No member is to allow an attack on any other in books or through the pulpit, nor give cause for any breach of the peace, whilst at the same time leaving untouched the theologian's rights of disputation to affirm the Word of God."<sup>110</sup>
- i. "6. If one or other of us is attacked...the remaining members of the Union shall immediately come to his aid with all the resources of the Union, as necessity may demand, and as set out in the detailed argument... Should any member of the Union inherit or enlarge his territory in the future, then the new land and people will pay a contribution proportional to the federal tax schedule [Reichmatricul] according to the needs of the treasury [Cassa] of the Union."<sup>111</sup>

### g. Catholic League

Plans for a Catholic League were always on the table for Catholic princes, especially Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian I. He started negotiations with other principalities but up until 1607, there was no progress about the League. But in early 1608 Maximilian started



Flag of the Defence Confederation of Catholic States

the negotiations again especially with the electors of the Empire to establish a Catholic League and when Protestant League was established in May 1608, princes united under Maximilian I. But there were many issues regarding the foundation of the League. To solve these problems Maximilian urged for a general meeting which was held on February 10 1610, at Würzburg. Only Austria and Salzburg did not send representatives and other than that, most important Catholic states and principalities within the Empire stood ready

at Würzburg. Issues of alliance, soldiers, funds had been discussed and finally they united under a league and its formal name was "*Defensiv- oder Schirmvereinigung*".<sup>112</sup>

The League had many important problems at that time. Members did not fulfil their obligations to raise an army. Maximilian threatened the members resignation.

2017. <http://www.oocities.org/athens/sparta/5414/ProtestantUnion.htm>.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid

<sup>111</sup> Ibid

<sup>112</sup> "German (Catholic) League." CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA: German (Catholic) League. Accessed March 23, 2017. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09100a.htm>.



To solve the issues Elector of Mainz offered the enrolment of Austria to the League and in the year 1613 at Regensburg, Austria joined the League. Also, Catholic League got the financial support of the Spanish Empire. Lastly, Catholic League declared that their object was “a Christian legal defence”.<sup>113</sup>

Bavaria, Mainz, Cologne, Trier, Constance, Augsburg, Passau, Würzburg, Bamberg, Worms, Strassburg, Eichstätt, Speyer, Ellwangen and Kempten were the members of the Catholic League, later Austria would join, and League was supported by the Papal states and the Spanish Empire.

## Beginning of Thirty Years' War

### a. The Bohemian Revolt (1618–20)

Bohemian Revolt was the spark that started the Thirty Years' War in Europe. Bohemian Protestants gathered at the royal castle, the Hradshin, in Prague on 23 May 1618. This assembly consisted of lords, knights and a number of delegates from districts. They demanded to see the regents of the emperor in the absence of the Matthias, the King of Bohemia and the Holy Roman Emperor. Regents came to the assembly and there were serious disputes between regents and the Protestant estates. Leader of the Protestant estates Thurn and his friends radicalized the situation and declared regents, Martinitz and Slawata, as traitors of Bohemia because they did not show respects to estates' rights and privileges through the kingdom. Thurn and his friends asked the assembly for



A later woodcut of the defenestration in 1618

the regents' death and with boisterous applause Martinitz, Slawata and Philipp Fabricius were thrown out of the windows of the Hradshin. This event was recorded as the Defenestration of Prague, just like the Hussite revolt which had also happened in Bohemia, and after a while it was discovered that the defenestration was done for the purpose of destroying all possibilities to achieve peace between Catholics and Protestants. Protestants burned all the bridges and from that moment, there was no going back.<sup>114</sup>

The regents had been dropped off of fifteen metres but miraculously all of them survived. Catholics explained this situation with the divine intervention while Protes-

<sup>113</sup> Ibid

<sup>114</sup> Asch, Ronald G. *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005.

tants claimed that they were lucky and they fell into a stack. When Protestants saw that all of them were alive, they made a second attempt to kill them and opened fire on them but regents managed to run away and took refuge in Zdenek Lobkowitz, the chancellor, and later they all speeded.<sup>115</sup>

From its very beginning, the defenestration of Prague started the Bohemian rebellion, but when Frederick V, elector of palatine, accepted the crown of Bohemia on 26 August 1619 and made his coronation in November, this rebellion turned into a war. Before Frederick accepted the crown, his advisors warned him that acceptance meant a religious war but this argument was not accepted by Christian of Anhalt and Ludwig Camerarius, who wanted the admission of the crown of Bohemia. Although Frederick V accepted the crown, rebellion had serious issues. Most importantly, Lutherans refused to cooperate with Calvinists, and this divided the support given to his leadership. Also, there were serious funding issues of the rebellion. But help came from family bounds and Maurice, Count of Nassau and captain-general of United Provinces, provided 25,000 thalers per month to support his nephew Frederick V. Maurice's intention was to help firstly the Protestants in Bohemia and then his nephew, but he also wanted to take pressure off himself and turned Habsburg's attention to somewhere far from United Provinces.<sup>116</sup>

Most of the Austrian lands joined the rebellion. On one hand, Protestants asked for the support of other Protestant princes, and help came from the Spanish Empire. In May 1619, 7.000 Spanish veterans in Flanders moved to Vienna to support Austria and Spanish Empire gave 3.4 million thalers to Austria for financial assistance. With the assistance, Imperial army assembled 30.000 men to the field. This army led by Count Bucquoy defeated the rebel army led by von Mansfeld at Zablatti in Southern Bohemia. This was an important victory for the Catholics and trust for the leadership of Frederick V decreased after the battle.<sup>117</sup>

In June 1619, as Bohemian troops prepared to lay siege to capital Vienna, it was clear that Ferdinand had no power to stop the rebellion with his own efforts. Therefore, Bavaria and Spain, two of his most important allies, came to Ferdinand's aid. Especially Spanish intervention was important, and fortune was on Ferdinand's side. In fact, he was elected as Emperor by unanimous vote on 28 August 1619, two weeks within his deposition as King of Bohemia. However, Palatine's plan was to re-schedule the election until the rebellion was over but that plan also failed after Ferdinand's coronation as Emperor.<sup>118</sup>

When Ferdinand was elected as Holy Roman Emperor, Palatine alliance system began to collapse. Saxony, one of the most important Lutheran principalities, had never

<sup>115</sup> Mortimer, Geoff. *The origins of the Thirty Years War and the revolt in Bohemia, 1618*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

<sup>116</sup> Bonney, Richard. *The Thirty Years' War 1618-1648*. Oxford: Osprey, 2002.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid

<sup>118</sup> Asch, Ronald G. *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005.

favoured the concept of joining against the House of Habsburg and Catholicism. Although King Johann Georg of Saxony had significant support in Bohemia, he rejected the Bohemian crown after Ferdinand. However, even from the same side, Saxony could not allow his greatest protestant rival and a Calvinist, Palatine, to take the crown of Bohemia for himself. This rivalry led to a decision which changed the course of war: Johann Georg decided early in 1620 to support Ferdinand against Bohemian estates and his Protestant allies and of course, he was rewarded for his “wise” decision. Saxony would take the Margraviate of Lusatia for his intervention on the side of the Emperor.<sup>119</sup> But it was not the only bad news for Frederick V. In July 1620, members of the Protestant Union signed the treaty which declared their neutrality in Ulm. They decided not to intervene in the war and this decision limited the war to Bohemia and Habsburg owned territories. Also, France was under heavy pressure about choosing sides. On one hand supporting Habsburg meant empowering one of their oldest rivals, Spain which ruled by a Habsburg; on the other hand, supporting Protestants meant empowering Protestantism in the Holy Roman Empire and by effect, in France. But in any case, France was not strong enough to intervene in a major European conflict by herself due to her internal affairs which was the struggle between Queen Mother Marie de Medici and the King, Louis XIII. In addition to that not just France, but also England and even Netherlands were unwilling to support the Emperor. The Dutch had been preparing themselves for a Spanish attack since the Eighty Years’ War truce had expired and England was dealing with its internal policies. The last impact came on 14 May 1621 and Protestant Union dissolved. Now Frederick V had vital problems but Catholics was ready to attack.<sup>120</sup>

Decisive battle took place at the about five miles west of Prague, on November 1620. Catholic side had 24,800 men, 18.800 infantry and 6000 cavalry, while Protestant side had 23.000 men, 11.600 infantry and 11.400 cavalry. But the important thing was that the Catholic side had better organization and their troops were highly experienced. Also, at the Protestant side, cavalry mostly consisted of light cavalry regiments and they were fitter to raid, not open battle. Imperial-Bavarian



The Battle of White Mountain (1620), where Imperial-Spanish forces under Johan Tzerclaes, Count of Tilly won a decisive victory.

<sup>119</sup> Asch, Ronald G. *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid



army led by Counts Bucquoy and Tilly routed the rebels after two hours of battle. 4000 Protestants were dead against 800 Catholic casualties. Also 10 field guns and 100 standard guns were captured by Catholics.<sup>121</sup>

With the Battle of White Mountain, rebellion in Bohemia came to an end but it was only the start of the chain of events which led the European countries to the bloodiest conflict in 17<sup>th</sup> century, Thirty Years' War.

## Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)

### a. The War for Palatine (1621-1624)

Between 1621 and 1624, Frederick V tried to regain the lands he had lost after the Bohemian rebellion and early stages of the war; and the dissolution of the Protestant Union on 14 May 1621 did not help the situation. In the meantime, Spanish troops besieged the town of Frankenthal in Palatine. On 25 October 1621, von Mansfeld's troops came to support Frankenthal and drove away the Spanish troops. After defeating the Spanish forces, Von Mansfeld dilapidated the Lower Palatine which was Imperial territory. In the meanwhile, George of Baden-Durlach assembled an army which consisted of 11.000 men while Christian of Brunswick raised another army of 10.000 strong in Lower Saxony.<sup>122</sup>

In February 1622, Dutch garrison in Jülich, North Rhine-Westphalia, surrendered to Ambrogio Spinola, 1st Marquis of the Balbases and commander of Spanish army. On 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1622, George of Baden-Durlach was defeated at Wimpfen by the forces of Catholic League and Spanish Empire which consisted nearly 18.000 men under the command of Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly. Baden's army mostly escaped but only few of them united with von Mansfeld's army. Only after one and half month later, an army of Brunswick led by Christian of Brunswick attacked the Spanish and Catholic armies on June 20, and Christian was defeated at Höchst. Christian's goal was to unite with von Mansfeld's army on the South of river Main. At Höchst, the Catholic armies consisted of 22.000 infantry and 12.000 cavalry, but only 18.000 infantry and 10.000 cavalry engaged in the battle while Christian had 13.000 infantry and 8.300 cavalry. Only a small portion of Christian's army joined von Mansfeld's army and their quality, for von Mansfeld, were inadequate for a battle.<sup>123</sup>

After the triumphs at Wimpfen and Höchst, Catholic-Spanish united forces under Tilly began to siege Heidelberg on July 23. On 19 September Heidelberg surrendered. Mannheim followed Heidelberg and surrendered on 2<sup>nd</sup> of November. Also in March 1623 Frankenthal surrendered to Archduchess Isabella of the Spanish Netherlands. On August, Christian of Brunswick and Count Tilly confronted each other once again. Bat-

<sup>121</sup> Bonney, Richard. *The Thirty Years' War 1618-1648*. Oxford: Osprey, 2002.

<sup>122</sup> Bonney, Richard. *The Thirty Years' War 1618-1648*. Oxford: Osprey, 2002.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid

tle of Stadtlohn, on 6 August 1623, became the one of the most decisive victories that Catholic forces had in Thirty Years' War. Christian both had numerical superiority and qualified soldiers against Tilly. But in the end Tilly got a decisive victory. Protestant losses were heavy: 6000-7000 men had died, 4000 were captured and rest of them were routed while Catholic losses were less than 1000.<sup>124</sup>

In August 1623, it was clear that Frederick V had lost the war. In February 1624, Frederick V had been deposed by the Emperor Ferdinand II and his electoral title was given to Maximilian of Bavaria. In July 1624, even the John George of Saxony, who was Lutheran, accepted the situation. Count Tilly directed his army to east Friesland, which was occupied by the Dutch, while von Mansfeld disbanded his army on January 1624.<sup>125</sup>

Stadtlohn Battle was the battle that had ended the war in Germany for the time being. Without support from outside, German princes had no power to rise against the Catholic army which had already won many victories. But the tide was about to turn. Frederick V's old allies did not like the new balance of power and obvious Catholic domination within the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>126</sup> Especially in the North, a King who feared the Catholic domination within the Empire and its danger to his Lutheran country's sovereignty prepared for battle against the Emperor. That king was Christian IV, King of Denmark-Norway and Duke of Holstein and Schleswig.

## b. Danish Intervention (1625-1629)

"*Kejserkrig*" or war against the emperor, was a term that the Danes called their intervention to Thirty Years' War. Christian IV had two explanations for the reason of war. Firstly, "*wanted to undertake knightly service on behalf of the king of Bohemia, and show myself as a young cavalier*", other reason he told his mother which is "*that it was for no other reason than the great affection which I had for the queen of Bohemia.*"<sup>127</sup>

Denmark, in 1622, although deeply concerned about the Habsburg threat, tried to reconcile Frederick V and the Emperor. Also, Netherlands and Denmark were rivals in the commerce business and due to this rivalry, Denmark improved their relations with the Spanish Empire which alarmed the Dutch. In addition to all these, Sweden was another rival for Denmark which always ready for an open war against them. In fact, Swedish actions resulted in war in 1611, and Danes gained a decisive victory. As a result of this victory, young and ambitious King Gustavus II Adolphus gained the Swedish throne in 1612. Gustavus' successful campaigns to Russia and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth made Sweden an important power in the North and that was a problem for Denmark.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Bonney, Richard. The Thirty Years' War 1618-1648. Oxford: Osprey, 2002.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid

<sup>126</sup> Asch, Ronald G. The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005.

<sup>127</sup> Mortimer, Geoff. The origins of the Thirty Years War and the revolt in Bohemia, 1618. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

<sup>128</sup> Mortimer, Geoff. The origins of the Thirty Years War and the revolt in Bohemia, 1618. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

In July 1624, James I, King of England, asked for Danish involvement in the war with the aim of recovering the palatine and stopping the Habsburg expansionism. Also, the Dutch supported this action and promised for help. The same offer went to Gustav as well but he refused to participate under Danish leadership. Christian IV asked for 40.000 troops with 2/3 of them to be provided by his allies. This offer exceeded England's power and they stopped the diplomatic mission and began to negotiate with Sweden at that time. But still, it was nearly impossible to persuade Gustav.<sup>129</sup>



King Christian IV by Pieter Isaacsz, Frederiksborg Castle, Hillerød

On the other hand, Christian had his own plans. Christian was the Duke of Holstein, which was a territory that belonged to the Empire. Because of that, he was a member of Lower Saxon Circle. Christian tried to use this advantage and began to involve the Lower Saxon Circle in his actions for the Palatine in a Segeberg conference but it did not work. In late 1624, his main concern was the army led by Tilly and supported by Spanish forces which were stationed on the borders of the Lower Saxon Circle. Therefore, Christian began to prepare an army against Tilly and asked the Circle to do the same. The Circle was weak and slow to recruit, so Christian had 20.000 troops at hand by early summer and by moving his army to the south in June 1625, he started the events which led to Danish intervention.<sup>130</sup>

Around mid-July, Maximilian prepared his army for any case and he ordered Tilly to march into Lower Saxony and face Christian IV. Tilly's challenge was accepted by Christian and from that moment the war which used to be limited to Bohemia and local Habsburg dominions, spread over the Palatine and Westphalia and turned into the full-scale conflict known as the Thirty Years' War.<sup>131</sup>

In September, Albrecht von Waldstein, the imperial commander, marched west to Germany and took Halberstadt and Magdeburg. On 25 April 1626, Waldstein routed the army of von Mansfeld in Dessau Bridge. After his defeat, Mansfeld went to Brandenburg and then moved to Silesia with his newly taken reinforcements. In October, von Mansfeld and von Waldstein made a truce, although for a short-term. In May 1627, von Waldstein marched onto Upper Silesia and finished off the remnants of von Mans-

<sup>129</sup> Ibid

<sup>130</sup> Ibid

<sup>131</sup> Ibid

feld's armies.

Tilly captured Gottingen on 5 August 1626 on the western front, and on 27 August 1626 Christian IV and Tilly confronted each other at Lutter-am-Bamberg. Tilly, with the reinforcements coming from Waldstein's armies, outnumbered Christian and the Danes took a heavy defeat. With 500 losses from the League side, Protestants' losses were 3000-4000 dead and 2500 captured troops, who later joined Tilly's army. For some, it was Tilly's biggest victory in the Thirty Years' War. After the victory, Tilly and Waldstein joined their forces and began to invade Mecklenburg. On 14 September 1627, Danish Holstein was invaded and the last remnants of the Danish army were destroyed at Grossenbrode.<sup>132</sup>

While Christian IV withdrew to the Baltic islands, the Emperor gave the title "Admiral of the Baltic Sea" to Waldstein in January 1628. In February 1628, Waldstein sent Hans Georg von Arnim-Boitzenburg to protect Stralsund in Pomerania. Against that action, Stralsunders made a pact with Gustavus Adolphus for a 30-year alliance which was signed in June 23. The siege began on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May and on 6 July Waldstein arrived. But with Sweden-Denmark cooperation for cities' defence, he was forced to retreat his forces and lifted the siege. This action benefited Sweden and they gained a foothold in the Empire's mainland. On the other hand, Waldstein defeated the Danish forces at Wolgast and Christian IV fled to Denmark. For Denmark, war was lost. Peace of Lübeck was signed in 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1629 and Denmark withdrew from the war.<sup>133</sup>

If there was only one chance for the war to be over, it was the time that Denmark was forced out in 1629. But it did not end there, because Ferdinand II, under the influence of the Jesuits, took a decision which would prove to be the the worst and the most disastrous one possible in March 1629, and enact the Edict of Restitution.

### c. Swedish Intervention (1630-1648)

In the 1620's Sweden had remained neutral and focused their efforts on the war with Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, even though both Netherlands and England tried to establish an alliance with them. In mid-1620's this idea submerged because of the rivalry between Denmark and Sweden, and Sweden's extreme demands from Charles I of England. But during the 1627-28 period, Gustavus Adolphus and his chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, realized that they could not stay out of the war in the Empire. Presence of the imperial army in Pomerania and Mecklenburg and event Jutland created suspicion and great concerns for Gustav Adolph and



Gustavus Adolphus, attributed to Jacob Hoefnagel

<sup>132</sup> Bonney, Richard. *The Thirty Years' War 1618-1648*. Oxford: Osprey, 2002.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid

Axel.<sup>134</sup> This concern also came because of Swedish-Polish tension which dated back to 1604. In 1587, Polish Sejm elected Sigismund Vasa, whose father was John III of Sweden, as the King of Poland. When John died in 1592 Sigismund naturally inherited the title of King of Sweden. But his attempt was stopped by Swedish nobles and instead Duke Charles became the King of Sweden in 1604. However, Sigismund continued to claim his right and this was the ultimate threat for Sweden, a claimant to the Swedish throne.<sup>135</sup>

Gustavus Adolphus landed on the island of Usedom in July 1630 and officially began the Swedish intervention. Gustavus immediately took the support of France which promised 400.000 Talers for his expeditionary forces in January 1631. Also, Protestant princes assembled a meeting to decide whether to support Gustavus. In April 1631, they issued a manifesto which declared their opposition to the Edict of Restitution and other problems within the empire. Also, they created a defensive alliance between themselves which consisted of 40.000 men. In other words, protestant princes were starting to join the war and this was the most important proof of the goal. In the meanwhile, Tilly sieged Magdeburg, one of the cities that allied themselves with Sweden officially, while Gustavus was marching to Brandenburg. On 20 May 1631 Magdeburg fell and most of the population was massacred. At least 20.000 men and women had been killed. This created a shockwave among Protestant princes and with calls of revenge, even the most loyal Protestants to the emperor were accusing the Emperor for that event. This made Gustavus Adolphus a hero of German Protestants and he was accepted as the defender of the faith.<sup>136</sup>

Having seen the Magdeburg defeat, Brandenburg - already under Swedish pressure - signed an alliance with Sweden and joined the war. Saxony, although hesitated, joined Brandenburg in September and with his new allies, Gustavus positioned 40.000 men to the battlefield. Gustavus Adolphus and Tilly met at Breitenfeld on 17 September and Gustavus gained a decisive victory against Tilly. Tilly lost two-thirds of his army and this caused the collapse of the Catholics in northern Germany, also along the Rhine and in the south-west. In spring 1632, Swedish troops invaded Bavaria and Munich while Johann Georg marched into Bohemia and took Prague before Munich's fall.<sup>137</sup>

This progress of the war urged Ferdinand II to recall one of his best military commanders, Albrecht von Wallenstein. In April 1632, Wallenstein became the chief of the imperial armies with unlimited authority. He created a new army and confronted the Swedish at Lützen. Although both sides showed their full effort, battle was indecisive but in Swedish favour. Most importantly, Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus was killed

<sup>134</sup> Asch, Ronald G. *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>137</sup> Asch, Ronald G. *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005.



in action. Gustavus' daughter Christina took the throne but because of her age, Oxenstierna became her regent and ruled Sweden. But he was not capable like Gustavus and by 1633 Sweden's allies were looking for ground for a peace deal with the Emperor.<sup>138</sup>

While the Protestant side was slowly disintegrating, on the Catholic side, Wallenstein started peace negotiations with the Swedes and Saxony in 1633-1634 and this made them look suspicious in the imperial court. After hearing these, Ferdinand decided to take Wallenstein from his position as supreme commander by force or by having him killed. Also, the Spanish were sending a huge army to aid Catholics and they obviously did not want to be under the leadership of Wallenstein. On 25 February 1634 Wallenstein was murdered and Ferdinand II gave the position of supreme command to his son, Ferdinand III. On 6 September 1635, Imperial-Spanish army defeated Sweden-Protestant army at Nördlingen. This was the sign of the collapse of Swedish power within Holy Roman Empire. In addition to these, in August 1635 Oxenstierna was taken prisoner in Magdeburg by mercenary troops. He persuaded them with the promise of paying their salary in cash but the truth was that Sweden did not have cash at that time. In fact, they even thought to retreat from all strongholds except Stralsund.<sup>139</sup>

The treaty which ended this phase of war was signed on 30 May 1635 in Prague. It was accepted by all princes of the empire, not just Saxony and the Emperor, since otherwise they would not be able to benefit from imperial amnesty. From that moment, most of the princes and the Emperor thought that the power of Sweden was broken and they would not recover from this war because with the treaty of Prague, Sweden now stood alone against the Emperor without the German princes' aid. But this would prove wrong when another party decided that they could not stand neutral anymore in this bloody conflict. This decision led to the French intervention to Thirty Years' War.<sup>140</sup>

#### **d. French Intervention (1635-1648)**

Peace of Prague left Sweden isolated in mid-1635 and brought peace within the Holy Roman Empire. But peace also led to the French intervention to war. France did not seek a war with the Empire, but with the peace of Prague found herself surrounded by Habsburgs. Both Spain and the Empire were ruled by Habsburgs and this situation gave no place to move. In that case, French idea was to give time to Sweden for its recovery and stopping Ferdinand to assist Spain against a possible war. Also, Spain was busy at that time because of the Eighty Years' War with the Dutch, who were seriously seeking an alliance with the French.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Ibid

<sup>139</sup> Asch, Ronald G. *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid

<sup>141</sup> Wilson, Peter H. *Europe's tragedy: a history of the Thirty Years War*. London: Penguin Books, 2010.



Since December 1633, France under Cardinal Richelieu had been encouraged by people to declare war on Spain. But Cardinal did not want it to happen so quickly. Also, the Dutch suspended the peace talks with Spain in April 1634. On 8 February 1635, Treaty of Alliance was signed between France and the Dutch Republic. Both sides agree upon deploying 30.000 men with 15 ships to invade Spanish Netherlands. After a series of meetings with the French King Louis XIII, the decision of war was finally made on 5 April 1635.<sup>142</sup>



Cardinal Richelieu by Robert Nanteuil

Although Ferdinand was deeply disturbed by the French declaration of war, neither Louis XIII nor Ferdinand declared war upon each other. Emperor's desire was to obtain peace between France and Spain, but he sent reinforcements to Spain anyways. 13.300 men joined the Spanish army in Flanders. Also, Ferdinand allowed Spanish to recruit Germans to the armies and this provided the Spanish army with 8000 extra German soldiers by February 1635. Also, Bavarian forces joined the war with 18.000 men after rejecting Richelieu's offer for protection. At that time invasion of Netherlands began. The French advanced to Meuse and defeated the Spanish at Avesnes on 22 May 1635. After that they united with the Dutch army and captured Tienen while moving towards Brussels. But due to supply issues, they could not advance any further. While they were trying to solve the issues, Spanish marched to Cleves and Fort Schenkenschans fell. This move forced the Dutch in Belgium to retreat from their position and although this joint invasion of Netherlands worked to block Spanish plans, it was a failure and this deteriorated the relationship between the French and the Dutch.<sup>143</sup>

In addition to that, France's war with Spain spread to Upper Rhine and the Rhine campaign started at 1635. This action not only dragged the Emperor into the war, but also encouraged Sweden to join the fight once again. Archduke Ferdinand brought his forces to besiege the remaining Swedish positions in the Rhine. Heidelberg surrendered to Jobst Maximilian von Gronsfeld on 24 July, Frankfurt on 21 August and Mannheim on 10 September. To respond, Cardinal Richelieu ordered Cardinal La Valette to relieve the Mainz with 10.000 men and Mainz was relieved in August. But the French, like in Netherlands, faced supply problems and 2/3 of the army deserted. Therefore,

<sup>142</sup> Ibid

<sup>143</sup> Wilson, Peter H. Europe's tragedy: a history of the Thirty Years War. London: Penguin Books, 2010.

cardinal stopped the operation and retreated to Mainz on September. <sup>144</sup>

In 1636, Spanish armies marched through Picardy and Franche-Comte; the Spanish reached 80 miles away from the borders of Paris but at Corbie, they were stopped. Meanwhile, Charles of Lorraine, under imperial service, advanced into Burgundy from Franche-Comte and besieged Dole and Dijon. It was the time that everyone expected Cardinal Richelieu's downfall. But events led otherwise. Louis XIII rallied his troops and drove out the invaders from Picardy. Also, Gallas' attempt to advance was stopped by a garrison in St. Jean de Losne. Therefore, the second attempt for invasion failed again. Spanish tried one more time and launched another invasion in 1637 to Languedoc but it also failed. <sup>145</sup>

Truce of Sthmsdorf in September 1635 between Sweden and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, gave Sweden a chance to join the conflict once again. Swedish army moved to Germany from Poland and Swedish troops in Bohemia retreated to Mecklenburg to reinforce the incoming Swedish army. But this force was intercepted by imperial forces and their Saxon allies, and Saxony declared war on Sweden at this point on 16<sup>th</sup> of October, and prevented their union with the main Swedish army. But just before this battle, Swedes won a decisive victory against imperial forces at Wittstock on 6<sup>th</sup> of October even though they were outnumbered by imperial forces. After that, Swedes besieged Leipzig, Saxony. Siege failed in January 1637 and Swedes retreated to Baltic coasts. In the meanwhile, French sent 14.000 fresh troops to Sweden and with that forces Johan Banér, field marshal of Sweden in Thirty Years' War, routed the imperial forces. In January 1639, Swedes marched to Chemnitz and there, they defeated Archduke Leopold-William, Ferdinand III's brother, on 14 April 1639. They tried to besiege Prague but eventually failed. On December 1640, Sweden, France and Brunswick decided to form a joint campaign with their forces. But it also failed and the armies scattered to return to their bases. <sup>146</sup>

On 20 May 1641, Banér's soldiers revolted and killed Banér. After that event Torstenson was appointed as commander of the Swedish forces. In 1642, he began his offensive and defeated Saxony at Schweidnitz. In June 1642, Olmütz fell and then he besieged Leipzig. This was a direct threat to Vienna therefore, the emperor sent a large force to stop Torstenson. On 2 November 1642, Swedish army defeated the imperial forces and Leipzig fell. Also, French gained victory at the battle of Rocroi on 19 May 1643. After Rocroi, French began their campaign through Germany with fresh reinforcements. But at Tuttlingen on 24 November 1643, they were defeated by joint imperial-Spanish forces. French called their armies in from the Italian front after the Tuttlingen disaster, and moved into Lower Palatine then captured Philippsburg and

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid

<sup>145</sup> Bonney, Richard. *The Thirty Years' War 1618-1648*. Oxford: Osprey, 2002.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid

Mainz on 9 September 1944.<sup>147</sup>

In early 1645, Swedes began their campaign through Bohemia and Moravia. Emperor called Maximilian to join their newly formed imperial forces. At Jankov, Swedes won a decisive victory against imperial forces. After that, at the end of April 1645, Swedes reached within 30 miles of Vienna and Ferdinand III fled to Graz. But rather than besieging Vienna, Torstenson decided to secure Moravia by besieging the city of Brno. The city resisted for five months which was enough for imperial armies to regroup. But on 31 August 1645, John Georg of Saxony made an armistice with Sweden and they renewed it on 14 April 1646. This was the end of Thirty Years' War for Saxony. After the treaty, Swedish advance continued and they united with French army under Conde. This united force met with Bavarians at Nördlingen and on 3 August Bavarians were defeated. From that point on, Swedish-French joint forces marched further and on 14 August they broke through Imperial-Bavarian forces. Imperial-Bavarian army retreated to the south and left Bavaria undefended. This was the final blow for Bavaria and on 19 August Maximilian fled to Munich. Negotiations started immediately and on 14 March 1647 Maximilian signed Treaty of Ulm and broke his alliance with Ferdinand III. But this truce would not last long and in September 1647, Maximilian entered an alliance with the emperor again through the Treaty of Pilsen and immediately joined the imperial forces in Bohemia. United forces of opposing sides met at Zusmarhausen, near Augsburg. On 17 May 1648, the imperial army was defeated and routed completely. They retreated to river Inn and stopped the Swedish at there. From that moment, there was a stalemate.<sup>148</sup>

## Peace Negotiations

In 1643, negotiations began to end Thirty Years' War in general. But the changing situation and calculating the demands of each side made this peace process very long. While Peace negotiations between Emperor Ferdinand III and Queen Christina of Sweden and their respective allies began in Osnabrück, while the negotiations between Ferdinand III and King Louis XIV of France and their respective allies started in Münster.

## Conclusion

Although there was no clear number given about the casualties, it is estimated to be the greatest death toll that Europe had ever seen until that moment. It is clear that after the last stalemate between sides, the time has come to bring an end to this endless, bitter war. Needless to say, in order to save Europe peace must be brought to the Holy Roman Empire, one way or another.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid

<sup>148</sup> Bonney, Richard. *The Thirty Years' War 1618-1648*. Oxford: Osprey, 2002.

## Questions to be addressed for Peace Treaty of Osnabrück Between Emperor Ferdinand III and Queen Christina of Sweden and Their Respective Allies

1. What will be the terms of the cessation of hostilities?
2. What will be the terms of the ruler's rights and its restoration?
3. What will be the position of Palatine electorate?
4. What will be the terms which define Wittelsbach's succession rights?
5. Who will have the imperial amnesty and under which conditions?
6. What will happen to the Upper Palatine lands?
7. What will be the terms which define the rights of restoration of the rulers?
8. Will Treaty of Passau's (1552) and Peace of Augsburg's (1555) terms be accepted and approved or will there be amendments to those treaties?
9. What will be the articles that establish religious peace within the Holy Roman Empire?
10. What will be the final case of free cities and their religious rights?
11. What will be the situation of older Catholic and Protestant properties?
12. What will be the main articles of the toleration within the Holy Roman Empire?
13. What will be the articles which define reparations, rights of the imperial lands, ecclesiastical lands, estates, of the Most Serene Queen of Sweden?
14. What will be the articles which define the dissolution of armed forces, retention of the present holdings and enforcement of the peace?
15. What are the necessary steps that can achieve peace within the Holy Roman Empire?

## Questions to be addressed for Treaty of Münster Between Emperor Ferdinand III and the King of France, Louis XIV, and Their Respective Allies

1. What will be the terms of peace between Emperor Ferdinand III and the King of France, Louis XIV, and their respective allies?
2. What are the ways to prevent future conflicts between Empire and the French Kingdom?
3. What will be the situation of Burgundian Circle in terms of their membership

to the Empire?

4. What will be the terms of restoration of ecclesiastical lands and other holdings?
5. What will be the terms of cessation of the imperial lands to Kingdom of France?
6. What will be the articles which define reparation of Austrian and French lands?
7. What will be the religious rights of the imperial principalities?
8. What will be the terms which define compensation?
9. What will be the terms which define the restoration of prince-bishoprics and archbishoprics of the Empire?
10. What is the necessary steps that can create peace within the Holy Roman Empire?

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