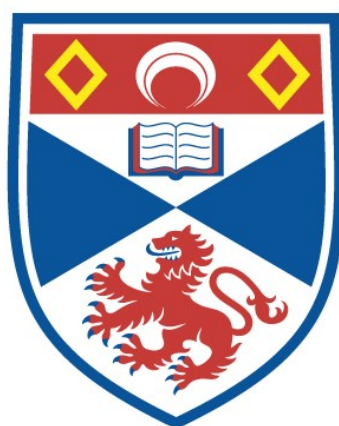


CATHOLIC BELIEF AND SURVIVAL IN LATE
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY VIENNA : THE CASE OF
GEORG EDER (1523-1587)

Elaine Fulton

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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The Case of Georg Eder (1523-1587)**

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Abstract

This thesis is a detailed study of the religious belief and survival of one of the most prominent figures of late sixteenth-century Vienna, Georg Eder (1523-1587). Eder held a number of high positions at Vienna University and the city's Habsburg court between 1552 and 1584, but his increasingly uncompromising Catholicism placed him at odds with many influential figures around him, not least the confessionally moderate Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II. Pivoted around an incident in 1573, when Eder's ferocious polemic, Evangelische Inquisition, fell under Imperial condemnation, the thesis investigates three key aspects of Eder's life. It examines Eder's position as a Catholic in the Vienna of his day; the public expression of this Catholicism and the strong Jesuit influence on the same; and Eder's rescue and subsequent survival as a lay advocate of Catholic reform, largely through the protection of the Habsburgs' rivals, the Wittelsbach Dukes of Bavaria.

Based on a wide variety of printed and manuscript material, this thesis contributes to existing historiography on two levels. On one, it is a reconstruction of the career of one of Vienna's most prominent yet understudied figures, in a period when the city itself was one of Europe's most politically and religiously significant. In a broader sense, however, this study also adds to the wider canon of Reformation history. It re-examines the nature and extent of Catholicism at the Viennese court in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It highlights the growing role of Eder's Wittelsbach patrons as defenders of Catholicism, even beyond their own Bavarian borders. The thesis

also emphasises the role, potential and realised, of influential laity such as Eder in advancing the cause of Catholic reform in the late sixteenth century. Thus it is a strong challenge to the existing, prevalent portrayal of the sixteenth-century Catholic laity as an anonymous and largely passive group who merely responded to the ministries of others.

Acknowledgements

The sheer length of this list of acknowledgements alone bears witness to the level of generosity and support I have received from many quarters throughout the researching and writing of this thesis.

On a practical level, this work could not have been undertaken without financial assistance from a number of sources. A three-year Scholarship from the Caledonian Research Foundation provided the bulk of required funding, while a substantial grant from the Carnegie Trust enabled me to make further research trips to Vienna, Munich and London in the summer of 2000. Generous additional funding from the University of St Andrews Modern History Department through its Discretionary Fund and annual Postgraduate Allowance contributed further to the cost of research trips as well as facilitating attendance at a number of conferences in Britain and the States. Thanks are also due to The Friends of the Reformation Studies Institute for financial contributions to the cost of conference attendance.

On a further practical note, I wish to acknowledge all those who took the time to proof-read this thesis in whole or in part, or who helped with its linguistic aspects: Fiona Campbell, Maria Crolla, Dave Duncan, Emma Duncan, Barbara Ferguson, Ben Garstad, and Rona Johnston Gordon. I am also grateful to Böhlau Verlag GmbH and the BHStA for permission to reproduce the material on the first and last pages of Appendix I.

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Outside Vienna, a number of other scholars are equally deserving of thanks. At the 1999 and 2001 meetings of the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in St Louis and Denver respectively, Jason Lavery of Oklahoma State University, Howard Louthan of the University of Notre Dame, John O'Malley of Weston Jesuit School of Theology and Joseph Patrouch of Florida International University all made valuable suggestions regarding my thesis. At the 2000 meeting of the European Reformation Research Group, Bill Naphy and Trevor Johnson provided further useful input. Many thanks are also due to Maria Craciun for an invitation to present my work at a highly enjoyable conference at

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keen insights and knowledge of the subject area have been invaluable to me, as has her friendship and willingness to act as a sounding board. Most of all, thanks are due to my supervisor, Bruce Gordon, for his wise guidance, not to mention infinite patience, throughout the last few years. I could not have wished for a better supervisor, nor one who provides a better example of the integrity with which academic life should be conducted.

Outside academia, I have benefited immensely from the practical and moral support of a number of friends. Marcus Price and Gail Kennedy kindly offered me accommodation on research trips to London and Glasgow. In Vienna, the times spent with Aleka Mikedaki and Thomas Daxner made my stays there all the more enjoyable. In St Andrews, the last two years have been greatly enlivened by life at the 'Rancho' with Lauren, Mike, Steve, Heather, Janet et al. I am particularly indebted to Emma Duncan and Spencer Adair whose friendship, generosity and good humour has seen me through not just this degree but the two previous.

Finally, I wish to thank my parents and my grandfather for their unfailing support in so many ways. Most of all I wish to thank my parents for giving me the freedom to choose my own career. For this and all the other sacrifices made over many years, this work is dedicated to them, Ellen and Sidney Fulton, with much love and deepest gratitude. It is also dedicated to the memory of my grandfather, Joe Fulton (1911-2000).

Elaine Fulton, St Andrews, November 2002

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Editorial conventions

In this thesis, any quotations from primary sources will reflect the exact spelling and punctuation of the original. To facilitate reading, however, early modern usage of 'f' for 's', 'j' for 'i' and 'u' for 'v' has been modernised.

In the same spirit, throughout my own text all foreign place names will be anglicised where there is an established and commonly used English form: for example, 'Vienna' will replace 'Wien' and 'Munich' will replace 'München.' Other place names will, where possible, be spelt according to their modern form, with any former variations added in the relevant footnotes. For example, the place Eder calls 'Intzerstorff' will be referred to in the text by its current spelling of Inzersdorf.

The vagaries of early modern spelling also mean that few personal names are spelt consistently even within the same source. The most commonly used spelling will be employed, with any important variations indicated in the relevant footnote.

The latter chapters of this thesis deal with correspondence between the Bavarian and Viennese courts between 1573 and 1587. Within this period, the Dukes of Bavaria enacted the Gregorian calendar reform one year earlier than the Habsburg ruler in Vienna: as a result, in Bavaria the calendar 'lost' ten days between 15 October and '4' October 1582, but in the Austrian lands this did not

happen until 1583. To avoid the confusion that ensued in the period itself, this thesis will simply employ that date given on the letter itself.

As is usual, all titles of published works will be underlined. Quotations will be placed within single 'inverted commas', with longer quotations separated from the main text and indented.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------|---|
| AÖG | <u>Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte</u> |
| ARSI | Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome |
| Bd. | Band |
| BHStA | Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich |
| DAW | Diözesanarchiv, Vienna |
| Fasz. | Faszikel |
| fol. | folio |
| HHStA | Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna |
| HKA | Hofkammerarchiv, Vienna |
| Jb.f.Lk.v.NÖ | <u>Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich</u> |
| MIÖG | <u>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</u> |
| nö | Niederösterreich |
| ÖNB | Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Vienna |
| UAW | Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna |

Glossary

The following terms are used more than once throughout the text. The definitions refer to their meaning in the context of Eder's life and work. Plurals, where relevant, are given in brackets. Other terms are explained where necessary as they occur in the text.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Consistorium | Term used to describe the general assembly, concilium generale or senatus of a university. In the case of Vienna, it was usually composed of the rector, the Kanzler and Superintendent as well as the Dekans of the four faculties and Prokurators of the four nations. |
| Dekan | Term referring to the Dean or head of each university faculty. |
| Diet | Term used to describe a meeting of the estates. |
| Geheimer Rat | Privy Council: a small group of senior Habsburg courtiers who usually met daily to advise on matters of state including foreign affairs and legal and financial matters. |
| Herrschaft | Term for the collection of privileges, rights and responsibilities of the landowner over those living within the bounds of their particular property. Can also refer to the act of exercising these powers. |
| Hofkammer | Literally, 'court chamber' comprised of approximately fifteen councillors with responsibility for Habsburg financial affairs, in particular the administration of Crown estates and the collection of indirect taxes such as those on wine, flour or meat. |
| Hofkriegsrat | Title of the Habsburg war council. |
| Hofstaatsverzeichnis(se) | List(s) of court members. |
| Kammerprokurator | Title used by the councillors responsible for the Hofkammer. |
| Kanzler | In the context of Vienna University, this term refers to the Chancellor who, as episcopal representative, was also dean or provost of Stephansdom. |
| Klosterrat | Name of the Imperial body, founded in 1568, for the visitation of religious houses. |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Landhaus | Meeting place of the estates in Vienna; also home to the Lower Austrian government. |
| Landtag(e) | Meeting(s) of the estates in a provincial Diet. |
| Obersthofmarschall | Title given to the Marshal, one of the four major posts at the Habsburg court which included jurisdiction over all courtiers. |
| Obersthofmeister | Title of the High Steward, the Emperor's key advisor who headed the Geheimer Rat and represented the ruler in his absence. |
| Passau Offizial | Title of the representative of the Bishop of Passau in Vienna. |
| Prokurator | In the university context, a term for the representative of the four academic 'nations'. |
| Protokolle | Term used to describe court or university records, minutes or transcripts. |
| Reichshofkanzlei | Imperial Chancellery, nominally under partial control of the Archbishop of Mainz. |
| Reichshofrat(räte) | The Aulic Council, subject to the Emperor alone and the ultimate source of justice throughout the Empire. The word can refer to the institution or its member(s). |
| Reichskammergericht | The Imperial Chamber Court or Imperial Exchequer Court. This court was heavily subject to the influence of the estates. |
| Reichstag | Meeting or Diet of the representatives of the Electors, knights, princes, prelates and Free Cities of the Holy Roman Empire. |
| Reichsvizekanzler | Imperial Vice-Chancellor, head of the Reichshofkanzlei and also a key member of the Reichshofrat and Geheimer Rat. |
| Ritter | Knight. |
| Superintendent | Term used to describe the representative in the university of the local secular ruler. In the case of Vienna, this was the representative of the Habsburg ruler. |

Introduction

There are two driving forces behind this assessment of the life and career of Georg Eder (1523-1587).¹ The first is the existence of a remarkable wealth and variety of source material. Evidence spanning three decades survives from Eder's occupation of numerous positions at the Habsburg court in Vienna and at the city's university. Eder himself was a prolific writer, and there exists a corpus of his work that includes twelve books of Catholic instruction as well as the first history of Vienna University.² Significant too are the remains of Eder's relationship with Dukes Albrecht and Wilhelm of his native Bavaria. Most importantly, there survive more than 100 letters written by Eder in the last decade of his life to his Wittelsbach patrons, in which he outlines the religious situation in the city where he had made his career.³

The nature of this career provides the second reason for conducting this study. The outline of Eder's life reads as a series of apparent contradictions. During the first part of his career, between 1550 and 1573, he was a devout Catholic who thrived in the frequently non-Catholic environment of late sixteenth-century Vienna. By the latter part of his career, between 1573 and his death in

¹ Georg Eder almost always spelt his surname in this manner, and the vast majority of secondary works in which he has been mentioned follow suit. For this reason his name will be spelt 'Eder' throughout this thesis. There were, however, alternate spellings in his own day: the compiler of a volume of the *Expedit. Regist. nö* records, for instance, spells his name as 'Eder' on one page having spelt it 'Öder' the page before (HKA, *Expedit. Regist. nö* 52 fol. 248r-v). A letter dated 3 May 1559 is similarly addressed to 'Georgius Öder' (HKA, *Reichsakten Fasz. 150/A* fol. 351r).

² See bibliography for a complete list of Eder's published works, including their full titles. To conserve space, these titles will where appropriate be referred to throughout the text in a shortened form.

³ Appendix II contains a full list of these surviving letters.

1587, he was a Wittelsbach-protected Bavarian agent based at the Viennese court of the rival Habsburgs. Throughout the entire period, Georg Eder remained a determinedly lay Catholic whose efforts to promote his faith made him more active than many members of the Catholic clergy itself.

This thesis is an attempt to draw together the broad range of sources and the often conflicting aspects of Eder's life, through a detailed study of the religious belief and survival of a prominent Catholic layman in late sixteenth-century Vienna. As such, this thesis performs a number of functions. On one level, it is a recovery of details of the fluctuating career of one of Vienna's highest profile figures, active during a key phase of the city's confessional and political history. In a broader sense, however, this study adds to the wider canon of Reformation scholarship. It reassesses the true extent and nature of Catholicism in the Viennese court and city of the 1550s, 1560s, 1570s and 1580s. It reveals for the first time the interest in, and influence over, events in Vienna on the part of the neighbouring Wittelsbach Dukes of Bavaria, and in particular their determination that Catholic orthodoxy survive. Most importantly of all, however, this thesis highlights the little-examined role of influential laity such as Eder in advancing the cause of Catholic reform in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Because of the significance of this contribution to Reformation historiography, chapter one opens with an overview of the rich sources on which it is based, along with a discussion of the state of existing scholarship.⁴ The first chapter

⁴ In similar vein, the entire thesis is supported by two appendices which provide further detail on these sources. Appendix I contains copies of the only two images of Eder that survive, as well as

further outlines how analysis of Eder's life and career will add to this existing work. The remaining four chapters are therefore ostensibly focused on different aspects and phases of Eder's life, but also point to these broader themes that impact on the wider field of Reformation historiography.

Chapter two, for example, 'Eder's Vienna, 1550-1573', examines the first 23 years of Eder's career in Vienna, when his star was firmly in the ascendant. The chapter outlines the striking degree of prominence reached by Eder within the Habsburg court, Vienna University, and, by implication, the city as a whole. The same chapter also sets up the central question that runs throughout the thesis: how could a Catholic survive and succeed in such an environment? This chapter uses Eder's career to demonstrate that, despite the religious concessions wrung from the Austrian Habsburgs to protect their own authority, the Viennese court of the second half of the sixteenth century remained fundamentally pro-Catholic. Indeed, the path of Eder's career highlights the presence of numerous Catholic colleagues ranked just as highly as Eder. The Catholicism of the court was, however, anti-Roman in that it was concerned above all with the protection of Habsburg prerogative and the avoidance of confessional extremes. Because of this, chapter two reveals a second crucial factor in Eder's survival for the first two decades of his Viennese career: his demonstration of great ability to serve the Habsburg dynasty in a fashion that enhanced the authority of the Imperial image.

a copy of the title page of the notorious 1573 edition of his Evangelische Inquisition and an early, handwritten draft of the title page of another of his Catholic works. Appendix II is comprised of a full list of all known correspondence written by, to, or directly concerning Eder between 1573 and 1587. This list is intended not only to demonstrate the range of sources from which this material has been extracted, but is also fully referenced for the benefit of future researchers.

Chapter three, 'Eder's Catholicism: Service and Condemnation, 1523-1573', complements the chapter that precedes it. It suggests through the case of Eder that such service to the secular authority, even one frequently in conflict with Rome, was not necessarily mutually exclusive with service to Catholicism. Chapter three acts, furthermore, as a valuable and rare case study of the role a member of the laity could play in advancing Catholic reform in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It reveals the extent of Jesuit influence on Eder from late adolescence, and his subsequent service to the faith in Vienna through works and writing. The same chapter also relates, however, how such activities ultimately ran counter to Eder's Habsburg employers' conception of Christian service. Eder's involvement in 1573 in the writing of a polemical Catholic work, Evangelische Inquisition, almost brought his career in Vienna to a sharp end.⁵ The book attracted an angry condemnation from the Emperor Maximilian II, and Eder found himself suddenly reliant on the protection of the Habsburgs' rivals, the Wittelsbach Dukes of Bavaria.

Chapter four, entitled 'The Wittelsbach Correspondent, 1573-1587' examines the aftermath of this Imperial condemnation. For Eder, the Imperial response ushered in a new phase of his life in which he became increasingly disillusioned with the exercise of the very Habsburg authority that he had so long sought to defend. This disillusionment, as expressed through Eder's subsequent voluminous correspondence with his Bavarian protectors, casts new light on

⁵ Evangelische Inquisition Wahrer und falscher Religion Wider Das gemain unchristliche Claggeschray. Das schier niemand mehr wissen Künde, wie oder was er glauben solle: In forma aines Christlichen Rathschlags, wie ein jeder Christen mensch seines Glaubens halben ganzlich vergißt und gesichert Sein moge: Dermassen, daß er leichtlich nit künde Betrogen noch verfurt

several wider issues. Particularly telling is the fact that it is to the Wittelsbachs that Eder turns for support, as a surrogate secular power who will be more consistent supporters of Catholic reform than the wavering Habsburgs. Chapter four's revelation that Eder did not only correspond with his new Bavarian patrons over his personal career crisis of 1573, but that this correspondence continued frequently and regularly until Eder's death fourteen years later, demonstrates one way in which such a change of allegiance could operate in the early modern period. Eder won the Wittelsbachs' favour by relaying the information they desired concerning every aspect of the religious situation in Vienna, including the position of the Emperor. That Eder was only one of several such Vienna-based Bavarian informants is another way in which his case casts significant new light on the much wider picture, revealing the sheer extent of Bavarian interest in events at the rival court.

The fifth and final chapter, entitled 'A Career Revived, 1573-1587', looks again at Eder's relationship with the Wittelsbach Dukes but focuses on the impact of that patronage for the recommencement of Eder's rapidly aborted service to the church. In these final years, Eder's efforts for the church not only benefited immensely from constant Bavarian support, but his ongoing relationship with the Jesuits helped re-ignite his career as a writer of Catholic pedagogical works. That Eder maintained such links, while rejecting a proffered bishopric in the same period, reconfirms the role a layman could have in the defence of Catholicism; his involvement in the education of future generations of Catholics points to the long-term nature of such a contribution. As a result, this chapter,

werden, (Sebald Mayer, Dillingen, 1573; anonymous, new edition, 1574; David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, new edition, 1580).

like those before it, not only reconstructs the belief and survival of one man, significant as he was, but raises wider themes, most notably that of the role, potential and realised, of Catholic laity in the later sixteenth century.

Chapter One

Sources, Historiography and Methodology

As indicated in the introduction, the reasons for conducting this study of the life of Georg Eder lie in the intriguing nature of Eder's career, and the richness of evidence that survives him. Both have been thus far insufficiently researched and under-employed, and fresh analysis of such a life in such an environment will be a fruitful addition to existing historiography.¹ This opening chapter will establish the extent and value of the source material relevant to Georg Eder's life as well as the ways in which a study of such a life will contribute to existing scholarship. It will conclude with some comments on the methodological approach through which this will be achieved.

There has been some examination of Eder's career in the four centuries since his death, and recent literature suggests, rightly, that his was a significant role in the Vienna of the 1570s and 1580s. In Howard Louthan's 1997 work on the court of Emperor Maximilian II, Eder is characterised as 'the most vociferous and effective opponent of the irenic faction'.² In the light of this opposition Louthan highlights the content of Eder's most controversial work, Evangelische Inquisition, while Robert Evans' seminal 1979 work, The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, includes a description of Eder as '...our most candid

¹ The most recent work that refers to Eder is Paula Sutter Fichtner's latest work, Emperor Maximilian II (Yale University Press, 2001). His appearances in this work are, however, brief and based mainly on Karl Schrauf's published edition of Eder's letters, discussed below.

² Howard Louthan, The Quest For Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna (Cambridge, 1997), p. 127.

witness for the 1580s'.³ Evans goes on to use quotations from Eder's Bavarian correspondence to support his argument.⁴

Pertinent as these latest treatments of Eder have been, however, such appearances in recent secondary literature are few and fleeting.⁵ In this they reflect a pattern set by much older studies, published mainly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which Eder's role is discussed in the following terms: for the warmth of his relationship with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church;⁶ for his literary career and in particular his role in the Evangelische Inquisition crisis;⁷ or for his position at Vienna University.⁸

³ Louthan examines Eder's 1573 Evangelische Inquisition pp. 127-129. R.J.W. Evans, The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550-1700 (Oxford, 1979), p.63.

⁴ For example, Evans quotes Eder's comments on how 'In affairs of religion everyone does as he pleases, and thus something like peace obtains between the parties' to describe the situation of 'widespread de facto toleration', *ibid.*, p.13.

⁵ Evans hints at the significance of Eder's life but goes no further than to intriguingly describe him as 'helped by undoubted talent and good connections in Munich rather than by his cantankerous religiosity' and as a man who 'devoted his literary oeuvre, correspondence, and professional persuasiveness to disinterested advocacy of the Roman cause', *ibid.*, p. 42. The only work exclusively dedicated to Eder in recent years is an unpublished dissertation by Katharina Kronberger, 'Der Reichshofrat Dr Georg Eder und sein Werk "Evangelische Inquisition"', (Diplomarbeit, University of Vienna, 1995). This dissertation is of limited value in that it is highly derivative of the century-old works described below.

⁶ Works that bear at least brief witness to early recognition of Eder's ties with the Catholic hierarchy and the Society of Jesus are: Bernhard Duhr, Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vol. I Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI. Jahrhundert (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907); Johannes Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters vol. 4 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1885); Antonius Socher, S.J., Historia Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu Pars Prima (Vienna, 1740); Theodor Wiedemann, Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation im Lande unter der Enns (vols. 2 and 4, Prague 1880 and 1884).

⁷ Such works include: Michael Denis, Wiens Buchdruckergeschicht bis M.D.L.X., 2 vols., Vienna, 1782 and 1793; Anton Maria Kobolt, Baierisches Gelehrten Lexikon (1795) vols. I and II; Anton Mayer's Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte vol. I 1482-1682 (Vienna, 1883); B. Raupach, Evangelisches Oesterreich, das ist. Historische Nachricht von den vornehmsten Schicksalen der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirchen in dem Ertz-Hertzogthum Oesterreich (Hamburg, 1736).

⁸ Earlier works with information on Eder's career at Vienna University include: Joseph Ritter von Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität. Die Wiener Universität und Ihre Gelehrten,

While these themes are not incorrect, no single work has, however, examined in any depth how all of these aspects of his career interacted with one another in the environment in which he lived. 1895 did see an attempt to synthesise the existing material, in a number of articles by N. Paulus entitled 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder. Ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts'.

Unfortunately, this series was limited by its exclusive concentration on the public face of Eder and a failure to utilise the full range of primary sources available.⁹ One year before Paulus' articles on Eder were published, the Director of the Vienna University archive, Dr Karl Schrauf, had also scribbled the promising words 'Für Biographie Geo. Eders' on the front cover of a folder. After ten years and 135 pages of painstaking work, however, these notes terminate suddenly.¹⁰ In 1904 Schrauf died, and the efforts of what turned out to be Georg Eder's most recent would-be biographer are a series of incomplete notes now stored in a filing cabinet at the Archiv der Universität Wien.

The absence of a substantial study of Eder's life is mirrored by, and in part a result of, the lack of a reliable guide through the extant source material. Just

1520 bis 1565 (Vienna, 1888); Joannes Joseph Locher, Speculum Academicum Viennense, seu Magistratus Antiquissimae et Celeberrime Universitatis Viennensis. A Primo Ejusdem auspicio ad nostra Tempora Chronologice, Historice, et Lemmatice, exhibitus a D. Joanne Josepho Locher J.U.D. vol. I (Vienna, 1773), vol. II (Vienna 1774), vol. III (Vienna, 1775); R.P. Sebastiano Mitterdorffer, Conspectus Historiae Universitatis Viennensis Ex Actis (Vol. II, 1724, vol. III, 1725).

⁹ N. Paulus, 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder. Ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts', Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland, 115 (1895), pp. 13-28, pp. 81-94, p. 240.

¹⁰ Many thanks are due to the current holder of Karl Schrauf's post, Dr Kurt Mühlberger, for allowing me to examine this folder of notes. It is presently housed at the Archiv der Universität Wien under the signature 'Altes Biographisches Material-Eder'. The last page bearing Schrauf's script is the recto side of a page numbered 135.

before he died, Karl Schrauf did have some of his research on Eder published, in Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung. Als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich, vol 1, 1573-1578, a useful collection of 109 letters written to, by and concerning Eder. These are, however, restricted in that they are heavily focused on the flurry of communication immediately following the Emperor's furious reaction to Eder's Evangelische Inquisition.¹¹

The work of two other editors from the same period also failed to complete the task of utilising the full extent of Eder's Bavarian correspondence. The 1885 contribution of Felix Stieve was always going to be limited, consisting as it did of a mere five-letter sample of the much wider total collection.¹² The publication of a third and final edition of Eder's Bavarian correspondence in 1909, however, was a much more ambitious effort. Victor Bibl's 'Die Berichte des Reichshofrates Dr Georg Eder an die Herzoge Albrecht und Wilhelm von Bayern über die Religionskrise in Niederösterreich (1579-1587)' consists of 68 of the reports, written by Eder either to Duke Albrecht or his successor Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, between 1579 and 1587.¹³

¹¹ Published Vienna, 1904, Karl Schrauf's 'Vorwort' to his edition of Eder's letters betrays this wish to focus on the crisis that resulted from the publication of Eder's Evangelische Inquisition. His coverage of material begins with the Imperial Decree against Eder, published 2 October 1573, and ends with a letter from Eder to Duke Albrecht dated 30 December 1578.

¹² Felix Stieve, 'Briefe des Reichshofrates Dr G. Eder zur Geschichte Rudolfs II und der Gegenreformation in Österreich unter der Enns', MIÖG, 6 (1885), pp. 440-449.

¹³ Victor Bibl (ed.), 'Die Berichte des Reichshofrates Dr Georg Eder an die Herzoge Albrecht und Wilhelm von Bayern über die Religionskrise in Niederösterreich (1579-1587)', Jb.f.Lk.v.NÖ, Neue Folge 8 (1909), pp. 67-154. The first letter in Bibl's edition is dated 17 February 1579, while the last is dated 14 March 1587.

There is no doubt that Bibl's collection of Eder's letters, like that of Schrauf, is a piece of careful scholarship that provides a valuable insight into Eder's perspective on the situation in which he lived. The very selective editing on Bibl's part must, however, be taken into equal account. Unlike Schrauf, whose Vorwort indicates his concern to allow the sources to speak in full, Bibl excised substantial passages from almost three-quarters of the letters in his collection.¹⁴ The resultant compilation of source material, like the other century-old works on the same topic, fails to capture the full complexity of Eder's position.

The research on which this thesis is based, however, reveals the full extent and value of Georg Eder's documentary legacy. Not only has the aforementioned Bavarian correspondence now been enumerated and evaluated, but further source materials relating to Eder's career in Vienna and to his relationship with the hierarchy of the Catholic church have also been uncovered and employed for the first time. The resulting, greatly enlarged body of evidence allows for a fresh reconstruction of the career of Georg Eder, and points to a life of significance

¹⁴ My own research indicates that approximately 50 of the 68 letters in Bibl's edition had substantial amounts of original material missing. Examples can range from the loss of the seven-line postscript (BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Signature 4241, Tom. XI, fol. 92v) excluded from Bibl's edition of a letter from Eder to Duke Albrecht dated 25 March 1579, 'Die Berichte ...' pp. 73-75, to much more serious losses. For example, a total of 16 folio pages from a letter from Eder to Duke Wilhelm dated 1 December 1579 are present in the original (BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Signature 4241, Tom. XI, fol. 180r-187r), but not in Bibl's version of the same, 'Die Berichte...' pp. 99-100. For Schrauf, this was bad practice. He wrote that he had the impression 'dass die vorliegenden Aktenstücke zu inhaltsreich und zu wertvoll sind, um bloss für eine Biographie excerpiert oder in Regestenform zerpfückt und zerfasert, halb veröffentlicht und halb weggeworfen zu werden, wie dies gerade in letzter Zeit vielfach Mode geworden ist', *Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung*, p. vi.

not only within the sphere of late sixteenth-century Vienna, but also at the Bavarian court and indeed throughout the wider European Catholic network.

The research entailed in this project has, firstly, greatly enhanced the existing picture of the nature of Eder's relationship with the Dukes of Bavaria, the near neighbours and close rivals of his Habsburg employers in Vienna. It is now clear that Eder wrote more and fuller letters to the Wittelsbach Dukes than had previously been utilised by the likes of Schrauf and Bibl. My research in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv has identified and re-examined the substantial passages excluded by Bibl from his published collection of Eder's letters. A further 23 of Eder's letters to the Wittelsbachs wholly unused by any of his previous editors were also uncovered, bringing the known number of letters sent from Eder to the Wittelsbachs between 1577 and 1587 to a total of 123.¹⁵ Revealingly, the same research additionally suggests that there may well have been even more letters sent by Eder to the Wittelsbachs in the same period which have not survived: a folder marked 'Vermischte Einzelkeiten Nachträge' contains short summaries of two of Eder's letters that had apparently been dated 31 October 1581 and 19 April 1582, but which are no longer extant.¹⁶ Still preserved, however, is another previously unused manuscript: a copy of a

¹⁵ These letters were extracted from analysis of the BHStA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv Status Ecclesiasticus: Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Signature 4240, Tom. X, Signature 4241, Tom. XI and Signature 4242 (Tom. XII), and date from 8 January 1579 to 18 April 1587. These letters will be discussed fully in chapter four, as will all aspects of Eder's relationship with the Wittelsbach Dukes.

¹⁶ BHStA, Staatsverwaltung: Signature 1931 fol. 20r-v. The letters appear to have concerned a Landtag.

Ratschlag given by Eder in his legal capacity to Duke Wilhelm in Munich and dated 26 October 1580.¹⁷

Further sources from the same archive also throw light on Eder's connection with the Dukes of Bavaria. Eder was not their only Vienna-based correspondent: he was one of a number who sent reports to the Bavarian court throughout this period of confessional and political tension. As the material filed under *Korrespondenzakten: Auswärtige Residenten* suggests, at least six others were compiling reports from Vienna for the Bavarian Dukes during the same period in which Eder acted as correspondent. These included Reichshofräte Johann Hegenmüller and Timotheus Jung; Reichshofrat and Reichsvizekanzler Siegmund Viehauser; Kanzleischreiber Georg Ehrenpreis; Sekretär der deutschen Expedition Andreas Erstenberger, and Passau Official and eventual Bishop of Vienna, Melchior Khlesl. The wider holdings of the Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv further suggest a significant level of Wittelsbach interest in the affairs of all courts, but in particular that of the Emperor. There survive more than 21,000 pages of reports sent to the Wittelsbachs between 1552 and 1595, approximately half of which concern news from the various Habsburg courts.¹⁸ That Eder's letters form part of this information network flowing from Vienna to Munich suggest an even more intriguing role on his part.

The identification of previously unused material relating to Eder's relationship with the Catholic hierarchy in Rome as well as with leading members of the Society of Jesus suggests a second important realm in which Eder was active.

¹⁷ BHStA, Jesuitica 960.

Unlike the evidence relating to Eder's Bavarian connection, barely any substantial material had been uncovered in this area. Some sources required little excavation: that Eder's religious writings had gained him at least the notional attention of two Popes, Pius V in 1568 and Gregory XIII in 1580, is plainly evident from the letters printed at the start of the books Eder had published in these years.¹⁹ Of greater political import, however, are the nuncio reports in which Eder is also mentioned. That these total 99 separate reports, written between 19 June 1567 and 20 August 1585, offers telling evidence of the extent of interest Eder's fluctuating fortunes drew from Rome.²⁰

Numerically less striking but nonetheless highly significant is the existence of further material, again unused and unmentioned by any of Eder's previous historians, pointing to his career-long association with key members of the

¹⁸ BHStA, Korrespondenzakten: Auswärtige Residenten signatures 4292-4347.

¹⁹ The first edition of Eder's 714 page Oeconomia Bibliorum (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582) was apparently noted by Pope Pius V, as all three subsequent editions of the work open with his letter of praise to Eder dated 2 January 1569. Both editions of another pedagogical work from the latter part of Eder's career, Malleus Haereticorum (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1580; Sartorius, Ingolstadt, new edition, 1581) are also prefaced by a letter, this time dated February 1580 from Eder to Pope Gregory XIII, fol. 2*r-**7v. A further, manuscript copy of this letter is held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 11 648, fol. 92v-96r. Eder's Catholicism will be discussed in detail in chapter three.

²⁰ These two letters are printed in Ignaz Philipp Dengel (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1560-1572 part 2, vol. 6, (Vienna, 1939), pp. 76-78 and Robert Reichenberger (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1585 (1584)-1590, part 2, Die Nuntiatur am Kaiserhofe. Erste Hälfte (Paderborn, 1905), pp. 147-149, respectively. It is worth noting that Eder's career also drew interest from Madrid: his predicament in Vienna is named in letters from the Count of Monteagudo to Philip II dated 18 October and 25 December 1573, in Martin Fernandez de Navarrete (ed.), Por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle (Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España) (Madrid, 1842), vol. 111 pp. 332-339 and pp. 346-350 respectively. The significance of these will be discussed in chapter four.

Society of Jesus. Otto Braunsberger's magnificent eight volume collection of sources relating to Peter Canisius reveals a total of seventeen letters in which Eder is mentioned, the first in a letter by Canisius himself, dated as early as 1544.²¹ Materials housed at the Jesuit archive in Rome bear further witness to Eder's connections with the Jesuits. There survive three letters from 1573, two of which are from Eder to General Mercurian, and another of which is a discussion of Eder's situation in Vienna sent to Mercurian from the Jesuit Provincial Magius.²²

It is however evidence relating to Eder's life in the city from which all of these Bavarian, Roman and Jesuit relations were conducted – Vienna – that represents the most varied source base. Eder's career in Vienna was not only long, beginning in 1550 and continuing up to his death 37 years later, but extremely active. Eder held a number of positions in Vienna University over a large part of this time, and at the Habsburg court spent substantial periods as both a member of the Hofkammer and Reichshofrat as well as Kammerprokurator to the Lower Austrian government.²³ As a result his name appears in a wide and complex variety of materials, which reveal much of the status of Eder's career there throughout the period under examination.

²¹ Otto Braunsberger (ed.), *Beati Petri Canisii, Societatis Iesu, Epistulae et Acta* (Freiburg, 8 vols, 1896-1923). The first specific reference to Eder is in a letter sent from Cologne by Canisius to Peter Faber dated 30 December 1544 (vol. I, p. 126). The last is from a letter from Canisius to General Mercurian dated 19 July 1574 (vol. VII, p. 226).

²² Many thanks are due to Professor Gernot Heiss of the University of Vienna for obtaining copies of these letters for me, and indeed for alerting me to their existence. *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (ARSI), *Epistolae Germaniae* 153: fol. 56r-58v (Eder to Mercurian, 5 May 1573), fol. 293r-294r (Eder to Mercurian, 28 October 1573), fol. 235rv (Provincial Magius to Mercurian, 4 October 1573).

²³ Eder's career in Vienna will be examined in detail in chapter two.

The sources indicate such details as which posts Eder held in Vienna, when he held them, what his responsibilities were and the names of those with whom he had to deal. Some of this material from the Vienna University archives had already been edited and published, including the matriculation registers and also transcripts from the records of the Faculty of Medicine for the period when Eder was rector.²⁴ Similar material from the Theology and Philosophy Faculties had not, and remained in manuscript form.²⁵ The Hofkammerarchiv and Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, however, contained the bulk of the relevant material.²⁶ Regarding Eder's role at the Habsburg court, the holdings of the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv revealed a number of as yet unpublished Hofstaaten in which Eder's name appears.²⁷ Similar work was done at the Hofkammerarchiv, where material from *Expedit. Regist. nō* also indicated how long Eder had served within the Hofkammer, and in what capacity.²⁸

²⁴ Franz Gall and Willy Szaivert (eds.), Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien. I Abteilung. Die Matrikel der Universität Wien vol. III 1518/II- 1579/I (Vienna, Cologne, Graz, 1971) and vol. IV 1579/II-1658/59 (1974)); Karl Schrauf (ed.), Acta Facultatis Medicae Universitatis Vindobonensis III 1490-1558 (Vienna, 1904); L. Senfelder (ed.), Acta Facultatis Medicae Universitatis Vindobonensis IV 1558-1604 (Vienna, 1908). In addition, Albert Starzer's 'Fortsetzung' in his own edition of Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Part I, vol. 5, (Vienna, 1906), pp. 11-397, contains a transcript from the minutes of the Consistorium of 7 December 1569 detailing aspects of Eder's administration (No. 5480, p. 128).

²⁵ UAW, Theol. Akten Th3 1508-49 and Th4 1567-1644, Microfilm signature 075; Th15 1395-1549 and Th16 1569-1666, Microfilm signature 076. UAW Phil. Akten Ph9 1497-1559 and Ph10 1559-1616, Microfilm signature 066.

²⁶ I am grateful to Dr Michael Hochedlinger for his friendly guidance through the intricacies of the Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv.

²⁷ HHStA, Hofarchiv: Hofstaatsverzeichnis O Me A /SR 183 (1563-1600): Nr 50 fol. 6r; Nr 56 fol. 1v, December 1574 and December 1576 respectively. Eder's name also appears in three Hofstaaten edited by Thomas Fellner and Heinrich Kretschmayr, in Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung I Abteilung Von Maximilian I. bis zur vereinigung der Österreichischen und Böhmisches Hofkanzlei (1749) vol 2 Aktenstücke 1491-1681 (Vienna, 1907). These date from 1563 (p. 183), 1567 (p.188), and 1576 (p.193). The Hofstaatsverzeichnis for 1567 only exists in manuscript form in the ÖNB, Bibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. 14458 fol. 5v.

²⁸ HKA, *Expedit. Regist. nō* 26 (1552), 30 (1554), 37 (1557), 41 (1558), 42 (1558), 45 (1559), 48 (1560), 50 (1561), 51 (1561), 52 (1561), 54 (1562), 56 (1562), 64 (1564), 68 (1565), 71

The finer details of Eder's court career could be traced still further, however. Samples of material from the Reichshofrat Protokolle offered a precise record of which Reichshofrat sessions Eder attended and with whom, while Eder himself left a report of his own work as Kammerprokurator to the Lower Austrian government in the form of 'Die Relationen des nō Kammerprokurators Dr Georg Eder 1561'.²⁹ Research in the Hofkammerarchiv also revealed something of the status of Eder's work: there exist three previously unused letters sent from the Emperor Ferdinand I to Eder in 1559, while the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv revealed another such missive from the same year.³⁰ In addition, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek holds the only manuscript copy of a document mentioned by just one of Eder's past historians. Entitled 'Consilia doctorum Viennensium Philippi Gundelii, Georgii Eder et Georgii Gienger 'in negotio imperii adversus objecta papae' et quidem pro Ferdinando I imperatore contra Paulus IV papam', the document was part

(1566), 72 (1567), 76 (1567), 80 (1568), 84 (1569), 85 (1570), 90 (1570), 95 (1571), 98 (1572), 100 (1573), 103 (1574), 107 (1575), 108 (1575), 132 (1582), 136 (1583), 145 (1586).

²⁹ HHStA, RHR Protocollum rerum resolutarum XVI 26a (January 1565-April 1569), 36a (January 1572- December 1574), 37 (January-December 1573), 38 (January-December 1574), 39 (August 1574-December 1575), 41 (January 1575- December 1577), 42 (January-November 1577), 44 (August 1577-March 1578), 45 (December 1577- October 1579), 47 (January 1578-December 1580), 48A (October 1579- December 1582), 50 (January 1581-December 1584), 51 (June 1582- January 1583). 'Die Relationen des nō Kammerprokurators Dr Georg Eder' (2 vols.) comes from K und K Reichsfinanzarchiv Cod. Mscr. Nro 22.D but was transcribed in the nineteenth century into two volumes now housed in the HHStA as part of the Graf Chorinsky Quellensammlung.

³⁰ HKA, Reichsakten Fasz. 150/A: fol. 351 r/v (3 May 1559), fol. 353 r-v (5 June 1559), fol. 355r (8 July 1559). HHStA, Staatenabteilung Italien Rom Varia 1551-1559 Fasz. 2 (alt 1,2) fol. 9r: 3 March 1559.

composed by Eder in his capacity as a jurist for the Emperor Ferdinand I in 1558.³¹

The sources resulting from Eder's life in Vienna do not, however, reveal only the significance of his court or university career. Research in Vienna's Diözesanarchiv revealed the existence of seven previously unused letters exchanged between Eder and the local Catholic bishop, Johann Neuböck, between 29 May 1581 and 12 April 1586.³² The same archive also reveals Eder's involvement in the selection of Melchior Khlesl as Passau Official in 1579.³³ In addition, Albert Starzer edited documents in which Eder's concern for the religious life of the city can further be seen.³⁴ All of these materials, however, must be regarded synoptically with a final major range of sources that also stem from Eder's career in Vienna and which also, until now, have been inadequately examined. These are Eder's own published works, the extent and nature of which are here accurately listed for the first time, and which add another crucial layer of understanding to Eder's career in Vienna and his association with Bavaria, Rome and the Society of Jesus.

³¹ Although unused by any historian thus far, there is a reference to this work in Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität, p. 175. The only surviving copy exists in manuscript at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. 8727.

³² Johann Weißensteiner of Vienna's Diözesanarchiv is due thanks for helping me locate the material relevant to Eder: Bischofsakten Johann Kaspar Neuböck (1574-1594): Kop. Reg. Nr 101-200 (1582-93), letters 133 and 138; Epistolare des Bischofs Neuböck (1578-1582) Signature: WP (Wiener Protokolle) 9, Standort I B 1. Numbers 55 (69), 57 (71), 77 (93), 92 (113), 97 (119).

³³ Bischofsakten Melchior Khlesl (1598-1630): Kop. Reg. Nr 1-100 (1555-84), letters 33 and 34. These letters were dated 20 June and 17 July 1579 respectively.

³⁴ In Albert Starzer's 'Regesten aus dem k.k. Archive für Niederösterreich (Statthaltereiarchiv),' in Anton Mayer (ed.), Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien Part I, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1895), 210-278, Eder's name appears in documents dated 24 May 1573 (No. 1138, p 242-243) and 29 August 1579 (No. 1199, p 265). Their contents will be discussed in chapter three.

Eder's earlier historians were all aware that he was the author of a number of works, but scant attention had been paid to this important aspect of Eder's career. Paulus came closest to providing a full inventory of Eder's writings, but even he failed to mention three titles.³⁵ Other existing bibliographies of Eder's publications were often riddled with inaccuracies.³⁶ Examination of the library catalogues of all major European libraries indicated that between them, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek in Munich, and the British Library in London together held at least one copy of all editions of Eder's surviving published works. Approximately 90 copies of Eder's publications were consulted in these three locations, the result of which survey makes Eder a writer more prolific than any of his previous historians had recognised.³⁷ Georg Eder was the author of 22 titles published in four separate decades and composed for various purposes: as a university rector, as a Catholic educator, and as a Catholic polemicist.

³⁵ N. Paulus, 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder'. Paulus omits Eder's Orationes sex In Celeberrimo Archigymnasio Viennen... (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559), his Orationes II, Gratulatoriae, Ad Rudolphum Sereniss: Ac Potentiss: Regem Hungariae, & Archiducem Austriae, & C. D. Imperat: Max:II. Filium... (Stephan Creutzer, Vienna, 1573) and his Symbolum der Evangelischen Predicanten... (Prague, 1585).

³⁶ For example, J.J. Bauer in his Bibliothecae Librorum Rariorum Universalis Supplementorum Oder des vollständigen Verzeichnißes rarer Büccher vol. I, (Nuremberg, 1774), p.40 asserted that there was a further edition of Eder's Orationes sex In Celeberrimo Archigymnasio Viennen... from 1569. There may have been a copy in Bauer's day that is no longer extant, but that no library catalogue at all records this work casts doubt that it ever existed. Both Paulus ('Hofrath Dr Georg Eder', p.26) and Anton Maria Kobolt (Baierisches Gelehrten Lexikon vol. I (1795), p.183.) also assert the existence of a Venetian edition of Eder's Oeconomia Bibliorum... from 1577. Similarly, there is no remaining evidence that any such work existed.

³⁷ It should be noted that this project was never intended to include a formal bibliographic survey of Eder's published works: the concern was with the content of his writings and the circumstances of their composition rather than their printing history. Some of the tools of bibliographers have however been employed to ascertain exactly how many editions of his works were produced, and when.

Ten of the speeches Eder made in his capacity as Vienna University rector survive. Some of these were made solely for the occasion of doctoral promotions, but others marked moments of greater note: the funeral of a military hero, the funeral of an Emperor, the accession of another Emperor and the proclamation of a new King of Hungary.³⁸ Four of these speeches were even collected and reprinted in an abbreviated form in 1559 as Orationes sex In Celeberrimo Archigymnasio Viennen...³⁹ Another collection of speeches, Laurea Poetica, points to Eder's ability even amongst the talented rhetoricians of late sixteenth-century Vienna, as does his authorship of the Catalogus Rectorum, an attempt to chart aspects of the history of the city's university.⁴⁰

³⁸ Speeches made by Eder for doctoral promotions include: Ius Non Opinione Inductum, Sed Natura Constitutum... dum Petro Rotio Doctoream dignitatem in U.I. conferret... (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1557); Ad Rubricam Codicis De Summa Trinitate... Dum Clarissimis uiris, D. Ioanni Schuartzentaler, ac D. Martino Puschman Neapolitanis &c. in V.I. Doctorea Conferret insignia... (Iohannis Vuolrab, Buda, 1570) and Quaerela Iustitiae, Lites nunc fieri omnio fere Immortales. In Coronatione Magnifici Nobilis & Clarissimi Viri, Domini Alexii Strauss, V.I. Doctoris Academiae Viennensis pro tempore Rectoris. Per D. Georg Ederum (Stephanus Creuzer, Vienna, 1581). The two funeral orations made by Eder are: Georgii Eder De Illustriss. Principis et D.D. Nicolai Comitisa Salm & Neuburg ad Oenum, S. Ces & Reg. Ro. Mai. A Consiliis secretioribus, militiae & exercitus per Hungariam Ducis supremi & c. viri antiqua virtute & religione clarissimi, morte intempestiua & occasu lamentabili Oratio Funebris... (Egidius Aquila, Vienna, 1551) and Luctus Archigymnasii Viennen: Pro Funere D. Caroli Quinti Ro. Imperatoris Augustissimi, Patriae Patris feliciss... (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559). His speech on the accession of Ferdinand I as Holy Roman Emperor is Triumphus D. Ferdinando I. Ro. Imperator invictiss. P.P. Augustiss. Archigymnasii Viennensis nomine pro foelicibus Imperii auspiciis renunciatus... (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1558) while that on Rudolf's accession as King of Hungary was entitled Orationes II. Gratulatoriae. Ad Rudolphum Sereniss: Ac Potentiss: Regem Hungariae. & Archiducem Austriae... (Stephan Creutzer, Vienna, 1573).

³⁹ Orationes sex In Celeberrimo Archigymnasio Viennen... (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559), contains the speech made on the promotion of a Rotis as well as those from the funerals of Charles V and Salm and that made on the accession of Ferdinand I as Holy Roman Emperor. It also contains two further 'promotion' speeches which do not appear to have been published separately elsewhere: Politicum ordine etiam in ecclesia retinendum esse, & quid ad rem conferat Iurisprudentia: habita Vien: in aedibus D. Stephani dum clariss: viro D. Marco Faschang Doctoream dignitatem in V.I. conferret. I Octobris Anno M. D. LV. and De Maiestate legum & ordinum sive gradu dignitate & vsu, Qua Excellent iss: viro D. Laurentio Leemanno Greucarum literarum professori Doctorea dignitas in VI. ab Authore in tertio Rectoratu suo collata fuit. XIX. Ianuarii Anno M.D.LIX.

⁴⁰ Laurea poetica. ex caesareo privilegio in celeberrimo archigymnasio Viennensi tribus nuper viris eruditiss: Eliae Corvino, Ioanni Lauterbachio, & Vito Iacobaeo, in maxima Reuerendissimorum Principum, Comitum, Baronum, Nobilium, ac doctissimorum hominum

Such displays of learning and status were with one exception published in Vienna and with only three exceptions all come from the 1550s, at the outset of Eder's career.⁴¹ Most striking about the bibliography of Eder's writings however is the extent to which it is dominated for the last two decades of his life by purely religious works. There survive a total of twelve of Eder's Catholic instructional and polemical writings, published in two quite distinct phases.⁴² The first phase, from 1568 until 1573, saw the publication of five religious titles by Eder, almost all in Latin and almost all of which were first published in Cologne.⁴³ The one exception to this, 1573's Evangelische Inquisition was the work that brought a temporary halt to Eder's writing, such was the level of

frequentia, summa cum gratulatione collata. A Paulo Fabricio, Caesaris et archiducum austriacae mathematico. Medicinae Doctore, edita, in gratiam et honorem illustris ac generosi domini D: Sigismundi Liberi Baronis in Herberstein, Neiperg et Guetenhag. &c. Trium Imperatorum Consilarii & Oratoris amplissimi, Viri plane Heroici, ac optime de bonarum literarum studiis meriti (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1558). Catalogus Rectorum Et Illustrum Virorum Archigymnasii Viennensis... Ab anno M.CC. XXXVII usque ad annum M.D.LIX... (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559).

⁴¹ Ad Rubricam Codicis De Summa Trinitate... (Iohannis Vuolrab, Buda, 1570); Orationes II. Gratulatoriae. Ad Rudolphum Sereniss... (Stephan Creutzer, Vienna, 1573); Quaerela Iustitiae... (Stephanus Creuzer, Vienna, 1581).

⁴² Examination of the collation and pagination of one of these works, Oeconomia Bibliorum indicated that it could be counted as two separate books. This was confirmed by the existence in Munich of a copy of the 1571 version (Signature: Exeg 189) in which another book had been bound between the two parts of Eder's work. It should also be noted that these books tend to be much more substantial and more strongly bound than the flimsier speeches, suggesting that twelve is the true number of Eder's religious works while some published versions of Eder's speeches may not have survived.

⁴³ Oeconomia Bibliorum (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582); Partitiones. Catechismi. Catholici... (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582); Catechismus Catholicus Qui Antea Quidem Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini... (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1569); Compendium Catechismi Catholici... (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1570).

condemnation it received from the Emperor Maximilian II.⁴⁴ Equally striking is the speed with which and the extent to which Eder's career as a religious writer appears to have recovered. Between 1579 and 1585 seven further religious works bearing Eder's name were published, this time predominantly in Ingolstadt and revealing a greater mix between Latin and German.⁴⁵ Eder's position as a writer can however be traced through more than the mere number of titles he produced. His works were not only published in Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt but also as widely as Dillingen, Prague, Buda, Lyon and Venice.⁴⁶ Moreover his works were influential: a number of them made it into

⁴⁴ Evangelische Inquisition Wahrer und falscher Religion Wider Das gemain unchristliche Claggeschray... (Sebald Mayer, Dillingen, 1573; anonymous, new edition, 1574; David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, new edition, 1580). There has been considerable debate over the printing history of this work. Johann Vogt Catalogus Historico-Criticus Librorum rariorum, iam curis tertiis recognitas et copiosa accessione ex symbolis et collatione bibliophilorum per germaniam doctissimorum adauctus (Hamburg, 1747), p. 253, Bauer Bibliothecae Librorum Rariorum Universalis Supplementorum, p. 40 and then Kobolt, Baierisches Gelehrten Lexikon, p. 184, all maintained that the first edition was printed in 1572 as opposed to 1573. My own research has brought no such work to light, and a much more recent analyst of the Dillingen presses concurs that the first printing of the Evangelische Inquisition was not until 1573: Otto Bucher, Bibliographie der Deutschen Drucke des XVI Jahrhunderts, vol. I, Dillingen (Bad Bocklet, Vienna, Zurich, Florence, 1960), p. 159. There exists further debate over the number of editions from 1574 and their place of origin. Bauer, p. 40 and Paulus 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder', p. 81, assert that there was an edition from Cologne in 1574, printed at the press of Dietrich Baum. Another camp insist that there was an edition printed in Dillingen in 1574 but without a place name or printer's name appearing in the text: Bucher, p. 172. While such works may have existed, my own research can only confirm that existing copies from 1574 bear no indication at all of their place of origin. That their pages are however printed and bound in a completely different fashion from the earlier and later editions of the same work would suggest that the Mayer press at Dillingen and the Sartorius press at Ingolstadt are unlikely to have been the source.

⁴⁵ Das guldene Fließ Christlicher Gemain Und Gesellschaft (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1579 and reprint, 1580); Methodus Catechismi Catholici (Ioanne Parant, Lyon, 1579); Malleus Haereticorum (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1580, Sartorius, Ingolstadt, new edition, 1581); Confessio Catholica S.S. Concilii Tridentini (Ioanne Parant, Lyon, reprint, 1581), Ein Christliche Gutherzige und Notwendige Warnungsschrift (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1580), Mataeologia Haereticorum (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1581), Symbolum der Evangelischen Predicanten (Prague, 1585).

⁴⁶ It is worth noting that the work apparently printed in Buda, Ad Rubricam Codicis De Summa Trinitate, &C. Oratio Eximii atque Celeberrimi uiri, Domini Georgii Aederi Frisingensis, I.C. &c. Consiliarii Caesaris, &c. Pro Fide Catholica Habita Viennae Austriae XVI. Septembris Anno LXVIII. Dum Clarissimis uiris, D. Ioami Schuartzentaler, ac D. Martino Puschman Neapolitanis &c. in V.I. Doctorea Conferret insignia (Iohannis Vuolrab, Buda, 1570), would have been published there while the territory was under Ottoman occupation. It may be that the imprint is false.

more than one edition or went through more than one printing, while others acted as a foundation for the work of later authors.⁴⁷

This wide range and high quality of source material is of such inherent value that it offers in itself grounds for an examination of the man at its heart. A study of Georg Eder is, however, much more than a reconstructive exercise. As the above outline of available material suggests, Eder was a significant man with important religious and political connections that potentially conflicted with his career in one of the most confessionally complex environments known to historians of the early-modern period: Vienna in the later sixteenth century. Study of such a man in such a situation therefore offers a substantial contribution to existing historiography, and does so in two particularly rich and overlapping fields: that of the court and city of Vienna, and that of Catholic reform.⁴⁸ Analysis of Eder's career not only adds to existing work within these spheres, but exposes fresh areas for further work.

⁴⁷ See bibliography for full details. The Oeconomia Bibliorum..., Partitiones, Catechismi, Catholici..., Das guldene Fließ Christlicher Gemain Und Gesellschaft..., and Confessio Catholica S.S. Concilii Tridentini... were all reprinted once. The first two titles also went through two new editions as did the Evangelische Inquisition while the Malleus Haereticorum went through one. Eder's Catalogus Rectorum acted as the foundation for two updated versions from the seventeenth century: Jonas Litters, Catalogus Rectorum et illustrium virorum archigygnasii Viennensis... 1237-1644 (Vienna, 1645); Paul de Sorbait, Catalogus Rectorum et illustrium virorum archigygnasii Viennensis 1237-1669 (Vienna, 1669); *ibid.*, Catalogus Rectorum et illustrium virorum Archigygnasii Viennensis 1237-1670 (Vienna, 1670). In addition, Eder's religious writings influenced that of Heinrich Fabricius and the Jesuit Antonio Possevino: this will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

⁴⁸ Such is the extent and variety of writing on Vienna and Catholic reform in this period that this discussion can be little more than an overview of the general historiographical tendencies. It is not, however, the intention to offer an exhaustive survey of past work, but rather to demonstrate how this thesis can add to paths of examination already in existence.

The contribution of this thesis to the existing historiography of early modern Vienna's court and the city itself is a case in point.⁴⁹ The distinction between court and city in terms of a discussion of sixteenth-century Vienna's existing historiography is an apt one. Historians, particularly anglophone, have tended to regard Vienna in this period as first and foremost the setting for a Habsburg, and sometimes the Imperial, court. Such is the scope for study granted by the voluminous material relating to the court, that 'Vienna the city' as a subject in its own right has perhaps understandably come off second best.⁵⁰ Writing on the Viennese court has itself a strong history of estimable modern scholarship, from the apparent frenzy of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to recover, transcribe and edit primary sources, to the studies that continue to appear up to the present day.⁵¹ Such works have tended to focus on three closely intertwined aspects: the intellectual culture of the Habsburg court; the Catholicism of the Habsburg court; and the composition of the Habsburg court.

The character of the less tangible aspects of the culture of the Vienna court in the later sixteenth century has been best captured by the work of R.J.W. Evans,

⁴⁹ In this thesis, the phrase 'Viennese court' or 'Vienna's court' is used more or less synonymously with the arguably more precise 'Habsburg court.' This is reflective of the intimate connections between the two in Eder's day.

⁵⁰ John P. Spielman, The City and the Crown. Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600-1740 (Purdue University Press, 1993) is one of the few attempts to explicitly examine the relationship between the court and city of Vienna, in which Spielman regards the court as 'the most important resident of the city', p. 4.

⁵¹ The above-mentioned work of Schrauf, Bibl and Stieve on which this thesis partially and gratefully rests is a product of this nineteenth and early twentieth century tendency. Other edited collections of source material based on painstaking trawls through the archives include, as examples, Thomas Fellner and Heinrich Kretschmayr, Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung I Abteilung Von Maximilian I. bis zur vereinigung der Österreichischen und Böhmisches Hofkanzlei (1749) vol. 2 Aktenstücke 1491-1681 (Vienna, 1907) and the work of Lothar Gross on the holdings of the HHStA. Such work does continue, however. There is, for example, Friedrich Edelmayer and Arno Strohmeier's research on the Imperial correspondence of the

who has described the reign of Maximilian II as ‘the climax of orthodox Humanism in Austria’.⁵² Other historians have since helped elaborate on the physical manifestations of this spirit. Some studies, such as Dirk Jacob Jansen’s work on the career of the court antiquary and artist Jacopo Strada, or Zweder von Martels’ extensive research on the ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Augerius Busbequius, have approached the amorphous subject matter by examining the careers and achievements of individuals.⁵³ Others, such as Howard Louthan and Kurt Mühlberger, have studied groups within the court, Louthan by focusing on four figures whom he regards as representative of later Viennese humanism, and Mühlberger by looking at certain scholars within Vienna University, many of whom were there largely due to the proximity of Imperial patronage.⁵⁴ Another avenue has been to examine the results of such patronage, such as Thomas Kaufmann’s work on Habsburg court ceremonial

sixteenth century, the first result of which is: Friedrich Edelmayer (ed.) Die Korrespondenz der Kaiser mit ihren Gesandten in Spanien Band 1 Briefwechsel 1563-1565 (Oldenbourg, 1997).

⁵² R.J.W. Evans, Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, p. 20.

⁵³ Dirk Jacob Jansen, ‘The Instruments of Patronage. Jacopo Strada at the Court of Maximilian II: A Case-Study’ in Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, 17, 1992), pp. 182-202. Zweder von Martels has written several pieces on Busbequius based on his original dissertation in Dutch: Augerius Gislenius Busbequius. Leven en werk van de keizerlijke gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote. Een biografische, literaire en historische studie met editie van onuitgegeven teksten (Groningen, 1989). Articles in English include: ‘On His Majesty’s Service. Augerius Busbequius, Courtier and Diplomat of Maximilian II’ in Edelmayer and Kohler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II., 169-181; ‘A Stoic Interpretation of the Past: Augerius Busbequius’s description of his Experiences at the Court of Suleiman The Magnificent (1554-1562)’, Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies 2 (1993), pp.165-179; and ‘The Eye and the Eye’s Mind’ and ‘The Colouring Effect of Attic Style and Stoicism in Busbequius’s ‘Turkish Letters’’ in his Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing (Leiden, 1994), pp. xi-xvii and pp. 140-157. Martels’ focus on Busbequius has proved particularly valuable, as he has not only made vivid his subject’s contribution to the Vienna court in the fields of linguistics and botany, but demonstrated how that one man could display talent in what would today be considered discrete branches of study.

⁵⁴ Howard Louthan, The Quest For Compromise. Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna (Cambridge, 1997). Kurt Mühlberger, ‘Bildung und Wissenschaft. Kaiser Maximilian II. und die Universität Wien’, in Edelmayer and Kohler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II., pp. 203-231.

and the employment of physical display as a means of enhancing dynastic power.⁵⁵ Whatever the approach, the resulting picture has remained consistent. The intellectual culture of the Viennese court rendered it one of Europe's most important later sixteenth century centres of patronage and production for humanist scholars, particularly those of languages and all branches of natural science, as well as for practitioners of the fine arts.⁵⁶

Less consistent is the existing historiographical portrait of another equally noteworthy aspect of the Vienna court in the later sixteenth century: its Catholicism. This has been discussed most recently by Howard Louthan whose study of irenicism at the Vienna court in this period connects the culture of humanism with a seemingly prevailing if passing mood of confessional moderation.⁵⁷ Valuable as this work is, it does however underemphasise the fundamentally Catholic nature of the Habsburg *raison d'être*, temporarily and outwardly moderated to an extent by the humanist ethos, but more so tailored to reflect the political needs and independence of the Austrian branch of the dynasty from Spain and from Rome. For this reason, R.J.W. Evans' use of the term 'aulic Catholicism' remains a more helpful reflection of that of the Habsburg court in Vienna.⁵⁸ It also explains the seemingly contradictory nature

⁵⁵ Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, Variations On The Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II (London, 1978). See too Hugh Trevor-Roper, Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517-1633 (London, 1976).

⁵⁶ Aspects of this court culture would only reach their apogee in Prague after Rudolf II moved the Imperial court there. For an examination of Prague-based humanist culture under the Emperor Rudolf II, see R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II and his World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1612 (Oxford University Press, 1973). Another useful collection is E. Fucikova (ed.), Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City (London, 1997).

⁵⁷ Louthan, Quest For Compromise.

⁵⁸ Evans, Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, pp. 59-61. Evans bases this on 'the dynastic ideology of the Habsburgs...an aulic Catholicism revived by the example of Counter-

of the subsequent Austrian religious policy in which, for example, the year of 1568 alone could see both the granting of the Concession that permitted a degree of Lutheran worship within Lower Austria, but also the establishment of the Imperial Klosterrat for the reform of religious houses within the same territory.

Employment of the notion of 'aulic Catholicism' as an interpretive framework offers, furthermore, a productive alternative to the route that has tended to preoccupy the few scholars who have looked at the Catholicism of the Habsburg court in later sixteenth-century Vienna: examination of the personal piety of the Habsburg rulers themselves. Such studies have been interesting but often inconclusive. Ferdinand I's personal credentials as an orthodox Catholic have rarely been doubted, despite his role in the creation and maintenance of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555.⁵⁹ Maximilian II was however dubbed 'der rätselhafte Kaiser' in a 1929 biography by Victor Bibl.⁶⁰ It seems Bibl, like some of Maximilian's own contemporaries, found it difficult to reconcile the Emperor's upbringing and position with his apparent determination to receive communion in both kinds and his patronage of Catholics and Lutherans alike.

Reformation, especially after 1600, yet never identical with it.' The tensions underlying this will be discussed at greater length in the second part of chapter two.

⁵⁹ Paula Sutter Fichtner, 'The Disobedience of the Obedient: Ferdinand I and the Papacy, 1555-1564', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XI (1980), pp. 25-34; also her *Ferdinand of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation* (New York, 1982). In her monograph, Fichtner's restatement of the Emperor Ferdinand's ultimate if pragmatic orthodoxy echoes the position of earlier scholars including Joseph von Aschbach and Günther Stökl (Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, pp. 310-311, pp. 335-346; Stökl, 'Kaiser Ferdinand I.' in Hugo Hantsch (ed.), *Gestalter der Geschichte Österreichs* (Innsbruck/ Vienna, 1962) pp. 131-132).

⁶⁰ Victor Bibl, *Maximilian II. Der rätselhafte Kaiser. Ein Zeitbild* (Hellerau, 1929). He had already investigated this earlier, in *Zur Frage der religiösen Haltung K. Maximilians II. Sonderabdruck aus dem Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 106 (1917). Later work, such as that of Paula Sutter Fichtner, also examines this question.

Such a legacy may also explain the simple lack of scholarship on Maximilian's successor in Vienna, Archduke Ernst.⁶¹

In part due to the difficulties entailed in untangling the complexities of Imperial religious policy and the personal religious preferences of rulers, a notable trend in recent scholarship has been to focus rather on aspects of the composition of the Viennese court in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Such a course may be partly explained by the sheer volume and variety of available source material and the fact that the composition of such a court at such a moment is in itself a telling reflection of its cultural, political and religious position. Some of this work reinforces aspects of the Vienna court that have already been noted, with the studies of Louthan and Mühlberger for instance highlighting the presence of intellectuals, artists and in the case of Louthan's research, confessional moderates and varieties of Protestant. By contrast, the most recent research of Joseph Patrouch has focused on the role of female members of the Habsburg court in the promotion of Catholic reform.⁶² Other work has examined the functions of various court members, with particular interest recently on the role of Imperial ambassadors, especially those to Madrid.⁶³ Such a focus rightly

⁶¹ The only exclusive study is now more than a century old: Victor Bibl, 'Erzherzog Ernst und die Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich (1576-1590)', Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, VI Ergänzungsband (1901), pp. 575-596.

⁶² Joseph F. Patrouch, 'Ysabell/Elisabth/Alzbeta: Erzherzogin. Königin. Ein Forschungsgegenwurf', Frühneuzeit-Info 10 (1999), pp. 257-265; 'The Archduchess Elizabeth: Where Spain and Austria Met,' in Conrad Kent, Thomas Wolber and Cameron M. K. Hewitt (eds.), The Lion and the Eagle: Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries (New York and Oxford, 2000), pp. 77-90.

⁶³ On the significance of court positions and its overall structure, see R.J.W. Evans, 'The Austrian Habsburgs: The dynasty as a political institution', in A.G. Dickens (ed.), The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800 (London, 1977), pp. 121-145; R.J.W. Evans, 'The Court: A Protean Institution and an Elusive Subject', in R.G. Asch and A.M. Birke (eds.), Princes, Patronage and the Nobility (Oxford, 1991), 481-492; Volker Press, 'The Habsburg Court as Centre of the Imperial Government', Journal of Modern History, 58 (1986),

reflects the significance of the Spanish influence in Vienna, an influence treated in some depth in a recent monograph by Christopher F. Laferl.⁶⁴ Lastly, and on a related theme, attention has also been drawn to the presence and role of the nobility. Attempts have been made, for instance, to begin prosopographical studies of leading families at the Vienna court of the later sixteenth century.⁶⁵

Although the city of Vienna in the same period has not been wholly ignored, it has suffered from the lack of a comprehensive urban study. Its modern representation has instead been dependent on a variety of approaches.⁶⁶ While some have focused on the obvious political position of the city throughout the

Supplement s. 23-45, and Hubert C.H. Ehalt, Ausdrucksformen Absolutischer Herrschaft. Der Wiener Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (Vienna, 1980). Also useful is a recent volume edited by John Adamson, The Princely Courts of Europe 1500-1750 (London, 1999). Those ambassadors studied include Adam von Dietrichstein and Johann Khevenhüller, Busbequius' colleagues as Imperial diplomats in Madrid between 1564 and 1606. See: Friedrich Edelmayer, 'Habsburgische Gesandte in Wien und Madrid in der Zeit Maximilians II', in Wolfram Krömer (ed.), Spanien und Österreich in der Renaissance (Innsbruck, 1989), pp. 57-70; Friedrich Edelmayer, 'Ehre, Geld, Karriere. Adam von Dietrichstein im Dienst Kaiser Maximilians II.' in Edelmayer and Köhler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II., pp. 109-142; Susanne Herrleben, 'Zur Korrespondenz Kaiser Maximilians II. mit seinen Gesandten in Spanien (1564-1576)', *ibid.*, pp. 95-108.

⁶⁴ Laferl, Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I. 1522-1564 (Vienna, 1997). These he refers to as 'Hofspanier'.

⁶⁵ According to Markus Reisenleiter ('Vienna', The Court Historian: Newsletter for the Society of Court Studies 3, (1997), p. 11), a project entitled: 'Genealogisch-prosopographisches Informationssystem zur Geschichte der Eliten in der frühen Neuzeit in Mitteleuropa', of 1993-95, and awaiting further funding, had attempted to set up a database to demonstrate the network of leading Viennese court families in the second half of the sixteenth century. Herbert Haupt has also co-ordinated an interdisciplinary and prosopographical study of all social groups at court ('Der Wiener Hof als sozialer, realer und symbolischer Raum von Maximilian II bis Karl VI'), while Beatrix Bastl and Gernot Heiss have employed a similar approach to links between women at court in their project, 'Briefe adeliger Frauen. Beziehungen und Bezugssysteme'. Beatrix Bastl has published alone on the related theme: Tugend, Liebe, Ehre. Die adelige Frau in der Frühen Neuzeit (Vienna, 2000). On the nobility see too Karin J. MacHardy, 'Der Einfluss von Status, Konfession und Besitz auf das Politische Verhalten des Niederösterreichischen Ritterstandes 1580-1620', in Grete Klingenstein and Heinrich Lutz (eds.), Spezialforschung und Gesamtgeschichte. Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit 8, 1981, pp. 56-83.

⁶⁶ There are useful works such as that by Peter Csendes, Geschichte Wiens (Vienna, 1981), but these cover a broad period. The lack of a study of early modern Vienna is not due to the inaccessibility of sources. Many were edited in the same period as those relating to the court, for example: Anton Mayer (ed.), Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien part I, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1895); Albert Starzer Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien, part I, vol. 5, (Vienna, 1906).

sixteenth century, a substantial amount of the most recent research has looked at the confessional composition not only of Vienna but of Lower Austria as a whole.⁶⁷ Their findings, of Protestantism or at least non-Catholicism at all levels of sixteenth-century society, have gone some way to debunk the myth of a perpetually and impenetrably 'Catholic Austria'.

Analysis of the career and writings left behind by a member of this society, Georg Eder, not only adds to such findings but reveals further areas for exploration. In particular, examination of Eder's career helps bridge the existing historiographical tension between 'Vienna the city' and 'Vienna the court', as Eder was a member of both simultaneously. Seen from his perspective, Vienna is thus not only a base for the Holy Roman Emperor but also the domain of an Archduke, under whose authority local and international confessional tensions converge.

In terms of contributing to the existing historiography of Vienna the late sixteenth-century city, the sheer range of source material outlined above enables

⁶⁷ For the most recent studies of the confessional climate of sixteenth-century Vienna and the surrounding area see in particular the numerous works of Grete Mecenseffy and Gustav Reingrabner. The most helpful include: Grete Mecenseffy, 'Wien im Zeitalter der Reformation des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 29, 1, (1974), pp. 228-239; Grete Mecenseffy and Hermann Rassl, *Die Evangelischen Kirchen Wiens* (Vienna, Hamburg, 1980); Gustav Reingrabner, *Adel und Reformation. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Protestantischen Adels im Lande Unter Der Enns Während des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, Verein für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich und Wien, 1976); Gustav Reingrabner, 'Religiöse Lebensformen des Protestantischen Adels in Niederösterreich', in Grete Klingenstein and Heinrich Lutz (eds.), *Spezialforschung und 'Gesamtgeschichte'. Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 8, 1981, pp. 126-138. There is, furthermore, a long-running tradition of historiography dealing with the diocese of Vienna, including work by Josef Kopallik, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Erzdiözese Wien* (2 vols., Vienna, 1890-1894), Ernst Tomek, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs* (3 vols., Innsbruck, Vienna, Munich, 1935-1959), and most recently Franz Loidl, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Wien* (Vienna, Munich, 1983). All such works remain indebted to the sources collected by Theodor Wiedemann earlier in the nineteenth century.

Eder to be located with some precision within its social, political and confessional fabric. His writings, both public and private, therefore vividly capture the concerns of a devout Catholic living in a confessionally mixed early modern urban environment. Admittedly written to fulfil specific aims, Eder's Bavarian correspondence and his published works nonetheless provide a snapshot of a lay perspective on the local impact of Habsburg religious policy particularly of the 1570s and 1580s, and his fears over its results as manifested all around him. In an environment where concrete progress of religious change was often slight and hesitant, evidence of the mood as conveyed by even one man is of all the more value to the historian.

Analysis of Eder's life and career also adds, however, to what is known of Vienna as the base for the late sixteenth-century Imperial court. Part of this contribution develops the existing historiography of the Habsburg court itself. The Latin speeches and the university history left behind by Eder indicate that he was, for example, one of the humanist-influenced figures who contributed to the renowned intellectual culture of the late sixteenth-century Viennese court. Yet his other writings indicate that Eder was ferociously Catholic and at odds both with the religious stance of the majority of his fellow humanists and the court ethos of confessional moderation. That Eder could still hold key legal and financial posts in such an environment for so long throughout the 1550s, 1560s, 1570s and 1580s therefore raises questions about the extent to which a Catholic such as Eder was truly in the minority in the late sixteenth-century Viennese court. It also illuminates the issue of social, political and religious survival

within that situation, with a close examination of Eder's career acting as a first case study of such a man in such a position.

Eder's career demonstrates too the significance of the late sixteenth-century Viennese court within the international political and religious arena. Eder's Habsburg employers were not only Austrian Archdukes but Holy Roman Emperors with all the expectations for the defence of Catholic orthodoxy implied by such a title. Analysis of Eder's changing fortunes at court under a succession of rulers- Emperor Ferdinand I, Emperor Maximilian II and the regency of Archduke Ernst- frequently provides a sharp portrait in miniature of what was a much wider struggle, in which the Habsburg Archdukes were regarded by Catholic Europe as consistently failing to fulfil their proper duties as Holy Roman Emperors.⁶⁸ The fact that Eder was supported in his stance by the Papacy, by the Jesuits, but in particular by the Habsburgs' Wittelsbach rivals, reveals the global attention the Viennese court attracted in this period for its confessional equivocation. That the Bavarian Wittelsbachs in particular were sufficiently concerned to attempt intervention in Habsburg religious policy opens up another significant yet under-studied theme: the high level of Bavarian influence at the late sixteenth-century Viennese court. As indicated above, thus far it has been the Spanish influence in Vienna that has received most attention.

The contribution of this thesis to the historiography of Catholic reform is also a case of building on and adding to existing work while simultaneously extending

⁶⁸ Robert Evans has commented of this conflict as played out within the court: '...Papal and dynastic Catholicism, notionally distinct, wove intricate patterns in these years and much of their interaction remains veiled and confused.' *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 62.

the parameters of debate yet further. This is within the context of an intellectual field that has already seen much highly constructive recent work. As John O'Malley has noted, 'For serious historians of the Protestant and secular tradition, Catholicism until quite recently lacked interest as a subject of research...For them, Catholicism was the backward and lacklustre stepsister to the Reformation'.⁶⁹ The past few decades have however seen a valuable historiographical exploration of Catholic reform that has emphasised three main themes: the importance of the support of the secular authorities to the progress of Catholic ecclesiastical and spiritual revival; the significance of local factors in determining the nature and speed of reform; and the sheer slowness of the entire process.⁷⁰

These themes have been coherently and convincingly examined by a wide range of historians. German historiography of the past two decades has tended to emphasise the 'confessionalization' thesis. Not to be confused with 'confessionalism', which refers to the formation of the different confessions themselves, confessionalization draws parallels between the confessions, to examine how the close co-operation of church and state resulted in identifiably 'modern' states.⁷¹ Wolfgang Reinhard, following Zeeden and accompanied in

⁶⁹ John O'Malley, *Trent And All That. Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 10.

⁷⁰ The other main area of debate of less relevance to this particular discussion concerns terminology: Counter-Reformation, Catholic Reformation or, as John O'Malley proposes, 'Early Modern Catholicism.' See his new book named above, or 'Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to look at Early Modern Catholicism' in O'Malley (ed.), *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century* (1993), XII pp. 177-193. The nature of Eder's Catholicism and the extent to which it could be described as 'anti-evangelical' or 'Tridentine' will however be a theme that runs throughout this thesis as a whole.

⁷¹ For an accessible discussion of the complexities of this thesis, see Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700. A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Macmillan, 1999), pp. 6-7.

methodology by Schilling, focuses in particular on the interpenetration of secular and religious authority to create a Catholic state.⁷² In this, such work bears comparison with that of John Bossy and Jean Delumeau whose 'acculturation' thesis regards Tridentine Catholicism as an attempt by central authorities to 'Christianise' and control the body of the Church.⁷³

The main growth area in recent years has however been that historiography which points rather to the significance of factors peculiar to each locality. These factors result in what scholars such as Marc Forster regard as a negotiated Catholicism, a mere version of that desired by the ecclesiastical authorities and as much a product of the enduring vitality of pre-Tridentine Catholicism as post-Tridentine attempts to enforce conformity.⁷⁴ Despite the majestic scholarship of Jedin, the decrees of the Council of Trent are thus no longer regarded as the sole

⁷² For example, Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment', in *Catholic Historical Review*, 75 (1985), pp. 383-404. See too Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Das Zeitalter der Gegenreformation von 1555 bis 1648* (1979) and Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Popular Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society* (Leiden, 1992).

⁷³ John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford University Press, 1985); Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* (London, 1977).

⁷⁴ Marc R. Forster, 'With and Without Confessionalization. Varieties of Early Modern German Catholicism', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 1 (1997), pp. 315-343, p. 315. Here, Forster notes that while the confessionalization thesis 'asserts that confessionalism originated in the policies of church officials and state bureaucrats intent on imposing order, discipline, and religious uniformity on the population from above', it cannot explain the development of Catholic culture in areas where states were weak. See too his *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages. Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720* (Cornell University Press, 1992) and *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque. Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). In this approach the work of Louis Châtellier, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society* (Cambridge, 1989) has been influential. Châtellier's preface notes his wish to produce 'a study of modern Catholicism as a social phenomenon', p. ix.

key to understanding the true nature of Catholic reform.⁷⁵ Forster's own exemplary study, for example, draws on the evidence of visitation reports, Cathedral Chapter minutes, and court records to demonstrate that 'The beliefs, practices, and modes of behaviour of the Catholic population of Speyer changed and developed through a dynamic relationship between Catholic reform and popular reaction.'⁷⁶ Numerous other studies of different localities in the Empire and beyond bolster this view while stressing the need to regard the entire process of the implementation of Catholic reform through a much longer chronological lens.⁷⁷ In David Gentilcore's 1992 work on Terra D'Otranto for example, a timescale of 1563 to 1818 is suggested for a true sense of the processes involved in early modern Catholic reform.⁷⁸

In its approaches and subsequent conclusions, the newest historiography of Catholicism in the early modern Austrian lands follows such trends. In the context of the historiography of Austrian Catholicism, attention has now moved from the emphasis of the likes of Bibl and Duhr on the achievements of late

⁷⁵ Geschichte des Konzils von Trient (4 vols., 1949-1975) was Jedin's massive work outlining the progress of Trent. He also addressed the question of the extent of anti-Protestantism within Catholic reform in his 1946 essay, Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Begriffe nebst einer Jubiläumsbetrachtung über das Trienter Konzil. (Lucerne, Josef Stocker, 1946).

⁷⁶ Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages, p. 5.

⁷⁷ Key examples include: R. Po-Chia Hsia, Society and Religion in Münster, 1535-1618 (New Haven, 1984); Jason K Nye, 'Catholic Reform and Society: Rottweil, 1525-1618', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2000); and Wolfgang Zimmermann, Rekatholisierung, Konfessionalisierung und Ratsregiment: Der Prozeß des politischen und religiösen Wandels in der österreichischen Stadt Konstanz, 1548-1637 (Konstanz, 1994). For an example from the Italian context, see Simon Ditchfield, Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy, (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷⁸ David Gentilcore, From Bishop to Witch. The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto (Manchester, 1992), p.2.

sixteenth-century Catholic reform, to a much more conservative estimate of its speed and success.⁷⁹

Acting in tandem with the above-named work of Mecenseffy and Reingrabner on the extent of evangelical belief in the late sixteenth-century Austrian lands, the studies by Gernot Heiss, Joseph Patrouch, Rona Johnston Gordon and Regina Pörtner, to name the most recent, have also helped challenge the image of 'Catholic Austria'.⁸⁰ While Heiss has taken the more traditional approach of analysis of the role of the first Jesuits to mission within such an environment, Patrouch and Johnston Gordon have both conducted studies of the nature and timing of Catholic reform at parish level.⁸¹ Basing her work on the perspective of the episcopal authorities in Lower Austria, Johnston Gordon notes that it was not until the late seventeenth century that the region became 'a bastion of reformed Catholicism', and that even in 1628 there was still the need to order all Lower Austrian subjects to attend Catholic worship.⁸² Patrouch's work,

⁷⁹ Victor Bibl, Die Einführung der katholischen Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich durch Kaiser Rudolf II (Innsbruck, 1900); 'Erzherzog Ernst und die Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich'; Bernhard Duhr, Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vol. I Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI. Jahrhundert (Freiburg im Briesgau, 1907). Bibl in particular tends to present a very positive view of the achievements of Ernst's administration as regards Catholic reform. It should also be remembered that older Catholic historiography frequently has confessional undertones.

⁸⁰ Note that there have been numerous studies of aspects of Austrian Catholicism but these are frequently overviews based on secondary literature. For example: Martin Krexner and Franz Loidl, Wiens Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe (Vienna, 1983); Karl Lechner, '500 Jahre Diözese Wien. Vorgeschichte und geschichte des Wiener Bistums', Unsere Heimat, 40 (1969), pp. 53-70; Franz Loidl, Geschichte des Erzbistums Wien (Vienna, 1983).

⁸¹ Gernot Heiss 'Die Jesuiten und die Anfänge der Katholisierung in den Ländern Ferdinands I. Glaube, Mentalität, Politik', (unpublished Habilitation, 2 vols., University of Vienna, 1986); Gernot Heiss, 'Princes, Jesuits and the Origins of Counter-Reform in the Habsburg Lands', in R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas (eds.), Crown, Church and Estates (London, 1991), pp. 92-109;

⁸² Rona Gordon Johnston, 'The Bishopric of Passau and the Counter-Reformation in Lower Austria, 1580-1636', (unpublished dissertation, University of Oxford, 1996), p. 8. Rona Johnston, 'Patronage and parish: the nobility and the recatholicization of Lower Austria', in Karin Maag (ed.), The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe (St Andrews, 1997), pp. 211-

although on Upper Austria, reaches a similar conclusion. Reliant on the gaining of influential local allies in each parish, the implementation of Catholic reform was a slow and piecemeal process heavily at the mercy of secular sanction and generational change.⁸³

The contribution of this thesis to the historiography of Catholic reform in the Austrian lands, and indeed to the genre in general, simultaneously builds on and goes beyond such foundations. Firstly, that a man such as Eder could be so heavily involved in the processes of Catholic reform contributes a new element to the equation: the role of the laity in bringing religious change. Studies such as those named above have tended rather to focus on the position of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in large part due to the relative availability of primary sources.⁸⁴ As demonstrated above, however, the case of Eder and the wealth of attendant sources offer generous access to the viewpoint of this often necessarily anonymous group. That the career of Eder also points to the considerable potential for action of certain members of the laity, particularly in co-operation with the Jesuits, suggests that the instigation and survival of

227, p. 211. On this theme also see Regina Pörtner, The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria 1580-1630 (Oxford University Press, 2001). Her examination of the Counter-Reformation in Styria is intended 'as a case study of the Counter-Reformation in one of the provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy from the beginnings of forcible recatholization in the late sixteenth century to the definite termination of religious persecution by the end of the eighteenth', p. 1.

⁸³ Joseph F. Patrouch, 'Methods of Cultural Manipulation: The Counter-Reformation in the Habsburg Province of Upper Austria, 1570-1650', (unpublished dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1991); Joseph F. Patrouch, 'The Investiture Controversy Revisited: Religious Reform, Emperor Maximilian II, and the Klostrerrat', Austrian History Yearbook, 25 (1994), pp. 59-77.

⁸⁴ The recent study by Maria Barbara Rößner, Konrad Braun (ca. 1495-1563)- ein katholischer Jurist, Politiker, Kontroverstheologe und Kirchenreformer im konfessionellen Zeitalter (Münster, 1991) is an exception to this. Indeed, there are interesting parallels between the careers of Braun and Eder.

Catholic reform is a matter over which exclusive study of rulers and churchmen is insufficient.

Secondly, the fact that Georg Eder is most active in the decades immediately following the conclusion of the Council of Trent places him at the coalface of the implementation of Catholic reform at precisely its most important moment. The studies described above have indeed demonstrated the slowness of bringing religious change to the local level, but it is inevitable that this was a long process rather than one event. It should come as no surprise that the results of Trent-inspired reform, such as the proper training of new priests, would take several generations to bear fruit. What these studies rather reflect is the importance of the foundations laid in the later sixteenth century, by the likes of Eder, which contributed to such future change but were hotly disputed in their own day.

Thirdly, that Eder's formative years were pre-Tridentine and his most active years post-Tridentine, makes him a telling case study of the physical and intellectual survival of lay Catholicism throughout the most troubled decades of the sixteenth century. The available sources offer compelling evidence that lay Catholicism did not disintegrate between 1517 and 1563, nor was it something that lay prone after Trent: it remained a creative and vibrant force in its own right. It was furthermore a Catholicism that had to react to the two sixteenth-century notions of itself: one that could see the potential for middle ground and one that made its claims solely for Rome. It was a Catholicism that had to respond to the two contrasting models of Christian rule: that of Eder's

employers, the Austrian Habsburgs, who would tolerate a middle way in exchange for unity, and that of the neighbouring Bavarian Wittelsbachs, willing to abandon the medieval ideal in exchange for Catholic confessional purity. It was in addition a Catholic body with a disputed head, facing Rome's demands for allegiance on the one side and those of the local secular ruler on the other.

By way of bringing this opening chapter to an end, there remains the question of how best to employ Eder's life and attendant range of surviving sources to explore such important themes. Adhering loosely to the path of Eder's working life provides a particularly helpful method of approach.⁸⁵ Such an organisation of the material rightly highlights a central achievement of this project: the recovery of little-known details of the life of a man so clearly significant in the Vienna of the later sixteenth century. It should be added at the outset, however, that this is not a biography. The concern is not so much with Eder's life per se as with the implications of the nature of his career. Eder's personal life, for example the role of his family, is of interest only in so far as it casts light on his political or confessional position.⁸⁶ Nor would Georg Eder be of such inherent interest without the career and religious allegiance that put him in such a precarious position in an intriguing early-modern environment.

⁸⁵ In this methodological approach the productive precedent set by Thomas Brady in his Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489-1553) and the German Reformation of 1995 has been helpful. Brady states in his introduction: 'What held the entire project together was the strand of biography, Jacob Sturm's biography, around which could be braided the stories of the conjuncture of Imperial structure and Reformation movement', p. xiv. Similarly, Craig Harline and Eddy Put introduce their study of the career of Mathias Hovius, Archbishop of Mechelen, with the argument that 'in seeking to understand a world long past, we found it highly illuminating to begin with a single human being rather than a large abstraction such as "society"', A Bishop's Tale. Mathias Hovius Among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders (Yale University Press, 2000), p. vii.

The thesis is, nonetheless, loosely chronological in that it gradually tells the tale of the rise, fall and rescue of Eder's career in the confessionally piranha-infested waters of Vienna in the latter half of the sixteenth century. As the overall title of the thesis suggests, however, the 'Case of Georg Eder' is only a well-documented lens through which to access the wider themes of 'Catholic Belief and Survival in Late Sixteenth-century Vienna', particularly with regard to the little-discussed roles of the Wittelsbach influence over Catholic reform in the Austrian lands and the even-less-known potential of laity such as Eder to take active part in the process of reform. As a result, although never claiming to be the only or the best, this approach is a valuable one that complements earlier approaches. It is also intended that the themes raised in this thesis and a fresh presentation of the sources relating to the career of Georg Eder will act as a spur for the research of future historians.

⁸⁶ It is worth noting, however, that the surviving records almost all derive from Eder's working life. As a result, any rare glimpses of his family life are so valuable for putting his working life in its wider context that virtually all have been included in the discussion.

Chapter Two

**‘...als camerprocurator, hernach als ain
regiments-person und letztlich als hofrath...’¹**

Eder’s Vienna, 1550-1573

Georg Eder was a devout Catholic who lived and worked in a court and a city where the policies of Rome were resented and rejected at all levels. It is this facet of religious life in sixteenth-century Vienna that has most frequently captured the attention of historians, intrigued that a city dominated by a Habsburg court was apparently a safe home for all manner of confessional delinquency.² Valuable though the research of such scholars is, it has partially obscured the true nature of the situation faced by the likes of Eder in late sixteenth-century Vienna. The initial phase of the career of Eder in Vienna between the years 1550 and 1573 demonstrates that, despite its promotion of confessional moderation, the late sixteenth-century Viennese court remained fundamentally supportive of Catholicism. Catholics could and did thrive in such an environment: indeed, the career of Georg Eder not only highlights the influence of a Catholic jurist and his co-religionists, but suggests chains of communication between the same. Eder’s

¹ Eder to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, 11 February 1574, in Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung. Als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich. vol. 1, 1573-1578 (Vienna, 1904), p. 81.

² Recent examples include Howard Louthan, The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna (Cambridge, 1997), the work of Kurt Mühlberger on Vienna University and the studies of Grete Mecenseffy and Gustav Reingrabner on Protestantism in Vienna. See chapter one for a full discussion of such works.

career also demonstrates, however, that this Catholicism was in the main of a distinctly Austrian variety, a brand of Catholic piety through which the authority of the Habsburg dynasty was to be proclaimed. In the first half of his career both as Reichshofrat and Vienna University rector, Eder's success appears to have stemmed largely from his very public support of the dynasty's interests.

This chapter outlines the rise of Eder's career in the city he made his home, and asks the central question: how did a Catholic jurist survive in the Vienna of the second half of the sixteenth century? Eder's career highlights a continuity of Catholicism even within the disparate confessional culture of the court and city of late sixteenth-century Vienna. Yet it also reveals the complexities of religious affiliation in the period: Eder's was an environment where the lines between Protestantism and Catholicism and between Papal and Imperial allegiance were frequently very blurred indeed.

i) The confessional culture of Vienna in the second half of the sixteenth century

Vienna in the latter half of the sixteenth century was a city dominated at all levels by the complex implications of a dynastic or 'aulic' Catholicism. On the one hand was a ruler historically obliged to defend the church of Rome; on the other was the relatively open exercise of non-Catholic belief and worship. The distinctive

manifestation of Catholicism emanating from the court not only explains these apparent contradictions of Austrian Habsburg religious policy in the period, but also explains how a Catholic could survive in the environment it produced- as long as he conformed to the local rules of the game.

These rules were, however, nothing if not complex, and can be understood only in the light of all the pressures bearing down on the three Habsburg rulers in the middle and later decades of the sixteenth century in Vienna. The Emperor Ferdinand I, Emperor Maximilian II and Archduke Ernst were all heirs to the universal Habsburg birthright: the defence of the Catholic church.³ Such was the nature of life within the dynasty, the 'Austrian' cadet branch of the family were every bit as aware of this duty as their Spanish counterparts.⁴ The Central European inheritance was not, however, that of Spain, and the practical business of ruling forced a mutation of Austrian Habsburg religious policy strikingly at odds with that of the dynasty's divine calling.⁵

³ The Imperial ideal of unity under one Christian Emperor was centuries-old, but still existed in the sixteenth century. Charles V's chancellor Gattinara had been an influential advocate of such a role for his Emperor: see John M. Headley, 'Rhetoric and Reality: Messianic, Humanist, and Civilian Themes in the Imperial Ethos of Gattinara', in M. Reeves (ed.), Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period (Oxford, 1992), pp. 241-269.

⁴ Personal connections were always strong between the two branches. The Emperor Ferdinand had been raised in Spain and was a younger brother of the ultra-Catholic Emperor Charles V; Maximilian II had been part of the peripatetic court of Charles V between the ages of 17 and 21; Maximilian's Empress, María of Spain, was sister of the impeccably orthodox Philip II, while their two eldest sons, Rudolf and Ernst, spent eight years of their education between 1563 and 1571 at the court of their uncle in Spain.

⁵ Ferdinand I was Holy Roman Emperor between 1556 and 1564; he had, however, acted as Charles V's representative in the dynasty's eastern holdings since 1522 and had been based predominantly in Vienna. His son, Maximilian II, was Emperor between 1564 and 1576 and had also based his court in Vienna. Archduke Ernst was Maximilian II's second son; his elder brother succeeded his father as Emperor Rudolf II, but chose to spend much of his time in Prague. Ernst was therefore left in Vienna to administer Lower Austria as Statthalter and did so between 1576 and his death in 1595.

Firstly and most importantly, it was the Austrian Habsburgs who had to deal with the ever-present Ottoman threat to their eastern borders. As a result, the financially and militarily impotent Austrian Habsburgs were heavily reliant on the support of the estates for their survival. That these estates in the Holy Roman Empire were almost overwhelmingly Protestant meant that their goodwill was easily enough obtained- as long as, in return, the Habsburg Emperor offered them religious concessions for the exercise of their faith. As Paula Sutter Fichtner has aptly stated:

‘The sixteenth-century Habsburgs of Central Europe therefore had little choice but to seek religious compromise and Catholic renewal at the same time. Beginning with Ferdinand I, they showed that they could trim doctrinal niceties to fit the circumstances, especially when military and political survival were at stake’.⁶

As a result of these circumstances, the Habsburg rulers of the mid to late sixteenth century were frequently compelled to act in ways apparently at odds with their Catholic heritage. At an Imperial level, it had been a youthful Ferdinand I who, desperate for *Türkenhilfe*, had first accepted the principle of the temporary *cuius regio, eius religio* formula at the Diet of Speyer in 1526. Less than 30 years later it was the same ruler who was forced to accept the formula as permanent in the Peace of Augsburg, thereby permitting Lutheran freedom of worship within the Empire.

Vienna, as part of the Austrian patrimony, also experienced the result of Habsburg concessions to Protestantism, this time issued in their capacity as ruling

⁶ P. Sutter Fichtner, ‘Introduction’, in C. Ingrao, (ed.), State and Society in Early Modern Austria (Purdue University Press, 1994), pp. 27-35, p. 31.

Archdukes.⁷ Indeed, it was the military vulnerability of the Emperor's Viennese base that had been a particular source of concern in the first place, as the following statement from a 1546 letter of Ferdinand I makes clear:

'...Our City of Vienna is almost a frontier town against them [the Turks]...and that Vienna is important and precious not only for the hereditary dominions, but for all Christendom and the German nation...'.⁸

As a result, at the provincial diets the Habsburgs were forced to make the religious concessions that had such a debilitating influence on their own authority and that of the Catholic church in their lands. Each diet- held for Lower Austria in the Landhaus on Vienna's Herrengasse- was a forum for the discussion of the public affairs of the territory, with members of each estate as participants.⁹ It was also, however, the place where these same estates could wield their most important power: that of the right of the grant of taxes. That these taxes funded the Habsburg ruler's own court, administration and, above all, military defence, made them a vital bargaining chip for the estates. The Lower Austrian nobility in particular demanded religious concessions at every opportunity, based on a mixture of conviction and

⁷ Volker Press has noted, however, that even in the diets of the hereditary lands, the Habsburg ruler was to be dealt with in his capacity as Emperor, as he would be in the Imperial diet. 'The System of Estates in the Austrian Hereditary Lands and in the Holy Roman Empire: A Comparison', in R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas (eds.), Crown, Church and Estates (London, 1991), pp. 1-22, p. 1.

⁸ Letter from June 1546, regarding Ferdinand I's wish to raise funds to pay for the additional fortification of Vienna. Ilsa Barea, Vienna. Legend and Reality (Pimlico, 1966), p. 38, citing material in Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien, part one, vol. 5, p. 104. The translation is by Barea.

⁹ The monasteries comprised the first estate while the second was composed of the higher nobility or Herrenstand. Knights or the lower nobility (Ritterstand) made up the third estate, while the fourth estate was that of the cities.

the wish to assert their own authority against that of the Habsburg ruler.¹⁰

Arguably more powerful than the Emperor himself, in practice if not in theory, it was they whose influence not only symbolically eroded that of the Emperor, but in daily practice provided the residents of Vienna with Lutheran preaching, Lutheran services, and Lutheran pastoral care.

This was seen to no greater effect than in 1568. By then, the Herrenstand was overwhelmingly dominated by nobles describing themselves as Protestant.¹¹ By then too, the Emperor Maximilian II was struggling desperately to contain the Turkish threat: 1566 had seen utter humiliation for the Habsburg forces in Hungary which had only increased the prospect of a further Ottoman attack. Attempts were made to negotiate terms between ruler and estates, but with a state debt standing at 2.5 million Gulden the result was inevitable.¹² In return for the financial and military aid of the Lower Austrian estates, Maximilian II was not only forced to grant the Lower Austrian Religions-Konzession in 1568, but to confirm the same three years later with the so-called Religions-Assekuration of 1571. Once again the Habsburg ruler had permitted the seemingly unthinkable. Both Konzession and Assekuration granted members of the noble estates- Herrenstand and Ritterstand-

¹⁰ As R.J.W. Evans has pithily remarked of this complex situation, 'By the middle of the sixteenth century the ethos of the Austrian Habsburg lands was Protestant. That cannot be a precise statement; rather it indicates what religion was not', The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550-1700 (Oxford, 1979), p. 3.

¹¹ Gustav Reingrabner has stated that: 'The defining characteristic of the Lower Austrian nobility in the sixteenth century was their almost complete defection to the Lutheran camp. By the 1580s approximately ninety percent of the Lower Austrian nobles were Lutheran'. Adel und Reformation. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Protestantischen Adels im Lande Unter Der Enns Während des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts (Vienna, Verein für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich und Wien, 1976), p. 79.

the right to worship according to the Confession of Augsburg ‘in all their castles, houses and possessions’, with the exception of the princely towns and markets, for themselves and their dependants. In the countryside this also included the provision of churches for their Lutheran subjects.¹³

The implications of the Emperor’s ‘verkauf’ of religion in his own lands were immense. It not only permitted Lower Austrian nobles to install Lutheran Schloßprediger at their own properties, but in a worrying knock-on effect every week thousands would flock from Vienna, theoretically excluded from the terms of the Konzession and Assekuration, to hear the preachers on the nobles’ own land.¹⁴ Three key destinations for the weekly Auslaufen were Ferschnitz, Loosdorf, and Hernals, the properties of Lower Austrian nobles Richard Streun von Schwarzenau, Hans Wilhelm von Losenstein and Helmhard Jörgler respectively.¹⁵ In a bid to stop such infringements of Habsburg authority, the Emperor bowed even further to

¹² Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p.148.

¹³ Quotation from the Religions-Assekuration of 11 January 1571, cited in Rona Johnston Gordon, ‘Patronage and parish: the nobility and the recatholicization of Lower Austria’, in Karin Maag (ed.), *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe* (St Andrews, 1997), pp. 211-227, p. 214.

¹⁴ Reingrabner notes that a Lutheran visitation of Lower Austria in 1580 uncovered a total of 138 such Schloßprediger. *Adel und Reformation*, p. 85, citing Bernleithner, ‘Konfession in Österreich um 1580’, sheet 21.

¹⁵ Statistics for the weekly Auslaufen are unclear, but in a letter of 19 March 1585 Eder himself observed, almost two decades later, that around three thousand people would still leave Vienna to hear another such Schloßprediger based at Inzerdorff. These letters will be discussed fully in chapter four. Victor Bibl (ed.), ‘Die Berichte des Reichshofrates Dr Georg Eder an die Herzoge Albrecht und Wilhelm von Bayern über die Religionskrise in Niederösterreich (1579-1587)’, *Jb.f.Lk.v.NÖ*, Neue Folge 8 (1909), pp. 67-154, pp. 144-146. Note that this would have been a significant proportion of Vienna’s population of approximately 50,000 during the period: see Rona Gordon Johnston, ‘The Bishopric of Passau and the Counter-Reformation in Lower Austria, 1580-1636’, (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1996), p. 20, citing Robert Douglas Chesler, ‘Crown, Lords and God: The Establishment of Secular Authority and the Pacification of Lower Austria, 1618-1648’, (unpublished dissertation, Princeton University, 1979).

Protestant demands and granted a room in the Viennese Landhaus for Lutheran worship. With its own preacher, bookshop and school all under noble protection, Habsburg religious policy yet again seemed to have failed Catholicism by permitting the exercise of Protestant worship, this time on the dynasty's very own doorstep.¹⁶

It was not the case, however, that the Austrian Habsburgs were always forced into making reluctant concessions to Protestant demands. Equally alive in the Austrian branch of the dynasty was a determination to maintain their own independence of policy-making from Madrid and from Rome, coupled, in the case of Maximilian II, with an apparently stubborn and perverse nature.¹⁷ In the Austrian lands neither Inquisition nor Index saw any Imperial sanction, while the decrees of the Council of Trent were not promulgated in the Austrian territories until 1637, and even then only in part.¹⁸ As a result, not only were the Austrian Habsburg rulers of the later sixteenth century perceived to be tolerant of heresy, they were also behaving increasingly in ways hostile to Rome.

¹⁶ The Landhausprediger from 1574 was Josua Opitz from Saxony, operating under the patronage of another Lower Austrian noble, Veit Albrecht von Puchheim. Between 1576 and 1578 the Lutheran school flourished, with five members of teaching staff. See Grete Mecenseffy, 'Wien im Zeitalter der Reformation des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 29, 1, (1974), pp. 228-239, p. 236.

¹⁷ See Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, passim.

¹⁸ On this rivalry between Madrid, Vienna and Rome, R.J.W. Evans has noted: 'With the accession of Philip II in the Spanish lands and Ferdinand in the Empire, together with the new Papal militancy following the Tridentine decrees of 1563, it becomes clear that there are now three contenders for one ideology. Reviving Papal claims to temporal dominion are matched by two Habsburg monarchies, both deriving their authority from an apostolic succession to a traditional "Imperium"'. R.J.W. Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, p.13.

To add to this explosive confessional climate, at the Viennese court itself such political exigencies and posturing were galvanised further into an even stronger force with its own ideology. Propelled by the presence and work of a coterie of court functionaries and scholars, the Viennese court of the latter half of the sixteenth century was one that proudly espoused the emphasis of late, central European humanism on the virtues of religious moderation and compromise in the interests of political peace and social harmony.¹⁹ The deep personal interest of Ferdinand I and particularly Maximilian II in humanist endeavour offered another reason for permitting the presence of the confessionally unorthodox within the court.²⁰ As a result, the so-called Hofakademie boasted many leading scholars of the day, including Wolfgang Lazius, physician, court historian and author of the first history of Vienna; Hugo Blotius, keeper of the Imperial library; Augerius Busbequius, Ottoman Ambassador, botanist and collector; Johannes Sambucus,

¹⁹ See R.J.W. Evans, Making of the Habsburg Monarchy and Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1612, (Oxford University Press, 1973), and Louthan, Quest for Compromise, passim, on the many manifestations of this spirit.

²⁰ Maximilian II in particular was well known for his interest in natural science and antiquities. The author Andreas Camutius records how the Emperor loved to enter debates on literature and inscriptions, while the correspondence of his ambassadors in Spain contains many references to the supply of Maximilian's requests for rarities from the New World, especially exotic plants and animals. See Evans, Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, p. 21 and Susanne Herrnleben, 'Zur Korrespondenz Kaiser Maximilians II. mit seinen Gesandten in Spanien (1564-1576)', in Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, 17 1992), pp. 95-108, p.105. What has received less attention is that the Emperor Ferdinand I has also had similar interests, and was described by a Venetian ambassador as 'a most curious investigator of nature, of foreign countries, plants and animals', Kurt Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft. Kaiser Maximilian II. und die Universität Wien', in Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, 17, 1992), pp. 203-231, p. 217.

court historian and philologist; and the botanists Johann Crato and Carolus Clusius.²¹ Of these, every one except Lazius was a Protestant of various hue.

This picture of the Viennese court in the second half of the sixteenth century does not, however, sit easily with what else is known of the rulers themselves in these years; nor does it take into account the wider context in which such religious policies were formed. With the possible exception of the enigmatic Maximilian II, the Austrian Habsburgs remained personally utterly devoted to the Catholic faith. As a result, any concessions to Protestantism were the result of political necessity and were minimised and revoked as far as possible. In addition, while it is true that the Austrian Habsburgs did continually act against the dictates of Rome in these years, this was done primarily in order to preserve their own legislative autonomy over the reform of the church within their own lands.

It was, for example, the Emperor Ferdinand I himself who had first called the Jesuits to Vienna.²² Such was Ferdinand's approval of their work, it was also he

²¹ See in particular Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft'. On Blotius (1533-1608), Crato (1519-1585) and Lazius (1514-1592), see too Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise*, passim, as well as Joseph Ritter von Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität. Die Wiener Universität und Ihre Gelehrten, 1520 bis 1565* (Vienna, 1888), pp. 204-233 for further details on Lazius. The career of Busbequius (1520-1592) has been examined extensively by Zweder von Martels: see chapter one, note 52. Also my own dissertation: 'Rhetoric and Reality: The 'Turkish Letters' of Augerius Busbequius, Imperial Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, 1554-1562', (unpublished M.Litt. dissertation, University of St Andrews, 1998). For details on Sambucus (1531-1584), see Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, pp. 260-266; on Clusius see Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft', p. 213

²² According to 'Historia Collegii SJ Viennensis ab anno 1550 usque ad annum 1567, auctore (secundum sententiam traditam) Laurentio Maggio SJ' Ferdinand called the Jesuits to Vienna because of the orthodoxy of their teaching and also 'because of the endless number of heretics, which multiplied daily like the ancient warriors from the Trojan horse...' On 11 December 1550 he wrote to Loyola from Vienna stating that he wanted a Jesuit college in Vienna with which to protect

who requested that Peter Canisius compose what would become his highly influential catechism.²³ Allegiance to Catholicism continued both along and down the family tree. Maximilian II's Spanish wife María, the sister of Philip II and therefore also her own husband's first cousin, was so known for her devout Catholicism that she was publicly praised by Pope Pius V, no doubt partly as a snub to her confessionally equivocal husband.²⁴ The Empress personally ensured that her children were raised according to the Roman rites, going against her husband's wishes so to do, and María also acted both as patron of the Jesuits in Vienna as well as representative of the pro-Rome Spanish interest.²⁵

The Emperor Maximilian's two brothers, Ferdinand and Karl, and his younger sister Anna, also all acted as loyal Catholics in the lands to which their father had sent them, but in Vienna Catholic allegiance continued to the following generation

the 'ancient orthodox and Catholic faith, our Christian religion, for the sake of the salvation of the people.' Translations by Gernot Heiss, 'Princes, Jesuits and the Origins of Counter-Reform in the Habsburg Lands', in R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas (eds), *Crown, Church and Estates* (London, 1991), pp. 92-109, citing Magius pp. 7-8. Friedrich Staphylus wrote on 16 February 1555 to Stanislaus Hosius, then Bishop of Ermland, that Ferdinand loved the Viennese Jesuits Bobadilla, Le Jay and Canisius like brothers. Bernhard Duhr, 'Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen des 16. Jahrhunderts' in Ludwig Pastor (ed.), *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, II Band 4. Heft, (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901), p. 7, citing Hosius *Epistulae* vol. 2, pp. 337, 363.

²³ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 207 and p. 123. Canisius' first version of the catechism, the *Summa doctrinae christianae* was first published in 1554 and was the largest he would produce. The *Catechismus minimus* of 1556-7 was aimed at very young children, while it was his *Catechismus parvus*, an intermediate text first published in 1558, that would go through so many editions.

²⁴ Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 19.

²⁵ This situation is not as incongruous as it first appears. R.J.W. Evans has noted: 'Thus Papal and dynastic Catholicism, notionally distinct, wove intricate patterns in these years and much of their interaction remains veiled and confused. Unverzagt, Khlesl's foe and Rudolf's confidant, was nevertheless a friend of the archduchess Maria in Graz...Above all Khlesl pursued a double career:

in the shape of Maximilian's second son Ernst and his daughter Elisabeth.²⁶ Though Ernst's efforts in this regard were frequently hampered by his need to co-operate with the predominantly Protestant estates, recent research has brought Elisabeth's efforts in to light.²⁷ The 27 year-old widow of King Charles IX of France, Elisabeth returned to Vienna in 1581 where she spent the remaining eleven years of her life working for the establishment of a house of Poor Clares in the city. Known as the 'Queen's Cloister, Our Lady Queen of Angels', she had been assisted in her efforts by her aunt, Anna of Bavaria, while it is also worth noting that Elisabeth herself had a significant court during her time in Vienna.²⁸

Such residual devotion to the mother church explains the fact that, striking as such acts as the Konzession and Assekuration are, they were atypical of Habsburg reaction to Protestantism in the Austrian lands. Lower Austria was, after all, the

the self-appointed restorer of discipline in the Austrian Church against all the odds, he also planned Matthias's policies...' Rudolf II, p. 62.

²⁶ Archduke Ferdinand ruled the Tyrol from his base in Innsbruck, while his younger brother Karl ruled Inner Austria from his court at Graz. On this court see Regina Pörtner, The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria 1580-1630 (Oxford University Press, 2001). Their sister Anna was married to the Wittelsbach Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, and acted as a patroness of the Franciscan order in Munich.

²⁷ Ernst was the younger brother of Rudolf II who succeeded his father as Emperor in 1576. As Rudolf chose to spend much of his time in Prague, however, his younger brother Ernst remained in Vienna to administer Lower Austria as Statthalter.

²⁸ On Elisabeth, see the most recent work of Joseph F. Patrouch: 'Ysabell/Elisabth/Alzbeta: Erzherzogin. Königin. Ein Forschungsgegenwurf,' Frühneuzeit-Info 10 (1999), pp. 257-265; 'The Archduchess Elizabeth: Where Spain and Austria Met,' in Conrad Kent, Thomas Wolber and Cameron M. K. Hewitt (eds.), The Lion and the Eagle: Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries (New York and Oxford, 2000), pp. 77-90. According to a paper entitled 'The Queen's Cloister: Female(s) Religious in 1580s Vienna' delivered at the 2001 meeting of the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference and here cited with the author's permission, the original twelve members of the revamped Viennese Poor Clares had come from Munich where Duke Albrecht V's Habsburg wife Anna had acted as their patron.

territory of the first martyr of the Protestant reformation.²⁹ As early as 1523 the patrimony's new ruler, later Ferdinand I, had issued a mandate against the spread and possession of Lutheran books; that similar decrees were passed throughout his reign indicates not only the persistence of the problem but also Habsburg determination to eradicate the same.³⁰ Ferdinand I also attempted to ensure the orthodoxy of members of Vienna University, and even Maximilian II had reduced the concessions made to Protestants to a minimum.³¹ The negotiations over the Konzession, for example, took a full two years in a period when the Emperor Maximilian's need for finance was urgent; demands for a Lutheran church in Vienna were met with provision of a single room. It was however under the authority of Rudolf II and his Statthalter Ernst that such concessions were most severely damaged. On 6 May 1578 the closure of the Lutheran church in Vienna was announced, along with that of the Lutheran book shop and school. Also banned was the Auslaufen to Lutheran services outside Vienna. The Landhausprediger, Opitz, was expelled from the city on 21 June via the Rotenturmtor, while the so-called Sturmpetition or Fußfall der Fünftausend was resisted, albeit nervously, by Archduke Ernst. In this incident of 19 July 1579, a protest at the Emperor's anti-Lutheran laws of the previous year, saw the evangelical Bürger, Herren and Ritter appeal for the restoration of their worship before the Hofburg, but to no avail.

²⁹ Kaspar Tauber was beheaded on 17 September 1524 before Vienna's Stubentor.

³⁰ For example, in 1551 Ferdinand passed a decree against Lutheran schoolmasters and the publication of Lutheran works. 1554 saw another decree forbidding the partaking of communion in both kinds.

³¹ 1546 and 1554 both saw decrees demanding the testing of the orthodoxy of new university professors.

The Habsburgs in Austria were, furthermore, deeply concerned with the reform of the Catholic church in their own lands, so long as it happened on their terms. Thus this same period may appear on one level to be one of endless Habsburg opposition to Rome, but not necessarily of opposition to Catholicism. To take the case of the implementation of the Gregorian calendar reform as one particularly potent example, the papal bull *inter gravissimas* of 24 February 1581 announced that in order to realign the calendar, ten days were to be 'lost' between 15 October and '4' October 1582.³² The Europe-wide responses to this decree read like a barometer of confessional alliance in the period. While such areas as Spain and Bavaria did exactly as Rome asked on the dates that Rome asked, in the Austrian lands the calendar reform was not introduced until 1583, in part due to local resistance but also due to a symbolic Habsburg insistence on autonomy over affairs in the Austrian lands.

Similarly, the establishment of the *Klosterrat* in 1568 by Maximilian II is a further indication of Habsburg concern to reform the ailing Catholic church, but under their own control. Maximilian was no doubt aware of the financial benefits to be gained from greater secular control over the monasteries in the Austrian lands; he was, however, also deeply concerned at the level of spiritual decline within religious

³² Little has been published on this telling episode. This point is based on an as-yet unpublished paper by Rona Johnston Gordon delivered at the 2001 meeting of the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in Denver, Colorado. Given in a session on 'Confessional Identity in the Austrian Habsburg Lands: Court, Cloister and Calendar', the paper was entitled 'Confessional Tensions in Lower Austria: The Gregorian Calendar Reform'.

houses. Using his powers as Landesfürst, Maximilian II established the so-called Monastery Commission as a means of monitoring the quality of preaching, appointment of abbots and administration of sacraments as well as the economic status of every monastery within Lower and Upper Austria. As Joseph Patrouch has aptly stated, the Klosterrat thus represented 'the first step towards an Imperial ecclesiastical policy operated with secular sanctions.'³³ Nor was such secular involvement in ecclesiastical affairs utterly without precedent: in 1446 Pope Eugenius IV had allowed Maximilian II's ancestor Frederick III the right of nomination of suitable candidates for bishoprics that lay within Habsburg holdings.³⁴ The dynasty also held the 'placetum regium' or the right to allow the promulgation of papal decrees in their own lands. The diplomatic skirmishes that accompanied the establishment of the Klosterrat, however, indicate the extent to which Maximilian's freshly independent stance damaged relations with Rome. As a direct response to the Commission's establishment, in 1568 Pope Pius V ordered his Cardinal, Commendone, to undertake a visitation of Austria as, it has been observed, 'more a staking out of claims and territory than a well-thought-out attempt to reform the monasteries visited.'³⁵ In 1572 the Klosterrat officially warned the local representative of the Bishop of Passau, Passau Official Thomas Ruf, not to interfere in the secular affairs of the clergy in Austria. It was 1592

³³ Joseph F. Patrouch, 'The Investiture Controversy Revisited: Religious Reform, Emperor Maximilian II, and the Klosterrat', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 25 (1994), pp. 59-77, p. 61.

³⁴ This had been granted in return for Frederick III's support against the Council of Basle. The bishoprics were Brixen, Trent, Chur, Gurk, Trieste, Laibach, Vienna and Wiener Neustadt.

³⁵ Joseph F. Patrouch, 'Methods of Cultural Manipulation: The Counter-Reformation in the Habsburg Province of Upper Austria, 1570-1650', (unpublished dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1991), p. 117.

before an uneasy peace was reached between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities over the source, direction and supervision of Catholic reform in the Austrian Habsburg lands.³⁶

ii) Georg Eder: promotion and prominence

The complex nature of the confessional culture of Vienna in the second half of the sixteenth century can therefore be explained more by Habsburg concern to preserve their own military, political and ecclesiastical authority rather than any desire to damage Catholicism per se. In the absence of actual Christian unity, on which the foundations of Imperial rule rested, the maintenance of the authority of the dynasty itself became all the more central to Habsburg religious policy in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This has, however, only been exhibited thus far with examples from the lives and legislation of the rulers themselves. Analysis of the career of Georg Eder within such a culture reveals that in Vienna and in the court by which the city was dominated, open Catholicism was no barrier to a dramatic rate of promotion. Eder's career also demonstrates that such promotion was conditional on the maintenance of the fragile confessional peace and the authority of the dynasty. This Eder did in key areas of Viennese court, university and civic life at particularly sensitive points in the history of all three.

³⁶ This was via the Passau Treaty of 6 November 1592, signed in Prague by Rudolf II and Bishop Urban of Passau.

Eder's initial promotion in Vienna reflects in itself a continued support for Catholicism at the Habsburg court.³⁷ When Georg Eder first arrived in Vienna in 1550 aged 27, he was from an indisputably orthodox Catholic background.³⁸ Born in Bavaria, Eder had studied in the faculties of philosophy, arts and law at the University of Cologne between 1543 and 1549.³⁹ Apparently from a family of

³⁷ It is true that the growing Habsburg bureaucracy in Vienna was in desperate need of competent administrators with a legal background. In 1550, however, Eder had not yet received his Law doctorate and had a Catholic been an unacceptable choice there would have been many Protestants who could have done the job.

³⁸ In his Christliche... Warnungsschrift of 1580 he wrote that he had already spent 30 years in Vienna: 'Hierumben unnd dieweil ich nun in das dreyssigste Jar in diesen Landen herkommen, unnd mit augen gesehen, wie die falschen Propheten mit der Religion gespilt...', fol. H iii v. Eder's precise birth and death dates have been the subject of some debate. N. Paulus took Eder's statement 'Ego annum nunc agens quadagesimum prope quintum...' from the dedication to his Oeconomia Bibliorum of 1568 and reasonably calculated that Eder must have been born in 1523 (N. Paulus, 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder. Ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts', Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland, 115 (1895), pp.13-28, 81-94, 240, p.13; Oeconomia Bibliorum..., fol. *br). Paulus went on to speculate, however, that he may have been born or baptised on the feast of St George, on 23 April, while Karl Schrauf concluded more reliably, based rather on the evidence of one of Eder's letters, that he must have been born on 2 February 1523. In a letter dated 21 January 1574, Eder had written: 'Wiewol ich nun Purificationis schierest 50 jar erraicht...', (Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, p. 78). More uncertainty still appears to have surrounded the date of Eder's death. Aschbach and more recently R.J.W. Evans are just two of several who identify 1586 as the year of Eder's death. (Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität, p. 174, and Evans, Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, p. 42). The same error appears in Joanne Josepho Locher, Speculum Academicum Viennense, seu Magistratus Antiquissimae et Celeberrime Universitatis Viennensis, A Primo Ejusdem auspicio ad nostra Tempora Chronologica, Historice, et Lemmatice, exhibitus a D. Joanne Josepho Locher J.U.D., vol. 1 (Vienna, 1773), p. 169, and the earlier Catalogus Rectorum et illustrium virorum archigymnasii Viennensis 1237-1669 by Paul de Sorbait (Vienna, 1669), p. 126. The mistake appears to stem from the 1645 version of the Catalogus Rectorum compiled by Jonas Littens. In it, Eder is described as 'ad superos emigravit' on 19 May 1586, (p. 86). However, that Eder authored at least seven letters in the first four months of 1587 indicates that this cannot be correct. As Aschbach himself notes, Carolo Dollenz, (Scriptores antiquissimae, ac celeberrimae Universitatis Viennensis ordine chronologico propositi Pars III' (Vienna, 1742), p. 72) and Sebastiano Mitterdorffer, (Conspectus Historiae Universitatis Viennensis Ex Actis (Vol III, 1725), p. 55), both suggest 1587 as the year of Eder's death. It seems most likely that Eder died on 19 May 1587. Bernhard Duhr, Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI Jahrhundert (Freiburg im Briesgau, 1907) vol. I, p. 145, cites the Viennese Jesuits' Hauschronik for 19 May 1587 as referring to the loss of Eder on that date. Since he had, however, been resident in Vienna since 1550, the combination of Eder's relative youth on arrival and subsequent survival to the age of 64 meant that he was available to hold office for a long period of time.

³⁹ Bavaria was a key supplier of men capable of administering the growing Habsburg bureaucracy of the sixteenth century. The significance of the Bavarian presence at the Viennese court will be more fully explored in chapter four. Uncertainty exists over Eder's exact place of origin. Eder himself occasionally uses the title 'Frisingensis', for example, on the front pages of his Catechismus

restricted means, Eder had there received the financial support of members of the Society of Jesus.⁴⁰ He had, furthermore, benefited from the patronage of a powerful Catholic family. Between his time in Cologne and his arrival in Vienna, Eder worked briefly as rector of a Lateinschule in Passau. The year after his arrival in Vienna Eder offered public thanks to the von Salm family for their support during this period. The printed version of the speech was dedicated to none other than Wolfgang von Salm, Bishop of Passau.⁴¹

It is telling for the confessional climate of the Viennese court that not only did a man of such clear Catholic allegiance rise through the ranks quickly, but that his Catholicism may even have found him particular favour with at least one important court figure. When Eder later gave credit for his rapid rise in Vienna to five influential men, one of these was himself known to be a Catholic and an

Catholicus Qui Antea Quidem Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini (Cologne, 1569) and Compendium Catechismi Catholici (Cologne, 1570). This however seems to contradict his other claim of having been born a subject of the Dukes of Bavaria, whose territories in the sixteenth century excluded the Freising Hochstift. (Eder describes himself as being an 'erbornen Underthonen' in the preface to Das guldene Fließ (Ingolstadt 1579, 1580), p.)(iiii r.) It has been suggested by way of resolution that Eder may well have merely been born in a village near Freising which did fall under Wittelsbach jurisdiction: see N. Paulus, 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder', p. 14.

⁴⁰ Theodor Wiedemann, Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation im Lande unter der Enns (Prague and Leipzig, vol. 2, Prague, 1880), p. 143. This connection between Eder and the fledgling Jesuit order will be discussed at greater length in chapter three. Otherwise, nothing else is known about Eder's familial background.

⁴¹ Georgii Eder De Illustriss. Principis et D.D. Nicolai Comitum a Salm & Neuburg ad Oenum, S. Ces & Reg. Ro. Mai. A Consiliis secretioribus, militiae & exercitus per Hungarian Ducis supremi & c. viri antiqua virtute & religione clarissimi, morte intempestiva & occasu lamentabili Oratio Funeris, ipso funere Viennae, in praesentia illustriss. Principum & Comitum a Salm, Ro. Reg. Mai. Regiminis, totius Cleri, Academiae, Senatusque Viennesis amplissimi, in aede sacra D. Dorotheae, in summa hominum prestantissimorum frequentia, ab Autore recitata (Egidius Aquila, Vienna, 1551), fol. Aii verso. This was also reprinted in part in Eder's Orationes sex of 1559. The speech was delivered on 8 January 1551 at the funeral of Feldherrn Nikolaus von Salm, brother of the bishop of Passau and the man who had led the defence of Vienna in the Ottoman siege of 1529. The

uncompromising one at that. Two of these patrons Eder thanked publicly: in his Catalogus Rectorum Eder names Ferdinand I's advisors Stephan Schwarz and Bartholomäus a Cataneis as having been instrumental in his initial appointments.⁴² The other three he named much later in a letter to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria dated 21 January 1574: '...alls ich etwas schwach, herrn Jonasen, Gienger und Gundelium zue mir verordnet und etliche sachen an meinem beth beratschlagt...'.⁴³ Dr Georg Gienger was a member of the Geheimer Rat, and Dr Philipp Gundel was a leading member of both the university and Lower Austrian government.⁴⁴ It was Dr Jacob Jonas, however, who held the greatest authority, as Vicekanzler to Ferdinand I. That Jonas was also known by his contemporaries as a particularly vitriolic Romanist suggests that there may well have been a confessional edge to his patronage of an untried Eder, as well as mere recognition of potential.⁴⁵

implications of this speech for Eder's position in the Vienna of his day will be discussed later in the chapter.

⁴² Catalogus Rectorum, p. 73.

⁴³ Schrauf, Der Reichshofrath, p. 78.

⁴⁴ Gienger died on 14 January 1577 having served under both Ferdinand I and Maximilian II in the Geheimer Rat. He also reached the rank of Obersthofmarschal: see Fellner and Kretschmayr, Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung, pp. 180-188. Gundel died on 4 September 1567 and had served in the Law Faculty of Vienna University including a spell as rector in 1540: see Locher, Speculum vol. I p. 24. He was also known for his abilities as a humanist.

⁴⁵ Thanks are due to Alexandra Kess for providing me with the following reference found through her own work on the Protestant historian Johann Sleidanus. Jonas Nidbruck, a Protestant Reichshofrat, wrote from Augsburg to Sleidanus on 3 July 1555 that the likes of Jonas was, along with Christoph Welsing, Chancellor of the Bishop of Strasbourg, one of the 'principaux causeurs de tout nostre malheur'. Letter 147, in Hermann Baumgarten (ed.), Sleidans Briefwechsel (Strasbourg, 1888), pp. 283-284. Another more practical reason for the Habsburgs' willingness to employ and promote representatives of a spectrum of religious positions lay in the desperate need for competent functionaries. Owing to the dramatic expansion of central European territories under his command from the 1520s, Ferdinand I had greatly expanded the number of Habsburg administrative bodies based at his court in Vienna. A decree of 1 January 1527 reorganised the central government of his states: it was now to consist of an Aulic Council, a Privy Council, a court chancellery and a chamber of accounts. As the holder of a doctorate in Canon and Civil Law, Georg Eder was therefore a prime candidate to hold such office. Eder graduated with this degree from

Nor does Eder's subsequently wide-ranging court career suggest that his Catholicism acted as any kind of barrier to promotion. The path of Eder's career at the Habsburg court in Vienna was summarised succinctly by Eder himself in 1574: 'dem heyl. Kayser Ferdinando ich vom 52isten jar dienen, erstlich als camerprocurator, hernach als ain regiments-person und letztlich als hoffrath treulichist gelaist hab'.⁴⁶ Although Eder's editor Schrauf attempts to correct his subject's recollection of the date, court sources support Eder.⁴⁷ He is first mentioned in Hofkammer records on 1 April 1552, though not referred to as 'Herrn Cammerprocurator' until an entry of 12 June 1554.⁴⁸ Eder appears to have held this post until September 1586 and during this time also worked in the Landhaus as Kammerprokurator to the Lower Austrian government.⁴⁹ According to his own account in 'Die Relationen des nō Kammerprokurators Dr Georg Eder', he was called to this office by Ferdinand I and served in it from 16 July 1556 until 1564.⁵⁰ These dates are further supported by Eder's self-description in his own Catalogus

Vienna in 1551. He had, however, commenced these studies at Cologne. On Eder's qualifications see Locher, Speculum p. 8 and p. 38.

⁴⁶ See note one for the source of this quotation. Eder made a similar comment in an earlier letter of 21 January 1574, in which he clarifies what he means by 'regiments-person': '...erstlich als camerprocurator, volgendts bey der niederösterreichischen regierung, und bishero im hoffrath dermassen gedient...' Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, p. 78. The circumstances surrounding the composition of these letters to the Bavarian Dukes will be explored fully in chapter four.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴⁸ HKA, Expedit. Regist. nō 26, fol. 168r, and Expedit. Regist. nō 30 fol. 416v respectively.

⁴⁹ Eder is last mentioned in HKA, Expedit. Regist. nō 145, fol. 357r, on 27 September 1586.

⁵⁰ 'Die Relationen des nō Kammerprokurators Dr Georg Eder' (2 vols.) comes from K und K Reichsfinanzarchiv Cod. Mscr. Nro 22.D but was consulted for this thesis in its transcribed form as part of the Graf Chorinsky Quellensammlung held in the HHStA. This reference, p. 14.

Rectorum entry for 1557 as ‘Georgius Eder I.U.D., Regis Ferdinandi Consiliarius & Fisci prouinciarum inferioris Austriae Aduocatus’, and the award of a similar title in the university’s Hauptmatrikel for 1557.⁵¹ Eder’s highest promotion, held alongside these offices, was however to the rank of Reichshofrat. The Hofstaatsverzeichnis of December 1563 is the first to list Eder as a member after his installation in the post, again by the Emperor Ferdinand, on 22 November 1563.⁵² Eder remained Reichshofrat just two months short of 20 years: his final mention in the Reichshofrat Protokolle is dated 24 September 1583.⁵³

This final promotion was the most prestigious of Eder’s career at the Habsburg court in Vienna, and reflects not only the type of post with which a Catholic such as Eder could be trusted, but also reveals that many of Eder’s equally high-ranking court colleagues were also Catholic. The Reichshofrat or Aulic Council has summarily been described as ‘the highest court of appeal for the whole Empire’.⁵⁴ As the temporal fount of justice, none other than the Emperor himself was at least the notional head of the Reichshofrat. It was he who personally appointed each member: Eder, for example, was the penultimate appointment of Ferdinand I. The

⁵¹ Catalogus Rectorum Et Illustrium Virorum Archigymnasii Viennensis... Ab anno M.CC. XXXVII usque ad annum M.D.LIX (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559), p. 88. In the university’s Hauptmatrikel for the entry dated 13 October 1557, the new rector Eder is described as ‘caesarae maiestatis consiliarius et fisci prouinciarum inferioris Austriae aduocatus’, Franz Gall and Willy Szaivert (eds.), Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien. I Abteilung. Die Matrikel der Universität Wien vol. III (Vienna, Cologne, Graz, 1971), p. 116.

⁵² HHStA, Hofarchiv, Hofstaatsverzeichnis O Me A /SR 183 (1563-1600) Nr 45a fol. 1v line 13. On Eder’s promotion to Reichshofrat, see Oswald von Gschließer Der Reichshofrat (Vienna, 1942), pp. 108-109.

⁵³ HHStA, RHR Protocolla rerum resolutarium xvi 24, fol. 217 v.

details of administering Imperial justice fell usually on the shoulders of the Reichshofräte themselves. They dealt mainly with legal matters and administered the ultimate source of justice throughout the Empire and the hereditary lands.⁵⁵ As one historian has noted, ‘members of the Aulic Council in general enjoyed precedence in rank over all other councillors of the Emperor except members of the Imperial Privy Council’.⁵⁶ By the time of Eder’s official entry to this institution in 1563, it had evolved from its original incarnation by Maximilian I as a ‘Hofratkolleg’, intended as a means of retaining the Emperor’s personal influence in the administration of justice and to act as a counterweight to the Reichskammergericht.⁵⁷ Ferdinand I’s Reichshofratsordnung of 3 April 1559 not only reflected the institution’s new Imperial title but confirmed and updated an older Hofratsordnung of 1541 which had defined its remit as follows: ‘...all justiti und partheienhändelen, außershalb derer so finanssachen und unser cammerguet belangen, vor berührten unserm hofrat zu erledigen, remittieren und weisen.’⁵⁸ This stood, but the 1559 Ordnung also emphasised a wider role for the Reichshofrat, in

⁵⁴ R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II, p. 10.

⁵⁵ R.J.W. Evans notes that large territorial princes such as those of Saxony and the Palatinate held the *privilegium de non appellando* which protected them from Reichshofrat judgements. Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, p. 151.

⁵⁶ Schwarz, The Imperial Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century, p. 18.

⁵⁷ Oswald von Gschließer, Der Reichshofrat (Vienna, 1942), p. 1. Although the focus of this book is on the centuries after the sixteenth, it is nonetheless the most recent and most comprehensive monograph of this important institution. Gschließer also notes that 1498 and 1501 have both been suggested as the date of Maximilian I’s foundation. According to Henry Schwarz, The Imperial Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century (Harvard University Press, 1943), p. 16, ‘The aim in creating a judiciary in immediate contact with the Emperor and subject to him alone was primarily to strengthen the Emperor’s power against the ...Kammergericht, a court subject largely to the influence of the Imperial Estates’.

⁵⁸ Gschließer, Der Reichshofrat, p. 90.

Staatsachen. As Gschließer has noted, the Reichshofrat rapidly became involved in a series of matters concerning the Reich and beyond, from the negotiations between Denmark and Sweden at Rostock, the 'Kriegsgewerb' of Wilhelm von Grumbach, the position of three ecclesiastical princes on confessional issues over the lay chalice and clerical marriage, to preparations for future Reichstage.⁵⁹

In part through a need to appear even-handed, and in part through the urgent need for competent functionaries to carry out policy, the Vienna court of the late sixteenth century did house a significant number of Protestants or at least non-Catholics in high places, including the Reichshofrat.⁶⁰ Top of the hierarchy in this regard was Johann Baptist Weber, Reichsvizekanzler between November 1563 and April 1577. In spite of the Emperor Maximilian II's personal dislike for Weber, he did espouse the political virtues of religious tolerance and confessional moderation that were the Habsburgs' political salvation in these years.⁶¹ In attendance through his office of Reichsvizekanzler, Weber used his position to gain substantial personal and political leverage. He not only purchased the Herrschaft of Bisamberg

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁶⁰ R.J.W. Evans has noted the existence of this '...rising generation of 'aulic Christians', who indeed serve Catholicism, but serve their own masters better, and [had] scope under Rudolf II to serve themselves best of all. We find in the professional ranks of Habsburg government the beginnings of a court étatism which originated perhaps among the bourgeois advisers to Ferdinand I. Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1612 (Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 61-62.

⁶¹ Weber's readiness to avoid religious extremes may have been due to something of a carnal appetite on his part. Weber's drinking bouts were well known in court circles: not for nothing did Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria refer to him as a 'großbauchten schelm'. From Vienna, Maximilian had also revealed similar views to his brother-in-law Albrecht, indicating that he feared Weber was not sufficiently qualified for the post of Reichsvizekanzler. See Lothar Gross, Inventare des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs (vol. 1), p. 312ff.

in Lower Austria, but he ensured the elevation of close family members to equally high ranks. His sons-in-law Johann Wolfgang Freymon and Jacob Kurz both administered the office of Reichsvizekanzler as well as that of the Reichshofrat, while his own son, also named Johann Baptist, joined the Reichshofrat between 1578 and 1591.⁶² Another member with no particular confession was Doctor of Law, Andreas Gail.⁶³ Gail not only served in the Reichshofrat from 1569 until 1582, but was sent on numerous missions to Italy, France and Belgium.⁶⁴ Two other members were, however, openly Protestant and powerful in their own right. Gabriel Strein, Herr zu Schwarzenau, was member of a long-established, well-connected Lower Austrian noble family. Strein's uncle Richard served as a member of Maximilian II's Hofkammer, while Gabriel Strein himself, Reichshofrat from December 1564 until the end of September 1578, later served in the court of Rudolf II.⁶⁵ Similarly, Joachim von Sinzendorf zu Goggitsch und Feyregg, Reichshofrat in 1576 and 1577, was the son of a Lower Austrian Ritter and served the Imperial

⁶² The role of Johann Baptist Weber the Elder will be discussed further throughout this thesis. For more, see Lothar Gross Inventare des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs vol. I Der Geschichte der deutschen Reichshofkanzlei von 1559 bis 1806 (Vienna, 1933), pp. 312-315. See the same pp. 321-322 and pp. 319-321 for more on Freymon and Kurz respectively. See Gschließer, Der Reichshofrat, pp. 140-141 for more on Kurz as Reichshofrat, pp. 142-143 for more on Freymon's role in the same, and p. 140 for Weber's son's Reichshofrat career.

⁶³ Floridus Röhrig, however, does note in his article: 'Protestantismus und Gegenreformation im Stift Klosterneuburg und seinen Pfarren', Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg Neue Folge Bd. I, (1961), pp. 105-170, p. 145, that Gail was in the same circle of friends as the Catholic Wolfgang Unversagt, discussed below, and the Jesuit Georg Scherer.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126. Also spelt 'Gayl'.

⁶⁵ Sometimes spelt Streyn, Streun, or Strain. For more, *ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

dynasty in various functions in Vienna and Constantinople throughout the 1570s and 1580s.⁶⁶

What Eder's position in the Reichshofrat has also highlighted, however, is the presence of an equally substantial and influential group of Catholics in equally high positions. The Reichshofratsordnung of 1559 had distinguished between two types of Reichshofrat member. The Gelehrten or 'learned' members were to have specialist legal knowledge and to be 'graduirten oder sonsten gelährten, wolefarnen, ansehentlichen, frommen und geschickten Personen'.⁶⁷ 'Lay' members were princes, Grafen, Herren or knights, and always supplied the Reichshofrat with its president. As a result, when Eder entered as one of ten serving 'Gelehrten' he found himself mingling with those who were influential by birth as well as those who had sought their own rank.⁶⁸ The three Reichshofrat presidents under whom Eder served- Philipp Freiherr zu Winnenberg, Otto Heinrich Graf zu Schwarzenberg, and Paul Sixt Graf von Trautson- all came from noble backgrounds and had a history of service to the Habsburg dynasty.⁶⁹ The family of Winnenberg, president from 1563 until 1576, held the Herrschaft of Winnenberg and Philipp himself went on to serve Rudolf II as part of the Reichskammergericht in Speyer.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 133.

⁶⁷ Gschließer, *Der Reichshofrat*, p. 68.

⁶⁸ Numbers of Reichshofräte fluctuated: Gschließer notes that by the mid-seventeenth century there could be as many as 18 serving members. Ibid., p. 69.

⁶⁹ On these three see Gschließer, *Der Reichshofrat*, pp. 104-105, pp. 136-138, and pp. 138-139 respectively.

Von Trautson, who took over as president the year before Eder's career as Reichshofrat terminated, was the son of the Hans Trautson, Freiherrn zu Matrei, Sprechenstein, Schrofenstein and Falkenstein who had served as in the Geheimer Rat as Obersthofmeister and Obersthofmarschall under both Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. It is Schwarzenberg, Reichshofrat president between 1576 and 1582, whose religion is of particular interest. Schwarzenberg came from a family of Catholic Bavarian nobles; that he also became Rudolf II's Obersthofmarschall indicates that his confessional allegiance was no barrier to promotion.

It was not just the Reichshofrat presidents who could claim such rank allied with a devotion to Catholicism. Within the Reichshofrat Eder would also have encountered the likes of Johann Andreas von Schwanbach, a member from May 1570 until September 1573, and from a noble Catholic family from Überlingen am Bodensee.⁷⁰ Eder was, however, closest in origins to the other 'Gelehrten' of the Reichshofrat, and in these men too he had some notable Catholic associates.

Bologna-trained Doctor of Law Johann Hegenmüller, Reichshofrat from 1566 until 1583, had previously held the position of Rat at the court of the Wittelsbachs in Bavaria. Called from this into Habsburg service, Hegenmüller also taught law to Ferdinand I's younger sons and later became Hofkanzler under Rudolf II.

Hegenmüller was rewarded as early as 1568 with promotion into noble ranks and was also known for his Catholicism. The Bavarian Kanzler Eck had described Hegenmüller as one of several 'guetherzige, catholicische...räte' in service at the

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 128.

Viennese court.⁷¹ Another Reichshofrat with whom Eder served, Christoph Pirckhaimer, was described by the Jesuits after his death as a 'Wohltäter'.⁷² Siegmund Viehauser was a further, as yet unmentioned Catholic in Habsburg employ. Having emerged from Wittelsbach service, Viehauser rose rapidly, from Reichshofrat in 1573 to membership of the Geheimer Rat in 1576 and finally to the rank of Reichsvizekanzler in 1577.⁷³ Lastly, Dr Timotheus Jung, a regular member of the Reichshofrat between 1568 and 1579, was a convert from Lutheranism. His insistence on attending Catholic services even at the Reichstag in Augsburg in 1559, much to the disgust of the powerful Protestants all around him, did not hinder his promotion at the Viennese court, and he continued to attend almost every Reichstag as a valued member of the Austrian delegation.⁷⁴

Nor was such a Catholic presence at the Vienna court of the second half of the sixteenth century limited to members of the Reichshofrat. The Habsburg court was the seat of a number of further powerful representatives of the same cause, many of whom would undoubtedly have come into direct contact with Eder and with each other. Leonhard von Harrach, a representative of a leading Lower Austrian noble

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 119-121.

⁷² Gschließer, *Der Reichshofrat*, p. 120 and p. 142. Pirckhaimer served as Reichshofrat between 1581 and 1591.

⁷³ On Viehauser, *ibid.*, p. 131-132. He replaced Weber in the final post, and held it until his death in April 1587.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 112-113.

family, acted as Obersthofmarschall until 1567.⁷⁵ Such was this man's reputation as a devout Catholic that the dying Emperor Ferdinand I reputedly charged him with the defence of the faith in the Austrian lands.⁷⁶ Adam von Dietrichstein evidently had a similar reputation: it was he who the Emperor Maximilian II sent as his representative to Madrid while his sons Rudolf and Ernst spent eight years there at the court of their uncle, Philip II.⁷⁷ So impressed was the King of Spain with Dietrichstein that he made him and his sons knights of Calatrava, while also paying him additional wages to urge a greater degree of adherence to Rome on his Imperial master in Vienna, Maximilian II.⁷⁸ Andreas Khevenhüller of Frankenburg and Hochosterwitz was another Austrian noble known for his Catholicism: such was his reputation as a Catholic, he spent 32 years in a post similar to that held by Dietrichstein, as ambassador in Madrid between 1574 and 1606. Wolfgang Unversagt, another known Catholic from Vienna itself, is listed in the Hofstaatsverzeichnis of December 1576 as having served as 'Reichs- und Hofsecretarien' since 28 May 1567: that he also served in the geheimer Rat and

⁷⁵ Fellner and Kretschmayr, *Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung*, p. 188.

⁷⁶ Louthan, *Quest for Compromise*, p. 132, citing F. Mencik, 'Das religiöse Testament Kaiser Ferdinands I', *MIÖG* 20 (1899), p. 105ff.

⁷⁷ The boys were in Spain between 1563 and 1571; Dietrichstein was with them between 1564 and 1571, and was also in the country 1572 to 1573. On Dietrichstein and Johann Khevenhüller zu Aichelberg as Ambassadors to Madrid see Susanne Herrleben 'Zur Korrespondenz Kaiser Maximilians II. Mit Seinen Gesandten In Spanien,' and Friedrich Edelmayer, 'Ehre, Geld, Karriere. Adam von Dietrichstein im Dienst Kaiser Maximilians II.', both in Edelmayer and Kohler (eds.), *Kaiser Maximilian II.*, pp. 95-108 and pp. 109-142. A monograph on the Spanish connection in Austria is Christopher F. Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I. 1522-1564* (Vienna, 1997).

⁷⁸ Sutter Fichtner, *Maximilian II.*, p. 213. Dietrichstein's reputation is all the more impressive in view of the fact that he had been born a Lutheran but had converted.

briefly in the Reichshofrat places him at the heart of the Habsburg administration in Vienna.⁷⁹

The court career of Eder also demonstrates, however, the type of service and loyalty to the dynasty required to attain such high rank. Indeed, it seems that personal confession was of less relevance than the willingness and ability to enhance the authority of the Habsburg dynasty. In Eder's case, evidence of particular service to the dynasty is not easy to identify. The vagaries of Reichshofrat minute-taking make it almost impossible to say what Eder's precise role in Reichshofrat business was. The surviving Reichshofrat records, or Resolutionsprotokolle offer little indication of Eder's particular duties or for which cases he bore particular responsibility.⁸⁰ Lothar Gross has identified one instance in which Eder appears to personally have dealt with a case regarding a dispute over a mill at nearby Schwechat, but in the main the Protokolle indicate only the sessions at which Eder was present.⁸¹ The same applies to records of Eder's earlier work in the Lower Austrian government. A published patent from 25 April 1559 lifting a

⁷⁹ Fellner and Kretschmayr, *Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung*, p. 194. According to Lothar Gross, *Inventare des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs* Bd. I, pp. 372ff, Unversagt also became Sekretär to the geheimer Rat in 1568, just a year after his initial appointment, and also participated in some Reichshofrat business.

⁸⁰ As Reichshofrat, Eder would usually have been committed to working within the city on an almost daily basis. Ratssitzungen took place at the Hofburg all year apart from Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, and attendance at every one was a primary duty of office. On the practical workings of the Reichshofrat, see Gschließer, *Der Reichshofrat*, pp. 77-79. He notes that while in theory they were only to meet four times a week, in fact they often met five or six times, in the mornings and if necessary also in the afternoons. As many as a dozen cases could be discussed in each session.

⁸¹ Lothar Gross, 'Reichshofratsprotokolle als Quellen niederösterreichischer Geschichte', *Jb.f.Lk.v.NÖ* 26 (1936), pp. 119-123, p. 122. This case was dated 19 January 1564.

ban on the purchase of cattle from Hungary, and another from 13 August 1563 concerning the status of those living in Vienna without a trade and without a master, both bear Eder's signature, but his is one name amongst many.⁸² There does, however, remain evidence of one case in which Eder was involved early in his court career, and which displayed not only his legal talents but also his loyalty to the Imperial authority. More significant still is that the case involved the formulation of a defence for the Emperor Ferdinand I himself, over a potentially explosive conflict with none other than the Pope himself.⁸³

By 1558 Habsburg-Papal relations had reached a fresh low. The uncompromising Gianpietro Caraffa had been Pope Paul IV from April 1555, and since then tension had escalated between Rome and Vienna on several fronts. Association with his elder brother's past policies in the Italian lands, a son with increasingly dubious confessional leanings, and personal involvement in the construction of the Peace of Augsburg had all damaged Ferdinand's connection with the Pope, but none of these more so than the circumstances of his election as Emperor in 1558. Not only had his Electors included Protestant princes, but to please them Ferdinand had taken his election as an opportunity to renew the Augsburg Peace with its controversial terms. In a further slight, he had failed to welcome the papal nuncio at his coronation in Aachen in March. As a result, the Pope and a number of his cardinals

⁸² Patents reprinted in: Richard Schuster, 'Regesten aus dem Archive des k.k. Ministeriums des Innern', in Anton Mayer (ed.), Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Part I vol. 2 (Vienna, 1896), pp. 1-94, No. 1464, p. 78 and No. 1497, p. 91, respectively.

⁸³ The details of this incident have been succinctly outlined most recently by Paula Sutter Fichtner in her Ferdinand of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation (New York, 1982), pp. 227-229.

not only questioned the validity of an Imperial election in which heretics had participated, but added that no Christian would have acted as Ferdinand.

The adequate defence of the Emperor's position in this dispute was thus crucial for the maintenance of his authority, personal and Imperial, not to mention the future peace of Europe. Eder's particular input into the formulation of legal arguments on behalf of the Emperor is not entirely clear from the remaining documents. What survives is a manuscript of 57 folio pages, dated March 1558 and divided into three sections.⁸⁴ The first by Philipp Gundel, the second attributed to Gundel and 'Georgii Eder Camer Procuratoris VJ Doctorum' and the third by Gundel and Georg Gienger, the three pieces together set out a series of points in defence of the new Emperor's position.⁸⁵ The section for which Eder was responsible carries references from no less than 74 historical, legal and Biblical sources and may well have formed part of the series of formal replies to the Pope issued by the Emperor's representatives over the following months.⁸⁶ Their relationship survived, but only

⁸⁴ This survives only in manuscript form at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, signature Bibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. 8727. Entitled 'Consilia doctorum Viennensium Philippi Gundelii, Georgii Eder et Georgii Gienger 'in negotio imperii adversus objecta papae' et quidem pro Ferdinando I imperatore contra Paulus IV papam'. Gundel's section is followed by that on which he had collaborated with Eder: 'Philippi Gundelii et Georgii Eder Camer Procuratoris V.J. Doctorum annotationes in Consilium Jud de Mais Mirandularis, de Furibus Imperatoris, contra Impugnationes Papae', fol. 34r-44r and not, incidentally, written in Eder's hand. The final section is headed 'Georgii Gienger et Philippi Gundelii V.J. Doctorum...' but is attributed at its end to the 'Labor et Manus Philippi Gundelii D', fol. 57r.

⁸⁵ Much later in his career, Eder would take the Roman side of a conflict with his Wittelsbach patrons over secular involvement in ecclesiastical affairs: see chapter five.

⁸⁶ One such response was delivered by the Imperial ambassador to Rome, Martín Guzmán, who argued that indeed, an Emperor could not be elected by heretics but that the honour had fallen to Ferdinand by default. To a similar end, the then Reichsvizekanzler Georg Sigismund Seld argued that the electors retained complete independence in secular affairs.

just, and after a prolonged period of tension during which the Pope withdrew his nuncio from the Imperial court.

It would appear that Eder's role in the episode was so prized, that the young jurist came to the attention of Ferdinand I himself. There survives a draft of a letter dated 3 March 1559 from Ferdinand I to Gundel, Stephan Hauptmann and Georg Eder, the last identified not only by name but also by the post to which Ferdinand had named him almost three years earlier, as Kammerprokurator to the Lower Austrian government.⁸⁷ The Emperor was apparently pleased with his appointment: the letter of 3 March reveals Ferdinand's receipt of the reports concerning his conflict with Paul IV, while three further letters sent by Ferdinand to Eder between 3 May 1559 and 8 July 1559 over Hofkammer business indicate the continuation of the Emperor's trust in his functionary.⁸⁸ Eder's subsequent appointment by Ferdinand I to the more prestigious post of Reichshofrat just four years later may well have been in response to the competence and service he demonstrated in defending the Imperial authority.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ HHStA, Staatenabteilung Italien Rom Varia 1551-1559 Fasz. 2 (alt 1,2) fol. 9r. Hauptmann's involvement in the conflict may be explained by his proficiency in Canon Law. He was also rector of Vienna University once in 1556 and again in 1559: see Locher, *Speculum*, vol. I, p. 26.

⁸⁸ HKA, Reichsakten Fasz. 150/A: fol. 351 r/v (3 May 1559), fol. 353 r-v (5 June 1559), fol. 355r (8 July 1559). The first letter, sent from Augsburg and also addressed to Gundel, names both he and Eder as 'Baide der Rechten doctor', possibly mere titles but also indicative of the fact that Eder's growing reputation was grounded in his legal skills. The two later letters are also addressed to Eder and Gundel as well as to Wilhelm von Wolkenstein and Blasius Kuen.

⁸⁹ Paula Sutter Fichtner notes that, due to the Habsburgs' chronic financial problems, Ferdinand demanded detailed knowledge of the business of the Hofkammer. For example, its members were, amongst other stipulations, to send regular reports to the Geheimer Rat. Sutter Fichtner, *Ferdinand of Austria*, pp. 67-68. The letters to Eder noted here may have been part of merely routine business between Hofkammer and Geheimer Rat, but nonetheless reveal the importance of Eder to the working of Ferdinand's growing bureaucracy.

It is not only within the Habsburg court, however, that Georg Eder's career path demonstrates the level and nature of Catholic service within late sixteenth-century Vienna. The relationship between Vienna's court and city is complex to say the least, but suffice to say that since Ferdinand I's arrival there in 1522 and subsequent use of Vienna as a key military and administrative base, the court had come to increasingly dominate all aspects of city life.⁹⁰ Eder's role in the city as a whole is however also indicative of the prominence a Catholic could attain: as university rector, Georg Eder was an important figurehead for the entire community.⁹¹

Hilde de Ridder Symoens has described the role of the early modern university rector as simply the 'head of the institution'. As such, Eder carried the ultimate responsibility for education, discipline, finance and the overall management of the university.⁹² Eder's authority as rector is suggested in a number of Vienna

⁹⁰ As will be demonstrated with the case of the Vienna University, the Crown often interfered with matters outside the court.

⁹¹ It is also worth noting at this juncture that by 1566 at least, Eder had attained the status of Bürger. According to the Hofquartierbücher, by this year Eder and his family had moved right into the city's centre, not far from Stephansdom and close to the original site of the convent of the Poor Clares, to a two storey house at number 956 Weihburgasse. The entry for this dwelling lists Eder as 'bürgerlich', a position to which he would have been granted access by virtue of the offices he held. As such, Eder was not only part of the civic elite, but his Catholicism was evidently not a barrier to his attainment of such status. In addition, the fact that Eder's home is not listed as a Freihaus indicates that he was not exempt from paying taxes, and his home in this year would at least have been considered for the compulsory quartering of court officials, workers or even troops. Albert Comesina Ritter von San Vittore, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Wien's im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1881), p. 38, and John P. Spielmann, *The City and the Crown, Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600-1740* (Purdue University Press, 1993), chapter four.

⁹² Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Management and Resources', in her (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe. Volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 154-209, p. 173.

University records. Their nature is such that Eder's particular input to decision-making is rarely clear, but he is listed as presiding at a number of councils such as that of the Theology Faculty on 17 October 1569 or at the Consistorium of 7 December 1569. At the latter, for example, Eder oversaw the administration of a bequest to the university from the Archbishop of Gran, Nikolaus Oláh, for the establishment of two scholarships for such students 'qui sacris initiari et sacerdotes esse volunt'.⁹³

The exercise of authority would also have meant that Eder chaired all councils, including the academic court of justice and Consistorium, and would have led all ceremonies including doctoral promotions. The rector's role on such an occasion was in itself inherently portentous. Surrounded by the leading members of the university, he would accompany all the physical symbols of the promotion, such as the presentation of a scholarly book, and the placing of the doctor's cap on the head of the recipient, with a speech ostensibly about the graduate but as much reflective of the power of the university.⁹⁴ The following extract from the published version of Eder's conferment of the doctorate on an Alex Straus, formulaic as it is, reveals

⁹³ UAW Theol. Akten: Th16 (1569-1666) (Microfilm signature 076), fol. 2r. Albert Starzer, 'Fortsetzung' in his (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, Part I, vol. 5, (Vienna, 1906), pp. 11-397, No. 5480, p. 128. The bequest imposed various restrictions on the geographical origins of the students to whom the grant could be awarded, as well as demanding certain levels of academic achievement on the part of the holders.

⁹⁴ The right to grant such promotions actually belonged to the Kanzler, but as Chair of the proceedings Eder as rector would have had the right to make the longest speeches and thus dominate the event. For an overview of such events see: Ewald Horn, 'Die Disputationen und Promotionen an den Deutschen Universitäten vornehmlich seit dem 16. Jahrhundert', *Elfte Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 1-126. It is also worth noting that the rector had the right to wear ceremonial robes that would have visually set him apart from others: see Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Management and Resources', p. 206.

much of the symbolic weight of the moment and, by implication, Eder's status as the physical bestower of the dignity.⁹⁵

'Ego tandem ea autoritate, quam hoc celeberrimum Archigymnasium Viennense à summis tam Pontificibus quam Imperatoribus adquisuit primum, ac deinde etiam longissima consuetudine obtinuit, te Alexium Straus Licentiatum, Iuris Utriusque; Doctorem facio, creo, promoueo, atque ex communi praeceptorum tuorum iudicio in honestissimo Iuris Consultorum ordine constitutum pronuncio; ac tuae Magnificentiae simul omnia priuilegia, honores, facultates, & inuitates, quibus hic ordo à Christianis Principibus, uel Iure uel consuetudine ornatus est, hic publice confero; ut iis per totum orbem Christianum uti frui possis, atque gaudere. Idque in nomine Sanctissimae & indiuiduae Trinitatis Patris, Filii, & Spiritus sancti...'⁹⁶

Eder was, furthermore, associated more than anyone else with the bestowal of such a dignity. The office of rector in the early modern university was generally rotated between leading university figures on a semester by semester basis, with each faculty- Philosophy, Law, Medicine and Theology- taking turns to elect a member from among their own ranks every April for the summer semester and every October for the winter semester.⁹⁷ Eder's career, however, was unprecedented for the number of rectorates he held. In 1557 Eder received his first posting to the office of Vienna University rector, and filled this position no less than eleven times

⁹⁵ On the significance of the title 'doctor' in the early modern period, see chapter three on the source of Eder's authority to write on theological matters.

⁹⁶ This text is from is the climax of the ceremony. *Quaerela Iustitiae, Lites nunc fieri omnio fere Immortales. In Coronatione Magnifici Nobilis & Clarissimi Viri, Domini Alexii Strauss, V.I. Doctoris Academiae Viennensis pro tempore Rectoris. Per D. Georg Ederum* (Stephanus Creuzer, Vienna, 1581), fol. C4v.

⁹⁷ Eder's first election at Vienna University was not as rector but rather as Prokurator of the German Nation for the winter semester 1552-1553. Eder also acted five times as Dekan of the Law Faculty, once in 1571 as Dekan of the Theology Faculty and once in the winter semester of 1572-1573 as Prokurator of the Hungarian Nation. According to Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft', Eder was Dekan of the Law Faculty Winter semester 1559/60, Summer Semester 1570, Summer Semester 1572, Winter Semester 1580/81, and Winter Semester 1582/83. On Eder's election as Prokurator of the Hungarian Nation, see Locher *Speculum* p. 256.

between 1557 and 1584.⁹⁸ To put this in perspective, within the span of Eder's career the highest number of rectorates held by any other individual at Vienna University was four. No-one, however, even approached Eder's eleven periods in the same office.⁹⁹

In addition, Eder, his hearers, or perhaps a mixture of both, also ensured that no other rector who served at Vienna within the same period had nearly so many rectorial speeches published, and certainly none so many within such a short time frame. Five of these speeches survive: that delivered on the doctoral promotion of Marcus Faschang on 1 October 1555, of Petrus a Rotis on 14 September 1557, of Laurenz Lehman on 19 January 1559, of Martin Puschman on 16 September 1568, and that quoted above, of Alex Straus on 13 September 1581.¹⁰⁰ The fact that the

⁹⁸ For a summary of Eder's university career, see Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft', p. 224. Basing his figures on Locher, *Speculum*, Mühlberger lists Eder's rectorates: winter semester 1557/58, summer semester 1558, winter semester 1558/59, summer semester 1559, winter semester 1559/60, winter semester 1569/70, winter semester 1571/72, summer semester 1580, winter semester 1581/82, summer semester 1582, and summer semester 1584. On Eder's earlier 1552-1553 election as Prokurator, see Locher *Speculum*, p. 215.

⁹⁹ Hubertus Luetanus, with four stints as rector of Vienna University, came closest to Eder's record. See Locher *Speculum* vol. I pp. 26-29.

¹⁰⁰ See title above. These five speeches reflect only those that were published and that have survived: it may reasonably be assumed there were many more never published or which have not survived. The first, *Politicum ordine etiam in ecclesia retinendum esse, & quid ad rem conferat Iurisprudencia: habita Vien: in aedibus D. Stephani dum clariß: viro D. Marco Faschang Doctoream dignitatem in V.I. conferret. I Octobris Anno M. D. LV.* remains only in an abbreviated form in a later compilation: *Orationes sex In Celeberrimo Archigymnasio Viennen...* (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559). This speech is also unusual in that Eder was not actually rector when it was delivered in October 1555. Another from September 1557 on the promotion of Petrus a Rotis was also reprinted in *Orationes sex* as well as alone under the title of: *Ius Non Opinione Inductum, Sed Natura Constitutum Et Certa scientia conclusum...* (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1557). A third from 1559, *De Maiestate legum & ordinum sive gradu dignitate & usu, Qua Excellentiss: viro D. Laurentio Leemanno Greearum literarum professori Doctorea dignitas in VI. ab Authore in tertio Rectoratu suo collata fuit. XIX. Ianuarii Anno M.D.LIX.* again exists only in *Orationes sex*, while the fourth, *Ad Rubricam Codicis De Summa Trinitate, & C. Oratio Eximii atque Celeberrimi uiri, Domini Georgii Aederi Frisingensis, I.C. &c. Consiliarii Caesarei, &c. Pro Fide Catholica Habita*

first three of these were also reprinted in abbreviated form in a compilation of Eder's speeches from 1559 adds further to the claim that in print as well as in fact, Eder's was one of the highest public profiles in the Vienna of his own day.¹⁰¹

Such tenacious hold on office is impressive by any standards, but in view of Eder's status in Vienna and the task he faced at the university, his role is all the more noteworthy. He was, as has already been demonstrated, closely associated through his court career with the implementation of Imperial authority, a power that had encroached on long-held university privileges and autonomies in the past. The early modern university retained from its medieval legacy certain exclusive rights: that of self-management including the administration of justice and discipline; exemptions from certain taxes, military service and court-quartering; and special protective laws that, for example, granted university members priority in the case of food shortage.¹⁰² These were not expressly denied by Ferdinand I, but his so-called *Reformatio Nova* of 1 January 1554 was just one more step in an increasing accrual of secular authority over the university corporation.

Viennae Austriae XVI. Septembris Anno LXVIII. Dum Clarissimis uiris, D. Ioanni Schuartzentaler, ac D. Martino Puschman Neapolitanis &c. in V.I. Doctorea Conferret insignia (Iohannis Vuolrab, Buda, 1570) was published separately.

¹⁰¹ 'Politicum ordine...' and 'De Maiestate' survive only in this compilation, Orationes sex In Celeberrimo Archigymnasio Viennen... (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559). As all the other speeches by Eder in this collection are abbreviated forms of originals published elsewhere, it seems reasonable to assume that both these speeches were published separately too but owing to their physically flimsy construction have not stood the test of time. The speech, on the promotion of a Rotis, both survives alone and in a shorter form in Orationes sex.

¹⁰² Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Management and Resources', p. 164 .

At this point too, Vienna University was still only beginning to recover from a series of blows earlier in the century that had severely shaken its position.¹⁰³ The aftermath of 1529's Turkish siege of the city and a fire four years earlier that had destroyed a third of the city, had been accompanied by a rise in Lutheranism or at least non-Catholicism, a downturn in trade and subsequent rise in living costs, and a series of epidemics to which as many as 30,000 succumbed in a 1541-1542 outbreak.¹⁰⁴ For the university, these circumstances had led to a drastic downturn in student matriculation rates which, despite the gradual return of notable and attractive humanist figures, were by 1558 still nowhere near pre-siege numbers.¹⁰⁵

Eder was, furthermore, a Catholic rector of a university that had a considerable reputation for the nourishment and protection of Protestantism in various forms. In 1520, for example, the rector of Vienna University refused to publish the papal bull against Luther. Nearly four decades later, in 1559, Vienna University was still being criticised by Rome for possessing Lutheran works and harbouring Lutheran

¹⁰³ The most pertinent recent examinations of this period are both by Kurt Mühlberger: 'Bildung und Wissenschaft' and 'Zu den Krisen der Universität Wien...'. There is a limited but comprehensive literature on Vienna University in the period, most notably that by Aschbach but also Artur Goldmann, *Die Wiener Universität 1519-1740* (Vienna, 1917) and Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien* (2 vols., Vienna, 1854).

¹⁰⁴ Mühlberger, 'Zu den Krisen der Universität Wien...', p. 273. Mühlberger adds that plague broke out in Vienna approximately every 8-10 years, and there were further outbreaks in 1552, 1560-1562, 1570, and 1575-1576. He notes too that with regard to the cost of living, in 1514 a loaf of bread would have cost the equivalent of 1 Pfennig in Vienna: by 1566, the same item would have cost four times as much.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 271. According to Mühlberger's graph, by 1520, Vienna University enjoyed approximately 3200 annual matriculations compared to only 1200 for Ingolstadt and 1700 for Wittenberg. By 1530, Vienna's number had all but collapsed to a mere 300 matriculations. By 1555, while Wittenberg received 3200 matriculations and Ingolstadt 1000, Vienna's total still only reached 800, a quarter of its 1520 rate.

professors.¹⁰⁶ By Eder's day, even the Emperor himself seemed to be involved in the protection of such heresy. Maximilian II was again the chief culprit: shortly after his coronation as Emperor he permitted a change in the university oath to facilitate the promotion of Lutheran doctors and professors.¹⁰⁷ Instead of swearing to 'romanae fidei', they merely had to express belief in 'christianae fidei'. In April 1569 Vienna University had its first Protestant rector in the shape of Kornelius Grünwald.¹⁰⁸

The revival of Central European Humanism as a statement of dynastic greatness as well as an ideology of confessional peace was also high on the Imperial agenda, and by the late sixteenth century Vienna University was employed as a vehicle to further the same. Thus several of those proponents of humanism employed by Maximilian II at the court also found themselves employed at the city's university. For instance, the Consistorium was composed of the Dekans of the four faculties, the representatives of the four academic 'nations' and headed by the rector, Kanzler

¹⁰⁶ For more on this see Mecenseffy, 'Wien im Zeitalter der Reformation...' and Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft'. Mecenseffy in particular notes an early connection between Vienna University and the initial progress of the Swiss reformation, presumably due to the university's early reputation for humanism. Huldreich Zwingli and Konrad Grebel both studied at Vienna at the end of the fifteenth century, while Joachim Watt or Vadian had been university rector in the winter semester of 1516-1517. It was also in Vienna that the eventual reformer of St. Gallen had one of his first reformist writings published, at the presses of Hans Singriener on Weihburggasse: Ein Underscheyd zu erkennen den almechtigen got und wie die newen göter uff sind kommen kürztlich begriffen.

¹⁰⁷ This was a change from the policy of Ferdinand I, whose Reformatio Nova of 1554 had insisted that all university members 'se esse orthodoxae religionis et Sanctae Romanae ecclesiae communicatores et adhaerentes'. Quoted in Heiss, 'Princes, Jesuits and the Origins of Counter-Reform', p. 94.

¹⁰⁸ Grünwald was not to be the only one: a rector of 1576, Doctor of Law Sigismund Eisler, was also known to be a Protestant. Locher Speculum, vol. I, p. 27-28.

and Superintendent. Throughout Eder's career at Vienna University, other Consistorium posts were filled by numerous Protestants of note. The Hugo Blotius named above was Prokurator of the German Nation in 1577. Another such figure was Paulus Fabricius. Eder must have known him: he also sat on the Consistorium for a total of 17 semesters between 1555 and 1580, twelve times as Prokurator of the Hungarian Nation and five as the Dekan of the Faculty of Medicine.¹⁰⁹

Fabricius' talents ranged from medicine and mathematics to botany and astronomy, with skill in rhetoric and poetry as well. Such was his intellectual reputation, it was Fabricius who was one of the chief advisors on the proposed calendar reform of Pope Gregory XIII. Another Protestant, Georg Tanner, a renowned Professor of Greek language and literature, sat on the Consistorium a total of four times, while the anatomist and botanist Johann Aicholtz was also openly Protestant.¹¹⁰ Nor was a teaching post a pre-requisite to membership of Vienna University's intellectual circle of Protestants: as Kurt Mühlberger has suggested, Carolus Clusius, 'the most famous botanist of his time' was connected to many holders of Viennese professorships simply by the bonds of friendship.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ On Fabricius (died 1589) see Mühlberger 'Bildung und Wissenschaft' p. 213 and Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, pp. 187-189. On his university posts see Locher, *Speculum*, pp. 126-129 and pp. 254-257.

¹¹⁰ On Dadius (died 1583) see Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft' p. 213 and Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität* pp. 162-166. On his positions in the Consistorium see Locher, *Speculum* pp. 126-129 and pp. 215-222. On Tanner (1520-1580) see the same three works, p. 214, pp. 279-290 and pp. 102-104, pp. 175-176 respectively. On Aicholtz (1520-88), see Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, pp. 119-124. His conversion to Lutheranism had come about after a period of study at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Wittenberg.

¹¹¹ Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft' p. 213.

It is not that Catholic Eder built up a following within the hierarchy of Vienna University through his teaching. Although he was the holder of two doctorates, one in Law taken in 1551 and one in Theology granted in 1571, Eder himself never taught at Vienna University.¹¹² Eder's success in retaining rank at Vienna University can rather be attributed to the same two factors that led to his rise at the court: the presence of a small but influential group of fellow-Catholics, and the striking ability to boost the authority and reputation of both university and Habsburg ruler simultaneously.

There was a significant Catholic core at the Vienna University of Eder's day, including men who were not merely members, but influential university figures. Wolfgang Lazius and Paulus Weidner in the Faculty of Medicine, Andreas Dadius in the Faculty of Philosophy and Petrus a Rotis in the Law Faculty were all open in their allegiance to Rome. Of these, Andreas Dadius, Professor of Dialectic and Aristotelian philosophy, served on the Consistorium four times and as such must have numbered among Eder's associates. Paulus Weidner was one of the men already noted as having attained the rank of rector three times. It is Wolfgang Lazius, however, who was the highest profile Catholic active at Vienna University during the earlier part of Eder's career there. Not only did he hold the prestigious

¹¹² N. Paulus, 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder. Ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 115 (1895), pp. 13-28, 81-94, 240, p. 17. For Eder's qualifications see Locher *Speculum* p. 8 and p. 38. Although Eder is named as a Professor of Canon Law from 1551 (Locher, *Speculum*, vol. 3 p. 22), this is not necessarily indicative of the holding of an active teaching post. Aschbach adds that Eder was absent from the lists of salaried teaching staff in lists from 1552, 1554 and 1556 (*Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, p. 169). It is worth noting, however, that the third volume of Locher's *Speculum* from 1775 refers to a legal manuscript of Eder's then housed in the university library that may have been used for academic purposes. Now apparently lost, Locher notes it as 'Ederi V.J. Doct. notata juridica', p. 79.

court positions mentioned earlier in the chapter, but he acted as Dekan of the Medical Faculty four times between 1552 and 1561 as well as Superintendent from 1563 until his death two years later.¹¹³

More decisive still for Eder's rise at Vienna University and, by implication, in the city itself, was however not so much the support of a number of Catholic members, albeit influential ones, but Eder's ability to transcend confessional divisions by serving the university in the same way he had served the Habsburg dynasty. This Eder did in a number of ways, all of which simultaneously accentuated the power of the university, the authority of the local rulers, and his own position as a loyal servant to both.

The first such example occurred early in Eder's career within Vienna University, during the period of his very first rectorship, between October 1557 and April 1558, when he defended university privileges against the encroachments of the church. University materials from 1558 recount how the rector took forceful action against the city's Dominicans.¹¹⁴ A monk by the name of Andronicus had fallen foul of his Dominican superiors and had been imprisoned by them within the cloister. The problem was, Andronicus was also a university student, and Eder, having first gained the backing of the Lower Austrian government of which he was also a

¹¹³ On Blotius' position, see Locher *Speculum* vol. I p. 220. For Lazius' offices, *ibid.* pp. 54-55 and pp. 126-129.

¹¹⁴ Details of this incident come originally from UAW: Rhein. Nat. Matrikel but have here been taken from the citation of this document in Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, p. 172.

member, personally forced his way into the cloister to free his student.¹¹⁵ The episode evidently had a decisive impact on Eder's career at the beleaguered university for the next several years. In spite of the system of rectorates rotating between faculties, Eder won the next four rectorial elections in a row: an unprecedented and highly visible vote of confidence indeed.¹¹⁶ Furthermore the incident, small in itself, had strong symbolic value in a university dominated by a court that sought to emphasise its own authority over that of the church. In this context, Eder's bold action in 1558 to halt at least the excessive encroachments of ecclesiastical authority over Vienna University appear all the more decisive in terms of enhancing his personal reputation as a defender of both university autonomy and secular authority.

Georg Eder was a man of more than legal skills, however. Although his wide range of intellectual interests and active legal career meant that he never fully devoted himself to humanist scholarship as an end in itself, he did however associate himself with the humanist circles that dominated court and university life in late sixteenth-century Vienna. Overlooking any confessional differences, Eder worked closely with such figures in a series of projects that further glorified the image of

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, '(Prior monasterii Praedicatorum) aiebat, totum monasterium profanatum et dominos ex universitate excommunicatos (licet inquit nonnulli flocci faciant) eam ob causam, quod D. Magnif. Rector Georg. Eder J.U.Dr. una cum suis summa vi in monasterium irruperit et ostium ferreum et nonnulla alia impedimanta fregerit et fratrem Andronicum hinc nobis invitis abduxerit. Magnificus etenim Rector 27. die Maji ex jussu celsi regiminis liberavit membrum universitatis nostrae e vinculis durissimis ac inclementissimis praedict. Andronicum, quem (ut rumor spargebatur) ob nonnullas simultates forte trucidassent'.

¹¹⁶ Eder thus became rector for summer semester 1558, winter semester 1558-1559, summer semester 1559, and winter semester 1559-1560.

the university while publicly portraying Eder as a central part of the Imperial coterie. This he did in two inter-connected ways. Firstly, it was Eder who as rector involved himself heavily with the revival of the Latin oration as cultural event within the university; it was also Eder who was the main force behind the production of the first ever history of Vienna University. As a result, Eder not only enhanced his own reputation in Vienna but also associated himself with the humanism of the court and all that it stood for. Secondly, and in large part as a result of his skill in such areas, it was also Eder who was called upon to make a number of speeches at pivotal moments in Viennese public life. As a result, it was again Georg Eder who managed more than anyone to associate himself closely with the culture and authority of the Imperial court and dynasty.

Whether this was Eder's main intention is a moot point, for ostensibly at least, Eder's project in these years was primarily designed to revive Vienna University's flagging fortunes. Recognising the wealth of talented scholars then in the employ of the court and the university, Eder and three men already mentioned, Paulus Fabricius, Andreas Dadius and Petrus a Rotis, took the lead in organising a revival of the 'quodlibetanischen Disputationen' and the Dichterkrönungen, or, the crowning of a poet laureate.¹¹⁷ This project was significant in itself, as such disputations had not been held in the University of Vienna since 1525.¹¹⁸ Eder's

¹¹⁷ Since his doctoral promotion in 1557, a Rotis also held the post of law professor at Vienna University. This was also Eder's faculty, but it is worth reiterating the fluidity of intellectual pursuit in the early modern period which did not restrict individuals to activity in just one particular field. In addition, it may be telling that Dadius and a Rotis were both fellow-Catholics.

¹¹⁸ Conrad Celtis had been one of those so honoured.

move was thus an attempt to hearken back to the university's pre-siege glory days, and indeed, on 15 September 1558 the Dichterkrönungen was celebrated afresh in the presence not only of scholars but also numerous members of the nobility.¹¹⁹ A welcome by-product of Eder's involvement in this was his subsequent praise from those honoured. As this came from the most notable humanist scholars Vienna could boast, and as it came in published form, Eder's profile gained not only from the fact that he had physically presided over a grand, court-sanctioned occasion, but that his role in this would be preserved in eloquent print for years to come. The key piece of evidence in this regard is the Laurea poetica, a work of at least 40 folio pages containing the text of the speeches delivered in connection with the award of the laureate titles.¹²⁰ In it, Eder is the recipient of copious praise from the three poets in receipt of the award, Elias Corvinus, Johannes Lauterbach and Vitus Jacobaeus, as well as such court luminaries as Wolfgang Lazius.¹²¹ Further, later

¹¹⁹ See Joseph Ritter von Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität. Die Wiener Universität und ihre Humanisten im Zeitalter Kaiser Maximilians I (Vienna, 1877).

¹²⁰ Laurea poetica. ex caesareo privilegio in celeberrimo archigymnasio Viennensi tribus nuper viris eruditiss: Eliae Corvino, Ioanni Lauterbachio, & Vito Iacobaeo, in maxima Reuerendissimorum Principum, Comitum, Baronum, Nobilium, ac doctissimorum hominum frequentia, summa cum gratulatione collata. A Paulo Fabricio, Caesaris et archiducum austriae mathematico, Medicinae Doctore, edita, in gratiam et honorem illustris ac generosi domini D: Sigismundi Liberi Baronis in Herberstein, Neiperg et Guetenhag, &c. Trium Imperatorum Consiliarii & Oratoris amplissimi, Viri plane Heroici, ac optime de bonarum literarum studiis meriti (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1558).

¹²¹ For example, fol. A vi verso contains the following from Lazius to Eder:

Vita patet variis, studio huc contendimus omnes,
Sed tamen assequimur non sine modum.
Hoc reputans meritis certas cumulare fauorem,
Tollis & adsuperos Rector EDERE scholam.

Eder's praise from Jacobaeus is equally unrestrained:

works added to the growing corpus of praise in print for Eder, the nominal source of such honours.¹²²

That Eder may well have anticipated such a result is suggested by the fact that he also orchestrated a connected project- the production of the first ever history of

Esset honorifico victoria digna trophaeo,
Haec & EDERE tibi gratia danda foret.
Et cum sis meritis, tali excipiêre triumpho,
Virtutem praesens vt comitetur honos.
To modo, qua pietate soles, me protégé, causam
Assere, victrici meque tuere manu,
Namque mea victor pro libertate paranda
Si spernes hostis, quas tonat ore, minas. (fol. Kii r-Kiii r)

On Corvinus (died c. 1600) and Jacobaeus (died 1568) see Aschbach Geschichte der Wiener Universität pp. 159-160 and pp. 196-197 respectively. Jacobaeus later became a Poet Laureate.

¹²² References to Eder occur in a number of printed speeches from others in receipt of his or at least his university's benevolence. These works are not easy to trace, and in addition the physically fragile nature of such documents mean that few will have survived over four centuries. Titles from much older bibliographies such as Michael Denis, Wiens Buchdruckergeschicht bis M.D.L.X. vol.1, (Vienna, 1782) and to a lesser extent Anton Mayer, Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte Bd. I 1482-1682 (Vienna, 1883) do however point to these further telling hints at Eder's prominence. At least six such works are named and one that has survived gives a hint of the praise Eder enjoyed. Rocco Boni's, Austriados Libri Quatuor ad invictissimvm Ro. Imperatorem Ferdinandum primum, & Serenissimum Bohemiae Regem D. Maximilianum suae Maiest. Filium, carmine heroico descripti & approbati à Magnifico Viro D. Georgio Edero I.C. Caesareo Rectore dignissimo & Collegio Poëtico celeberrimi Archigymnasii Viennensis; Quod poema inscribitur Oraculum (Michael Zimmermann, Vienna, 1559) concludes with the following, fol. Iiii verso:

In Laudem Magnifici Viri D. Georgii Ederi I.C. Caesarei Frisingen, celeberrimi Archigymnasii Viennensis Rectoris dignissimi, Rocchi Bonii Tulmetini Epigramma.

Iam quarter Austiaca praesultit Ederus in urbe
Rector, Caesarei gloria Gymnasii.
Hic viget ingenio, nulli cessurus & arte,
Nestoreas dignus viuere olympiades.
Hic miros sensus, hic mira aenigmata legum
Soluit, & arguto disserit eloquio.
Socratis hic campos penetrat sophiaequae vireta,
Carpit ubi pubes aurea poma manu.
Num poterit praesens aetas, num tempore longo
Tanti posteritas immemor esse viri?
Plaudite primates cuncti, quod gloria Ederi
Crescit, & ipsus sama perennis erit.'

Vienna University- which reads equally as a public, permanent testimony to his own greatness. What survives today is in fact only Eder's contribution, originally intended as a mere appendix to a poem in praise of the university by Vitus Jacobaeus, one of the newly crowned laureates.¹²³ Although this poem was evidently in production by 1559, no record survives of it ever being published or even its survival in manuscript form.¹²⁴ Not surprisingly, however, Eder's part of the project was indeed published and within its apparently 'historical' claims lie even more strands of evidence pointing to the nature of Eder's prominence in the Vienna of his own day, and how he achieved the same. This Eder appears to have attained in two ways: in the content of his writing and, less obviously, through his choice of genre. Predictably, he dedicates the work to his patron and protector, the above-named and highly influential Georg Gienger. By offering 1237 as the year of foundation for the university rather than the correct date of 1365, Eder also ingratiates himself with the court historian Wolfgang Lazius who first used the incorrect date in his own work on the history of the city of Vienna.¹²⁵ Yet in his

¹²³ Catalogus Rectorum Et Illustrium Virorum Archigymnasii Viennensis: in quo praeter elegantissimam temporum seriem, summa quaedam continentur quasi capita earum rerum, quae celeberrime huic Academiae sub cuiusq; magistratu memoria contigerunt dignae. Ab anno M.CC. XXXVII usque ad annum M.D.LIX Cum Duabus Praefationibus ad celeberrimum I.C. Georgium Gienger Caesari Ferdinando a consiliis arcanis & praefectum Laureacensem: Virum eruditione & prudentia vere illustrem a comni virtutum genere absolutissimum, de bonis literis & hac Academia praeclarissime, meritum. Per Georg: Eder. I.C. Caesarem Frisingensem eiusdem Academiae pro tempore Rectorem. Viennae Austriae (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92. Eder writes: 'Ego ut eam ab hoc iniquissimo contemptu vindicarem, coepi ex universis Academiae actis, quae penè perlustravi omnia, universalem Scholae huius antiquissimae & celeberrimae semper, quasi quandam descriptionem colligere: quam meo instinctu pro honore Academiae elegantissimo carmine Elegiaco complexus est Vitus Iacobaeus Poeta Laureatus, homo industrius & ingeniosus.... Titulus operis eius hic erit 'Respublica Archigymnasii Viennensis'.

¹²⁵ Wolfgang Lazius, Vienna Austriae. Rerum Viennensium Commentarii in quatuor libros distincti, in quibus celeberrimae illius Austriae civitatis exordia, vetustas, nobilitas, magistratus, familiaeque ad planum (quod ajunt) explicantur (Basle, 1546). Though Locher in the preface to his Speculum

composition of such a work Eder also closely associates himself with Vienna University's glorious past. Eder's Catalogus Rectorum is essentially a 106 page table indicating who was rector in what year and what the notable events were of each rectorate. As Eder himself was rector in 1559, the year the work was published, its nature allows his name to conclude the work as the pinnacle of centuries of achievement. Eder himself includes nothing to dissuade the reader: he is careful to outline, for example, that the tradition of public oration and disputation was revived under his rectorate and the Catalogus Rectorum even includes the first published picture of Eder, on the back of the title page.¹²⁶ To add a piece of telling if anecdotal evidence, in the ÖNB there survives today a copy not only bound with eight other works all by Eder, Fabricius, Corvinus, Jacobaeus, and Dadius, but also bearing what appears to be a hand-written dedication from Eder to Dadius at the bottom of the title page of the Catalogus Rectorum.¹²⁷ This in itself hints that Eder's foray into university history was yet something else he could use to heighten his profile among the influential.

Eder's status in the intertwined spheres of Vienna's court and university in turn provided him with the means to make his own mark on the civic culture of late

praises Eder for his contribution to the preservation of the history of Vienna University, others have noted further inaccuracies. See Wiedemann, Geschichte der Reformation, vol. 2, p. 148, citing Kink, Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien, p. xvii.

¹²⁶ Eder's rectorates in 1557 and 1558 are numbered 362, 363 and 364, pp. 89-91. Copies of the woodcut of Eder (see the first page of appendix I) used in his Catalogus Rectorum would also have, it has been suggested, been distributed by Eder to his patrons and friends, 'nach gutem Humanistenbrauch': Gall and Szaivert (eds.), Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien. I Abteilung. Die Matrikel der Universität Wien vol. III, p. 115.

¹²⁷ ÖNB, 257.650-B.Fid. (=76-142).

sixteenth-century Vienna and another vehicle in which to proclaim his dynastic allegiance. No doubt in view of his growing reputation and increasingly public humanist connections by the late 1550s, it was also Eder to whom it fell to make speeches at key moments in Viennese civic life. Four speeches survive in their published form: Eder may well have spoken at other important occasions, but it would be hard to imagine situations more significant than those from which the text survives. The first oration had come much earlier than the others in Eder's career, in 1551. Indeed, such an early date, before Eder would have been able to make many influential friends in Vienna, may point to the fact that he was a competent Latin orator in his own right, not entirely reliant on though undoubtedly helped by later patrons. Certainly the occasion of what must have been one of Eder's first public orations in Vienna was at a particularly poignant moment in the city's history. On 8 January 1551 Vienna saw the funeral of none other than Feldherrn Nikolaus von Salm, the man who had led the defence of Vienna in the Turkish siege of 1529.¹²⁸ In his funeral speech, Eder not only took the chance to display his own talents as an orator but also to demonstrate his personal connections to such a local hero: he thanked the dead man's family for their support before his arrival in Vienna, when he had worked briefly as rector of a Lateinschule in Passau.¹²⁹ Even

¹²⁸ Georgii Eder De Illustriss. Principis et D.D. Nicolai Comitis a Salm & Neuburg ad Oenum, S. Ces & Reg. Ro. Mai. A Consiliis secretioribus, militiae & exercitus per Hungariam Ducis supremi & c. viri antiqua virtute & religione clarissimi, morte intempestiva & occasu lamentabili Oratio Funebris, ipso funere Viennae, in praesentia illustriss. Principum & Comitum a Salm, Ro. Reg. Mai. Regiminis, totius Cleri, Academiae, Senatusque Viennesis amplissimi, in aede sacra D. Dorotheae, in summa hominum prestantissimorum frequentia, ab Autore recitata (Egidius Aquila, Vienna, 1551). This was also reprinted in part in Eder's Orationes sex of 1559.

¹²⁹ Georgii Eder De Illustriss. Principis et D.D. Nicolai Comitis a Salm: '...tum etiam & multò magis amplissimis in me & studia mea beneficiis gratiaque; diuina, qua ab eo me tempore, quo

the printed version of the speech was dedicated to the deceased's brother Wolfgang, Bishop of Passau.¹³⁰

The three other speeches of which copies survive were all used to mark Vienna's recognition of key moments in the life of the Imperial dynasty, and under such circumstances Eder's orations would also have added immensely to his personal prominence as a supporter of the Habsburg authority. Perhaps the most dramatic such occasion was that of 1558 when Ferdinand I returned to Vienna as newly elected Holy Roman Emperor and the university took part in the celebrations. As rector, Eder headed the delegation sent out to meet the new Emperor. The group, including a Rotis, Fabricius, Jacobaeus and court historian Johannes Sambucus, travelled down the Danube as far as Klosterneuburg on a lavishly decorated boat from which Eder delivered a speech of congratulations and loyalty on behalf of the university to the ruler. This too was published in two versions: one on its delivery in 1558 and another in abbreviated form in Eder's *Orationes sex* the year after.¹³¹ Eder's very public and prestigious role in an event of such symbolic importance

Patauiensis tuae Reip. iuuentuti moderandae sue tam praefactus, ita amplexus es benignissimè, ut non T.C. tantùm, sed etiam toti Comitum à Salmis familiae tantum me debere fatear, quantum gratissimus quisque potest, vehementer videor ad id impulsus & penè coactus...', fol. Aii verso. That Eder appears to locate this school as having been in Padua as opposed to Passau is evidently a slip of the pen on his part, as Wolfgang von Salm was Bishop of Passau between 1540 and 1555.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 'Illustriss Principi DD Volfgango Comiti de Salm, & Ecclesiae Patauiensis Episcopo dignið. Mecoenati & patrono suo clementiðimo, Georgius Eder SD', fol. Aii r

¹³¹ Triumphus D. Ferdinando I. Ro. Imperator invictiss. P.P. Augustiss. Archigymnasii Viennensis nomine pro foelicibus Imperii auspiciis renunciatus. Per D. Georg Eder I.U.D. Caes. S. Maiestatis Consiliarium, & pro tempore Rectorem. Ad Eundem Panegyrica aliquot doctissimorum hominum carmina. eiusdem scholae nomine. pro communi congratulatione de Imperii fascibus tam foeliciter adeptis, conscripta. Quorum autorum nomina sequens exhibet pagina (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1558).

may well have been connected to his simultaneous defence of the new Emperor against Paul IV, already discussed in this chapter. Whatever the case, it did no harm to his public profile and on 19 February 1559 Eder also produced a speech to mark the funeral of Ferdinand I's brother, the former Emperor Charles V.¹³² Again accompanied in this by Jacobaeus and Fabricius amongst others, such a role would have increasingly consolidated Eder's position as the public face of Vienna University and indeed Vienna's humanist community, to the influential of Vienna and in particular to members of the dynasty. The final speech which survives would have reinforced this impression: Eder also spoke in public praise of the newly crowned King of Hungary, the Emperor Maximilian II's son Rudolf, on 21 September 1572.¹³³

One intriguing question remains on the subject of Eder's rise at the Viennese court: what do Eder's use of such career-enhancing tactics say about his personality? Was his apparent devotion to the Emperor a cynical effort at self-preservation, or was he truly committed to the Imperial cause? And what does such service say about Eder's Catholicism? To deal with the first question, as has been seen the available sources only permit reconstruction of the bare bones of key incidents in Eder's

¹³² Luctus Archigymnasii Viennen: Pro Funere D. Caroli Quinti Ro. Imperatoris Augustissimi, Patriae Patris feliciss. Editus; In Honorem Augustiss. Familiae Principum Austriae primorum eiusdem Archigymnasii fundatorum. Per Georg. Eder U.I.D.Caesar. Consiliarum & pro tempore Rectorem (Raphael Hofhalter, Vienna, 1559). This was also included in Orationes sex.

¹³³ Orationes II. Gratulatoriae, Ad Rudolphum Sereniss: Ac Potentiss: Regem Hungariae, & Archiducem Austriae, & c. D. Imperat: Max:II. Filium. Una, Inclty Regni Hungariae Nomine, Habita Posenii Sub Ipsa Inauguratione Per Reuerendiß:Principem ac D.D. Antonium Verantium Archiep: Strigon: eiusdem Regni Primate, Legatum natu, &c.Altero Nomine Celeberrimi Archigymnasii Viennensis, Recitata Post reditum Viennae à Clarissimo Viro D. Georgio Edero I.C.S. Caes: Maiest: Consiliario Aulico Imperiali (Stephan Creutzer, Vienna, 1573).

career. The intent of the man behind can in general only be inferred from such events, but there is a small amount of peripheral evidence that suggests Georg Eder was indeed a 'larger-than-life' personality, or at least someone who deliberately wanted to make his mark. Gall and Szaivert note that woodcuts mentioned above that depict Eder also appear within the records of the university Hauptmatrikel, just before the entry for 13 October 1557, while a different image, this time from a copper engraving of 1574, was inserted into the same records just after the entry of 13 October 1579.¹³⁴ Gall and Szaivert note further that Eder was the first university rector to do this, and was thus the originator of a tradition that increased throughout subsequent decades and rectorates.

This apparent wish to physically as well as figuratively stamp his own image on all he touched is also evident in the sections of Reichshofrat Resolutionsprotokolle for which Eder was responsible for minuting. Between 17 July 1577 and February 1578 Eder took his turn at noting down all Reichshofrat resolutions passed.¹³⁵ The other Reichshofräte who performed such a task, such as Dr Timotheus Jung and Dr Andreas Gail, remain fairly anonymous in such a position. The first page of Eder's script, however, is striking for its elaborate and bold title announcing: 'Nobili &

¹³⁴ Gall and Szaivert (eds.), Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien. I Abteilung. Die Matrikel der Universität Wien vol. III, p. 115. See appendix I for the woodcuts, inserted in Hauptmatrikel IV (M4 1518 II-1594 I, Microfilm 017, UAW), fol. 110b. See page three of appendix I for the 1574 copper engraving of Eder, inserted into the Hauptmatrikel V (M4 1518 II-1594 I, Microfilm 017, UAW), fol. 2b. This is the second and final surviving visual image of Eder and was, according to Schrauf, made by Martino Rota of Sebenico, a copper engraver at the courts of Maximilian II and Rudolf II: Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, p. vii.

Clariss Viro D Timothea Iung utriusq Iuris Doctori Substitutioe referandarii subsecutus est Georgius Eder Dr. Cuius acta haec sunt.’¹³⁶ His opening page is also unique for bearing scriptural references, from the third and fortieth Psalms.

Also suggestive of a forceful personality on Eder’s part is his sheer level of success when compared to that of his contemporaries. Within the Reichshofrat, for instance, Eder would have encountered a total of 53 other members throughout his own period of service therein.¹³⁷ Some of these members were already there when Eder first entered the council in November 1563, others joined while he was in office, and some of this number remained after he left in September 1583. Only one, however, served longer than Eder, while few others even came close. Apart from Eder, Christoph Philipp Zott von Pernegg was the only other Reichshofrat to serve under the three Emperors- Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II- and was also the only one to retain his post longer, out-serving Eder by just six months.¹³⁸ Dr Johann Hegenmüller came closest to matching the length of service of these two men, acting as Reichshofrat from 1 March 1566 until July 1583.¹³⁹ Eder’s longevity of service in this key post is all the more noteworthy in view of the markedly short careers of certain other members. Karl Rym, Herr zu Eckenbecke, for example, served in the Reichshofrat a mere four months while Gabriel Creutzer was first

¹³⁵ HHStA, RHR Protocolla rerum resolutorium xvi 42, fol. 387 and RHR Protocolla rerum resolutorium xvi 45, fol. 75. Eder’s stint as scribe apparently ended on 7 February 1578, though his script does re-appear on occasion throughout the months following.

¹³⁶ HHStA, RHR Protocolla rerum resolutorium xvi 42, fol. 387.

listed as a member on 6 August 1568, only to die on 1 December of the same year.¹⁴⁰

The special nature of Eder's achievement is also reflected in that he held a post as prestigious as that of Reichshofrat in tandem with equally high office at Vienna University. It is striking that between the 1550s and the 1580s, Eder was one of only three men who fulfilled such key functions in combination. To compound the rarity of Eder's feat, the two others, Melchior Hofmair and the Dr Christoph Pirckhaimer named above, only filled both positions in the 1580s, towards the end of Eder's career.¹⁴¹ It is hardly surprising that as a result of the relatively small pool of talent available, certain figures did hold roles in both the court and university, for example, Wolfgang Lazius and Hugo Blotius. The complexities of the evidence must be borne in mind. To be listed in university or court registers as, to take the case of Lazius, Medical Dekan and court 'Historiographus' does not necessarily imply substantial activity in the posts stated. Eder's case is somewhat different. The

¹³⁷ This figure is drawn from a mixture of my own analysis of the Reichshofrat Protokolle and the invaluable research of Gschließer.

¹³⁸ See Gschließer, Der Reichshofrat, pp 99-100. Zott von Pernegg served from 19 January 1559 until 19 April 1579, when he died in office.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 119-121. The precise start date of Hegenmüller's career is unclear. He appears on the Reichshofrat payroll in March 1566 but not in the Protokolle until 19 October of the same year.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 124 on Creutzer (also spelt Creuzer, Kreutzer, Kreuzer, or Kreiser). Rym (or Rieme, Rime, Riemben) served between 8 March 1575 and July 1575: *ibid.*, p. 132 for more.

¹⁴¹ Hofmair, also spelt Hofmayer, was rector in 1560, 1562 and 1570 while Pirckhaimer, also spelt Birckhaimer or Pürckhaimer, was only elected to the post in 1594. See Locher Speculum vol. I, pp. 26-30. Hofmair was Reichshofrat from autumn 1584 until his death in August 1586, while Pirckhaimer held the position from August 1581 until August 1592. See Gschließer, Der Reichshofrat, pp. 145-6 and p. 142 respectively.

roles of Reichshofrat and rector both necessitated the fulfilling of significant responsibilities on an almost daily basis, a fact that in itself says much about Eder's will to serve and succeed in late sixteenth-century Vienna.

This is not to say, however, that Eder was a career opportunist who did anything necessary to increase his own rank. As this chapter has revealed, Eder was only one of many Catholics who supported the authority of Emperor over Pope on the subject of religious reform. This was, furthermore, an apparently tenable and respectable position. As chapter three will reveal, up to 1573 Eder was also able to operate within Vienna as a tireless worker for Catholic reform, combining his association with the court, university and Jesuits in order to do so.

Chapter Three

**‘Darumben der Herrn in der Kirchen nit allein Bischoff und Priester
auffgestellt, sonder auch etliche zu Doctorn und Lehrern
verordnet...’¹**

Eder’s Catholicism: Service and Condemnation, 1523-1573

Up to 1573, Georg Eder served both his Emperor and his faith simultaneously in Vienna. The two were not mutually exclusive: Eder thrived in Vienna between 1550 and 1573, not just as a nominal Catholic but as a man with very public zeal for the preservation and restoration of his religion. This chapter acts as the partner to the one before, with the focus here on Eder’s spiritual life rather than his political life. It will in part reinforce a theme raised in the preceding chapter: Catholicism, even of the active variety as lived by Eder, was in no way a barrier to success in the court and city of late sixteenth-century Vienna, as long as the Imperial authority was treated with reverence. This chapter also demonstrates, however, the limits of aulic Catholicism. Eder was not prevented from working for Catholic reform along Jesuit lines, but he was condemned by the Emperor himself when his 1573 book, Evangelische Inquisition, amounted to an actual attack on Protestantism as well as a slur on the Emperor’s own authority.

The examination of Eder’s Catholicism also raises a further theme that goes far beyond the specific field of Austrian-Habsburg history. Georg Eder displayed a

¹ Georg Eder, Evangelische Inquisition Wahrer und falscher Religion Wider Das gemain unchristliche Claggeschray, Das schier niemand mehr wissen Künde, wie oder was er glauben solle: In forma aines Christlichen Rathschlags, wie ein jeder Christen mensch seines Glaubens

close involvement in the work of Catholic reform, both inspired by and approved of by members of the Society of Jesus, yet remained a layman throughout his life. This chapter therefore also acts as a first case study of the ability of a layman to participate heavily in Catholic reform in the later part of the sixteenth century. The discussion will be divided into three sections: the first, on 'Cologne and the Jesuit influence', traces the nature and extent of the Jesuit influence on Eder from young adulthood to the end of his life. The second, 'Eder and Service to the Church', demonstrates the continued importance of Jesuit influence for the nature of Eder's lay ministry in Vienna. It also explores the means by which Eder attempted to stimulate Catholic reform in Vienna, focusing in particular on his role as a writer of Catholic pedagogical works. The third section, '1573: Imperial Condemnation', looks in detail at the book, Evangelische Inquisition, that attracted the Emperor's anger and almost ended Eder's Viennese career. Through all of these sections the details of Eder's case cast light on the wider picture, including that of the nature of Catholic survival in Vienna but in particular that of the potential of a layperson to work for Catholic reform in the late sixteenth century.

i) **Cologne and the Jesuit influence**

What is notable about Eder's relationship with the Jesuits is that it goes back to his youth, and is based heavily throughout on personal ties, mainly through the apparently lifelong relationship he developed with Peter Canisius at university in Cologne. It is, furthermore, a relationship that lasted over than four decades:

halben gantzlich vergwißt und gesichert Sein moge: Dermassen, daß er leichtlich nit künde Betrogen noch verfürft werden, fol. **ii r-v.

right up to the end of Eder's life, and indeed, even after his death, the Jesuits extended their support and patronage to their lay co-worker in Vienna.

Cologne matriculation registers indicate that 'Georg Eder, Frisingensis, Bavarus' entered the university in December 1543.² It was to be this single event that had the greatest influence on Eder's life, for Cologne in the 1540s was a hotbed of Jesuit activity. The order was still very young: it had only received formal approval in Rome on 27 September 1540 through the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* of Pope Paul III. John O'Malley has noted that in the 1540s, on the whole, 'Jesuit presence in Germany was sparse indeed, and outside Cologne, practically non-existent'.³ This is not, however, to understate the significance of Cologne in this formative decade. It was Cologne that in 1544 saw the foundation of the first Jesuit college in the German-speaking lands, and it was Cologne that was, by 1562, the largest Society of Jesus community north of the Alps with 45 Jesuits and a strong reputation for winning new members.⁴

Subsequent Jesuit myth-making may be a factor, but it does appear that the personalities of the handful of Jesuits who began the work in Cologne were vital to the order's success in the area. Peter Faber or Pierre Faure from Savoy was the first Jesuit to operate in the German lands, arriving in Cologne at the

² Hermann Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln* vol. II, 1476-1559 (Bonn 1919, reprint Düsseldorf 1979), p. 982.

³ J. W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 273.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55. As Po-Chia Hsia also notes, 'From a modest beginning of half-a-dozen Jesuits in the college at Cologne, the Society had grown to five provinces by 1630...with close to three thousand members', *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 77.

beginning of 1543 at the age of 37. Faber was highly praised by a contemporary at Cologne for his piety and authority as a teacher of correct theology; that this praise came from none other than Peter Canisius says much not only about Faber, but about the overall calibre of men based in Cologne in the 1540s.⁵ It was Faber who led the 20 year-old Canisius, then a Cologne University student, through the Spiritual Exercises. Two years later, in 1543, Canisius joined the order, thus beginning a 54 year career of Jesuit service in the German-speaking lands that included the composition of his series of famous Catholic catechisms and concluded after death with his canonisation in 1925.⁶ Nor were these two men alone: Faber reported in a letter of 10 May 1544 that in Cologne he was staying in a rented house with seven other Jesuits including Ämilian Loyola, a nephew of the order's founder.⁷ Together they worked hard to combat religious misbelief in the Cologne of the apostate Archbishop, Hermann von Wied, while simultaneously performing works of mercy.⁸ Canisius and another Jesuit

⁵ Soon after he left Cologne, Canisius wrote of Faber, 'Den Mann, welchen ich gesucht, habe ich zu meinem großen Glück gefunden, wenn er überhaupt ein Mann und nicht vielmehr ein Engel des Herrn ist; nie habe ich einen gelehrteren und tieferen Theologen, nie einen Mann von so ganz hervorragender Tugend gesehen oder gehört... Er besitzt eine solche Autorität, daß sich viele Ordensleute, viele Bischöfe und viele Doktoren seiner geistlichen Leitung unterstellt haben'. Translation from Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Briesgau, 1907) vol. I, p. 10, citing Otto Braunsberger (ed.), *Beati Petri Canisii, Societatis Iesu, Epistulae et Acta* (Freiburg, 1896), vol. I, p. 76.

⁶ Canisius' first version of the catechism, the *Summa doctrinae christianae... in usum Christianae pueritiae* was first published in 1555 and was the largest he would produce. It was intended for university students and advanced grammar school students, unlike his *Summa... ad captum rudiorum accommodata* of 1556 which was aimed at very young children. Canisius' *Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum*, of 1558 was an intermediate text. These were hugely successful: the *Summa doctrinae christianae* alone was reprinted more than 130 times before the end of the sixteenth century. Mark Greengrass, *The European Reformation c. 1500-1618* (Longman, 1998), p. 252.

⁷ Cited in Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Briesgau, 1907) vol. I p. 35. According to J. Brodrick, *Saint Peter Canisius, S.J. 1521-1597* (London, 1938), p. 53, the rent on this house was paid by Canisius out of the remains of his inheritance.

⁸ Von Wied's foray into heresy manifested itself at the very same time as the Jesuits' early activity in Cologne: for example, it was Easter Sunday 1543 that von Wied said Mass in German at Bonn, and afterwards distributed communion in both kinds.

housemate, Alvaro Alfonso, even put aside their own studies to visit hospitals or tend the sick they had taken in under their own roof.

It is impossible that such an example would have been lost on the young Bavarian Catholic who happened to be studying in Cologne at precisely the same moment. The evidence available, however, is much more than circumstantial. Eder's particular friend in the order appears to have been its rising star, the young Canisius. Canisius himself appears to refer to Eder in several letters written predominantly from Cologne between 1544 and 1548. The timing of the first such mention is particularly telling. Written by Canisius to Faber on 30 December 1544, just one year after Eder would have first arrived in Cologne, Canisius already feels able to refer to him in warm terms.⁹ Eder's development is similarly mentioned in passing in letters by Canisius written in 1545, 1547 and 1548.¹⁰ In one of these, written on 17 June 1547, Canisius wrote to Leonardo Kessel, later rector of the Jesuit college at Cologne, about an apparent change in the plans of the young Eder. 'If what you write about the famous Georg's intention to become a Carthusian is true, I cannot but wonder at

⁹ 'Salutat Dominationem Vestram imprimis Reverendissimus Dominus Archiepiscopus Londensis, Provincialis Carmelitarum... Dominus Philippus Bacchalaureus; Dominus Daniel in Cathusia; Magister Iohannes apud Apostolos... et socius hujus Georgius...'. Braunsberger (ed.), *Beati Petri Canisii* vol. I, p. 126. Eder's surname is never given, but Braunsberger is happy to identify 'Georgius' as such. In view of the small size of the Cologne group of Jesuits and their adherents, plus all the other evidence pointing to a close connection between Eder and Canisius formed in these years, it does seem reasonable to concur that it is Eder to whom Canisius is referring in these letters.

¹⁰ In another letter to Faber dated 12 August 1545, Canisius again includes 'Georgius' in his list of greetings from Cologne. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-163, p. 163. To Kessel and Adriano Adriani, again both Jesuits based in Cologne, Canisius wrote the following mysterious line from Rome on 2 January 1548: 'Miror cur de Georgio, et Gregorio vestro nihil significetis', *ibid.*, pp. 257-259, p. 258.

the change on the occasion at the right hand of the almighty'.¹¹ Whether this suggests that Eder had now decided against being a Carthusian, and Canisius is here expressing relief, or whether Eder had now decided he should join the Carthusian order, is unclear. Whatever the case, it seems such plans came to nought and just over a year later Canisius was able to write in moving terms of his fondness and hope for his protégé. In this, dated 12 August 1548, Canisius asked Kessel and Adriani to 'Cherish Georg', as he was a young man dear to him in the Lord, and the holder of great prospects.¹²

Eder himself later publicly recalled the value of this early association with the Jesuits at Cologne. Canisius was, according to Eder, one of a number who had helped support him financially through almost seven years of study.¹³ It is certainly true that Canisius was from an affluent background: his father had been a wealthy Dutch burgomeister. His influence on Eder evidently went further than bolstering his young friend's finances. Eder's first degree at Cologne was taken in the Faculty of Philosophy; he then received a Master's degree from the Faculty of Arts, and it was also at Cologne that Eder began to study for his doctorate in Law, awarded in 1551 after his move south to Vienna. In these years at Cologne he did, however, sit under the informal tutelage of Canisius in theological studies, the source of the jurist's later erudition on such

¹¹ 'Si verum [est], quod Georgium illum fore Carthusianum scribitis non possum non mirari mutationem hic dexteræ excelsi', *ibid.*, pp. 250-252.

¹² 'Georgium fouete, charum mihi in domino et magnæ spei adolescentem', *ibid.*, pp. 281-286, p. 286.

¹³ 'In qua me ad septennium fere eleemosyna educatum...exulis D. Joan. Cohlaei, Andreae Bartuwick, Mathiæ Aquensis, Jacobi Hochstrati et Hermanni Schilderi S. Theologiae Licenciatorum, & D. Petri Canisii consecutum esse, gratitudinis causa perlubenter fateor & agnosco', *Catalogus Rectorum*, p. 10.

questions.¹⁴ There is, furthermore, an unquantifiable aspect to Canisius' influence on Eder in this period. Eder would have not only heard Canisius preach sermons famous amongst contemporaries for their high quality, but would have seen him evolve through the various offices of the church, from disciple to Jesuit to a fully ordained priest.¹⁵ It is entirely credible that the example of living devotion was not lost on the young Bavarian.

It may even be the case that Eder's move to Vienna in 1550 was in order to follow the fledgling Jesuit community recently founded there. Eder was only employed by the court after his arrival in Vienna: he spent the first few months as a Professor of Rhetoric at the Vienna Hochschule. It is just as feasible that he went to Vienna at least in part with the intention of aiding the order there, as that he went explicitly hoping for court employment.¹⁶ Jesuits had been represented in Vienna since the arrival of Bobadilla there in 1542, and under Claude Le Jay the city became the setting for the first Jesuit college in the Empire, founded in 1551. These were, however, difficult years for the order in Vienna. By 1552 Vienna had 25 Jesuits active within the city walls, but most of these spoke none or severely limited German.¹⁷ The establishment of the college was in itself the first episode in what would be a long-running feud between the

¹⁴ Theodor Wiedeman, Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation im Lande unter der Enns (Prague and Leipzig, 1879-1886), vol. 2, p.144.

¹⁵ Canisius preached his first sermon in Cologne in September 1544, and was ordained in 1546, both events at which Eder was no doubt present. According to Brodrick, Canisius' oratorical skills were such that when he participated in any public disputation, all the professors of the Arts and Philosophy faculties at Cologne University also used to attend. Canisius, p. 63.

¹⁶ It is also possible, however, that he went knowing he might find a patron there, as he evidently did: see chapter two. The need for an influential patron appears to have marked much of Georg Eder's career.

¹⁷ Duhr, Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, p. 275.

order and Vienna University, long struggling to maintain steady matriculation rates.¹⁸ Even finding living and teaching accommodation was a trial: in 1551 the Viennese Jesuits moved into a disused wing of the dilapidated monastery of St Dominic. Despite the presence of only a few remaining friars, the Dominicans resented the Jesuits' presence and the Archduke Ferdinand himself had to intervene and guarantee their rent.¹⁹ Within three years the Viennese Jesuits had to move both accommodation and college again, this time to an almost empty Carmelite monastery near the city centre. Yet again, their hold here was insecure: in December 1558 the Carmelites tried to reclaim their property, but were again stopped from doing so by Ferdinand.²⁰

Surviving records reveal nothing specific of Eder's assistance to the floundering order in these early years in Vienna. That he was their close associate and valued supporter may however be inferred from a number of sources. Vienna was, for one thing, the home of Eder's old friend Canisius between 1552 and 1556.²¹ In these years Canisius greatly boosted the ailing branch in Vienna.

¹⁸ For the multiple problems that Vienna University faced in these years, see chapter two. It would be many years before Jesuits or those educated by Jesuits could receive degrees from Vienna University. The Jesuits also opened a school for younger pupils in May 1554: before long it boasted 120 pupils, and by 1558 had over 500 enrolled. L. Bittner, Inventare des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs Bd. V Gesamtinventar des Wiener Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchivs vol. IV (Vienna, 1936), p. 518; Spielman, The City and the Crown, p. 24.

¹⁹ Ferdinand gave the Society an endowment of 1200 florins per year. Brodrick, Canisius, p. 199.

²⁰ The patronage of Ferdinand I was largely responsible for keeping the Viennese branch of the order afloat in its early years. It was also he who financially backed the Jesuit college's new printing press, set up 'Am Hof' in 1559, with an annual sum of 300 Talern as well as the grant of an Imperial printing privilege. On this press see Moritz Grolig, 'Die Buchdruckerei des Jesuitenkollegiums in Wien (1559-1565)', Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Vereins für Bibliothekswesen, 13 (1909), pp. 105-120., p. 108.

²¹ In 1556 Canisius was made first Superior of the German Province of the Society of Jesus, with new responsibilities that saw him travel extensively throughout the German-speaking lands. He was thus no longer so heavily based at Vienna.

Immediately on his arrival he began to preach his famous sermons in a language and a style that the Viennese could comprehend.²² He performed many works of mercy, including visits to those in prison and the sick, while the outbreak of plague in the city just six months after Canisius' arrival would only have enhanced his and his order's local reputation for pious charity.

It is unthinkable that Eder would not have been involved at least in part with his mentor Canisius' ministry in Vienna. The two definitely remained in contact at least until 12 October 1577, the date of the final surviving letter in which Eder refers to his connection with Canisius.²³ That Eder was involved to a considerable extent with Canisius' work in Vienna is suggested by the regard in which Eder appears to have been held by the Viennese Jesuits, not just throughout his life but even after his death.

One such example lies in the fact that it was Eder's connection with the Jesuits that enabled his eldest son, Bernhard, to attend the Collegium Germanicum in Rome. Eder himself could not have afforded the expense of sending his son to the College: one of the most constant refrains in his private correspondence is that his employers, the Habsburgs, have yet again fallen into serious arrears

²² A particular problem in Vienna was that many of the Jesuits there were originally from Italy: the Viennese could neither understand them, nor warm to their overly-dramatic style of oratory. Within a year of his arrival in Vienna Canisius became the regular preacher at the Church of St Mary by the River, one of many parishes without a priest. He was also preacher to Archduke Ferdinand.

²³ Eder wrote to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria: 'Das E.F.G dem herrn Eysengrein abschrift meines buechs zuekommen lassen, das ist mir nicht allain nicht widerig, sonder ich hab mich dessen zue erfreyen und wolt, das es der herr Canisius auch sehen solle.' Karl Schrauf, (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung. Als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich. vol 1, 1573-1578 (Vienna, 1904), p. 123.

with payments of his salary.²⁴ Such was Eder's relationship with the Jesuits, however, on 28 October 1573 he felt able to broach the subject of his son's attendance with no less than Mercurian, General of the order himself.²⁵ That such confidence was justified is reflected in the fact that a slightly earlier letter, this time from the Jesuit Provinzial in Vienna, Magius, contained a glowing recommendation for Eder, father and son.²⁶ Their backing, plus some financial aid administered by Gregory XIII, meant that Bernhard stayed in Rome for 12 years between 1573 and 1585. A doctor of civil and canon law, like his father, on leaving Rome Bernhard was made Canon of Breslau and Olmütz by Gregory XIII.²⁷ According to Eder, it was also to Olmütz that he sent one of his younger sons: predictably, it was to the Jesuits there that he entrusted the boy's care.²⁸

²⁴ For example, on 28 August 1574, just a year after Bernhard left for Rome, Eder complained to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria that: '...Ich in das funffte jar hero weder besoldung noch provision haben kunden...'. *Ibid.*, p. 88. Eder's correspondence with his Wittelsbach patrons in Bavaria will be discussed at greater length in chapters four and five.

²⁵ ARSI, *Epistolae Germaniae* 153 fol. 293r-294r.

²⁶ On 4 October 1573 Magius had described Eder senior to General Mercurian as a spirited defender of Catholicism and enthusiastic supporter of their order who was already known to him: '...Orthodoxae religionis observantissimum et defensorem acerrimum, ac nostrae Societatis studiosissimum Patri Vestrae non ignotum esse...' *ibid.*, fol. 235r-v.

²⁷ Gall and Szaivert note that beside his name in the matriculation records of Vienna University, '...Nunc canonicus Olomucensis et Wratislaviensis' has been added. Gall and Szaivert (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien. I Abteilung. Die Matrikel der Universität Wien* vol. III, p. 258. Bernhard Eder died in 1619. For more on his career, see Andreas Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, vol. I (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1895), pp. 304-305.

²⁸ On 24 May 1577 Eder wrote to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria that 'Die bápstl. Ht haben meinen elteren sun zue ir genomen; den jungen hab ich ghen Olmutz an die Patres Societatis verordent', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 98-100, p. 100.

The position in which Georg Eder was held by the Viennese Jesuits extended much further, however, than the writing of references for his son. On 1 October 1571, for instance, when Eder was made an honorary Doctor of Theology at Vienna University, his promotion was sponsored by a Jesuit, the Scottish-born Jacob Gordon.²⁹ Perhaps even more significant, however, is the way in which Eder was remembered after his death. News of Eder's demise and his faithfulness were noted in the Viennese Jesuits' *Hauschronik* for the day 19 May 1587.³⁰ His contribution to the order in Vienna was, furthermore, remembered long after this date. At a memorial held at Vienna University in 1648, by then itself under Jesuit control, Eder's role was still being commemorated in a very public fashion, in which he was named in verse alongside equally effective churchmen and his lifelong ally, Canisius.³¹ And in two separate Jesuit histories of Austria and of Vienna University, both composed a full two centuries after Eder's birth, he was still being noted for his services to the Society of Jesus.³² Antonius Socher in particular credits Eder with the early success of the order not only in Vienna but in all Austria.³³

²⁹ UAW, *Theol. Akten: Th4* (1567-1644) (Microfilm 075), fol. 11.

³⁰ '1587, 19. Mai obiit insignis amicus noster, particeps factus omnium bonorum Societatis nostrae clarissimus dominus Dr. Ederus, strenuus fidei catholicae propugnator et promotor', Cod. 8367 p. 35r, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cited in Wiedemann, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation...*, vol. II (Prague, 1880), p. 145.

³¹ 'Rudolphus quartus Archidux fundator Athenaei,
Triumphet cum exercitu coelestis aciei
O ita post hunc praecipuus immaculatae Matris
Assertor, laetus videat vultum aeterni Patris.
Sic Thomas Haselpachius, & Doctor Argentinas,
Jajus, Petrus Canisius, & anima Becani,
Ederi, Fabri, Nauseae, manes Theologorum,
Christus Redemptor colloctet in coetu electorum...'

Cited in Sebastiano Mitterdorffer, *Conspectus Historiae Universitatis Viennensis Ex Actis* (vol. II, 1724), p. 250.

³² *Ibid.*, and Antonius Socher, S.J. *Historia Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu Pars Prima* (Vienna, 1740).

ii) Eder and service to the Church

How did this deep relationship with the Society of Jesus impact on Eder's life in Vienna? It is easier to answer this by establishing firstly what it did not do. It did not mean that Eder actually joined the Jesuits, or indeed any order: he remained a lay person throughout his life. Eder's Jesuit connections did not prevent him from forming important connections with other Catholics outside the order. Nor did Eder's association with the Society of Jesus conflict with his position at the Habsburg court- at least not until the Evangelische Inquisition incident of 1573.

In view of the nature of Eder's relationship with the likes of Canisius, it is at first sight hard to understand why Eder remained a layman. In part, this difficulty is a product of centuries of post-Tridentine church teaching and historiography in which the role of the laity has been consistently distinguished from that of the clergy, and then minimised. Adriano Prosperi's 1988 essay on Carlo Borromeo makes this point well:

'It may be said summarily that the dominant preoccupation in the pre-Tridentine age had been that of reacting to a process of secularization that tended to cancel the distinction between the clerics and layfolk; in the church of the succeeding period there is in some ways an inverse process, one of domination according to clerical models and values by an

³³ 'Ille hanc Provinciam adolescentem Viennae, atque omnem per Austriam benigntate perpetua fovit', Socher, Historia Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu pp. 125-126. See too Mitterdorffer Conspectus Historiae Universitatis Viennensis, p. 55 for similar comments: 'Philos. et J.U. Doctor atq. Theol. Baccalaureus, undecies omnino Rector Magnif., vir et a consiliis Caesari; literato orbi a rara sapientia; a gestis toties Rectoris insignibus Archigymnasio; ab aucta religione et pietate Ecclesiae; et a meritis in Societatem Jesu, quam Viennae adolescentem auxilio omni commendationeque promovit; ab humanitate denique, senio ac virtute bonis omnibus probatissimus'.

ecclesiastical body preoccupied with the defence specifically of its dignity and generally of its elevated social status'.³⁴

Po-Chia Hsia adds that this was particularly the case within the Jesuits:

'Fundamental to the meaning of the Society of Jesus was the attempt to reassert sacerdotal authority and to re-establish the cosmic hierarchy wherein the clergy stood superior above the laity, interceding on their behalf with the Almighty'.³⁵

The case of Georg Eder, however, appears to contradict such a movement. His position as a layman is in no doubt. Eder was a twice-married father to at least eight children. A tablet erected at Stephansdom by Eder to the memory of his first wife Katharina Reicher from Halle, indicates that he was widowed for the first time on 1 August 1559 and that by then he had also lost three sons.³⁶

Another stone erected by Eder at Stephansdom, this time in memory of his second wife, appears not to have survived the bombs of the Second World War. For details it is necessary to rely on the notes taken by Karl Schrauf at the end of the nineteenth century, who recorded that Eder's second wife was a Rosina Gerchinger of Augsburg.³⁷ Herself previously married to a 'Doctor Egydi Neubeckhens', by her death on 18 June 1573 she had mothered or step-mothered another five of Eder's children into adulthood. Evidence remains of

³⁴ Adriano Prosperi, 'Clerics and Laymen in the Work of Carlo Borromeo', in John M Headley and John B Tomaro (eds.), San Carlo Borromeo. Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second half of the Sixteenth Century (Associated University Presses, 1988), pp. 112-138, p. 124.

³⁵ R. Po-Chia Hsia, Society and Religion in Münster, 1535-1618 (New Haven, 1984), p. 74.

³⁶ 'Catharina Reicherin, Hallensi, uxori una cum tribus filiis Christophoro 1^{mo}. Christoph. 2^{do}. et Gabriele...Georg Eder U.J.D. Maj. Cons. et Fisci Austriaci Advocatus Academiae Vien quarum Rector, Maritus et Pater P'. This may still be seen today, on the portico of the north tower. It is unclear from which 'Halle' Reicher came.

³⁷ Karl Schrauf, Konvolut, fol. 70r. This stone may have been erected after Eder's own death, as according to Schrauf's notes the inscription ends with the date of his demise.

four of these children: one daughter, Regina, and three sons, the aforementioned Bernhard, as well as Maximilian Eder and Adam Eder.³⁸

As a husband and father, Eder could not have joined the Jesuits, even as a 'temporal coadjutor' or lay Jesuit, and a man with his devotion to Catholic reform would certainly not have contemplated a life within the church in any capacity with a family in tow.³⁹ It is possible that Eder's decision to marry rather than follow the lead of his friends at Cologne was made for practical reasons. It has already been established that Eder was reliant on the financial help of others to continue his studies at Cologne: later in life he commented that he had property but that most of it was in the names of his children.⁴⁰ This may indicate that at least one his marriages had been made for Eder's financial

³⁸ In a letter to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria dated 28 August 1574, Eder comments that he must consider the welfare of his five children: 'Etliche haben auch meiner kinder halben, dern ich funffe, nicht geringe bedenckhen ghabt', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 86-89, p. 87. On the significance of Rosina Eder's marriage in 1581, see chapter five. The three sons were all educated at Vienna University. On the boys' education, see Gall and Szaivert (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien* vol. III, p. 158, for an entry concerning 'Maximilianus Eder filius rectoris Vienn(ensis) 1571...' and p. 258 on 'Bernhardus Eder filius rectoris Vienn(ensis) 1571...'. Page 168 of the same volume also refers to 'Adam Eder' having matriculated in 1575. It is not specifically stated that he is also Eder's son, but the date makes it reasonable to guess he may have been a younger brother of the other two. In addition, Eder was not a common surname in sixteenth-century Vienna. Only one other 'Eder' family is listed as living in Vienna when a Hofquartier survey was taken in 1566: that of a 'Hanns Eder, Prandtweiner' who lived at number 869 Annagasse. This information comes from Albert Comesina Ritter von San Vittore, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Wien's im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1881), p. 35.

³⁹ According to John O'Malley, 'temporal coadjutors' were fully-fledged members of the Society but did not go on to take sacred orders. In the sixteenth century they constituted approximately 25% of the order's total membership. They also took a vow of chastity, a fact that would automatically exclude twice-married Eder: *The First Jesuits*, p. 60. Eder made his views on Catholic clerics with families known in his Bavarian correspondence. On 4 October 1578 he wrote to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria: '...Glaub ich nit, das im gantzen landt uber zwen prelaten die es der religion halben treulich gmainen. Der anderen leben und glauben ist so ergerlich, das es Gott im himel zu erbarmen. Sie haben fast alle weiber...bey etlichen waist man von kainer meß mer...und get übler zue, alls bey den laien', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, p. 232. His status as a married man and a father is another point Eder raises when later giving his reasons for refusing the proffered Bishopric of Gurk: see chapter five.

⁴⁰ In a letter to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria dated 7 September 1577, Eder noted of his precarious financial situation that: '...[Ich] eigenthülich mer nicht hab, alls ain klaine summa geltz bey der

betterment. It is also possible that Eder remained a member of the laity for strategic reasons. Jesuits were not permitted to work in such offices as that of Reichshofrat, and it is not beyond belief that Eder was encouraged to serve as a layman in order to infiltrate such a position. Such courting of those in high position would be consistent with the emphasis laid by the Jesuits on gaining influence with the powerful as a means of furthering their own cause.

Such theories are however unnecessary in the light of a much more simple reason why Georg Eder remained a member of the laity. His case suggests that in his own day, lay status did not automatically imply inferior service to the church, but merely non-clerical service. This would have been no issue at all with regard to Eder's relationship with the Jesuits. As John O'Malley's excellent study of the origins of the order reveals, their motto was 'The World is Our House' and their rapid success at gaining converts, members and schools indicates their efficacy in 'the world'.⁴¹ Within such a context, it is not surprising that Eder felt able describe himself as a Jesuit in spirit if not in fact. In a particularly noteworthy letter of 5 May 1573, Eder wrote to Magius that he was writing as one Jesuit to another, 'in a strictly Jesuitical frame of mind'.⁴² Furthermore, within the broader picture of Catholic reform, lay confraternities

landschafft, daran ain guter thail meinen kindern zugehörig, bey weytem auch so vil nicht ertregt, davon ich mich auff's geringist erhalten möchte', Schrauf, *Der Reichshofrat*, p. 111.

⁴¹ John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, chapter one.

⁴² '...Quod ego Jesuita Jesuitae scribo animo certe non alio quam Jesuitico...', ARSI, *Epistolae Germaniae* 153 fol. 56r-58v. The Jesuit historian Socher confirms that Eder used to 'profess himself a Jesuit no less than the Jesuits themselves' and openly described himself as a Jesuit in letters. 'Ille benevolentia tanta Socios est omnes prosecutus: ut haud minus Jesuitus ipsis Jesuitam se profiteretur....Georgium quidem nihil dubitem nostrorum de numero dicere: qualem se ipse palam suis in literis non semel serebat'. Socher, *Historia Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu*, p. 359.

had a long and distinguished reputation throughout Catholic Europe, and it has also been noted by a historian of education that a possessor of a theology doctorate such as Eder would have been held in as high esteem as a bishop.⁴³

Just as it needs to be established that Eder's service to the church in Vienna was as a layman, no matter how strong his connections with the Jesuits, so too it must be noted that Eder was not exclusively linked to that one order. Even in Cologne, Eder had been influenced by members of other orders as well as by members of the secular clergy. Aside from the fact, noted above, that as a young man Eder had flirted with the idea of joining the Carthusian order, he later paid tribute to various non-Jesuit church patrons. Looking back on his days in Cologne, in 1568 Eder publicly recorded his gratitude to the likes of Tilman Siberg, a Dominican Prior, and Canons Andreas Bardwick and Matthias

⁴³ Willem Frijhoff, 'Graduation and Careers' in Ridder-Symoens (ed.), A History of the University in Europe, pp. 355-415, pp. 366-370. It is possible that Eder himself was a member of a confraternity, but no evidence of this survives. For an example of the workings of a confraternity in an urban environment, see Nicholas Terpstra, Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna, (Cambridge University Press, 1995); also see John Patrick Donnelly, Confraternities and Catholic Reform (Truman State University Press, 2001). In his The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society (Cambridge, 1989), Louis Châtellier makes frequent mention of confraternities in Baroque Vienna.

Aquensis.⁴⁴ The last two also number alongside Canisius as those who helped Eder financially during his studies at Cologne.⁴⁵

In Vienna too it seems Eder benefited from the patronage of non-Jesuits. In 1568 again, Eder used the 'Prolegomena' of one of his theological works to acknowledge the help of Bishop Urban of Gurk and Matthias Wertwein who had acted as Bishop of Vienna between 1552 and 1553.⁴⁶ Such involvement with Catholics from all branches of the church appears to have remained a feature of Eder's life throughout his time in Vienna. Theodor Wiedemann

⁴⁴ 'Celeberrimus in primis Theologus Tilmanus Sibergensis Prior Dominicanorum, tum hereticae prauitatis Inquisitor, Andreas Barduick, Canonicus apud D. Gereonem, Matthias Aquensis, canonicus apud S. Andream...', Georg Eder, Partitiones, Catechismi, Catholici, Eius Nimirum Qui Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, Pii V. Pont. Max. Iussu, ad parochos primum editus: Nunc Vero Facilioris Cognitionis Gratia in luculentam hanc Epitomen & commodas aliquot Tabulas, sic digestus atque distributus est, Ut Omni Hominum Et Aetati Et Conditioni magnopere usui esse possit: Per D. Georgium Ederum Frising S. Caesareae Maiestatis Consiliarum & C. Paulus Ad Tit III. Haec sunt bona & utilia hominibus. Stultas autem questiones, & genealogias, & contentiones, & pugnas legis deuota: Sunt enim inutiles & vanae & c. (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582), fol. A*4v.

⁴⁵ See note 13, above.

⁴⁶ 'Inter quos ut non uberioris tantum fidei, sed gratae etiam memoriae causa nominem saltem aliquos, praecipuus est reuerendissimus Princeps & Dominus D. Urbanus Episcopus Gurcensis, S. Rom. Caes. Maiestatis Consiliarius & c. Viennensis Ecclesiae administrator, vir singulari pietate conspicuus, & vitae sanctimonia vere illustris...'; 'Neque hic mihi cum propter egregiam hominis doctrinam, tum propter fraternam, quae mihi cum illo est, amicitiam, praetereundus est reuerendus Dominus Matthais Wertwein, sacrae Theologiae Doctor, Viennensis cleri & praepositus, & Cancellarius & c. Brixinensis Ecclesiae Cathedralis Canonicus, vir auitae religionis & antiq pietatis tenacissimus', Georg Eder, Oeconomia Bibliorum Sive Partitionum Theologicarum Libri Quinque: Quibus Sacrae Scripturae Disposito, Seu Artificium Et Vis atque ratio, in tabulis velut ad viuum exprimitur, & ita ob oculos ponitur, ut non modo absolutissimam complectantur uniuerse Theologiae summan atque Methodum, sed Commentarii etiam vice haberi queant. Opus Magno Studio Et Labore Congestum, Et Ad Solidam Divinarum literarum cognitionem, artemq caelestis philosophiae recte per discendam accommodatissimum: Quod non iniuria quis uel aurea Catenam, uel Clauem dicat totius doctrinae Christianae. Authore D. Georgio Edero I.C. Frising. Divorum Imp. Ferdinandi Augustissime memorie I. & nunc Cesaris Maximiliani II. Consiliario Aulico Imperiali. His Adiecimus Etiam, Cum Propter Argumenti Similitudinem, Tum ut studiosus Lector, quis sacrae scripturae sit usus, vivum habeat exemplar. Partitiones Catechismi Catholici Tridentini eodem D. Georgio Edero authore (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582), fol. *c1v. On Wertwein see Martin Krexner and Franz Loidl, Wiens Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe (Vienna, 1983), pp. 36-37.

records the story of the gift Eder received from the Archbishop of Salzburg on the occasion of his second marriage in 1559.⁴⁷ Later work by Dirk Jacob Jansen also places Eder in the social company of Dominicans and the Bishop of Győr at some point before 1568.⁴⁸

Yet it was another figure in Vienna, Martin Eisengrein, with whom Eder had the closest non-Jesuit association.⁴⁹ Eisengrein (1535-1578) was originally from a wealthy Lutheran family from Stuttgart, and was himself still a Protestant when he arrived in 1553 to continue his studies in the Arts and Law Faculties of Vienna University. Sometime in 1558 or 1559 Eisengrein was, however, converted to Catholicism and immediately dropped his studies to take up theology. Ordained priest in 1560, Eisengrein quickly became cathedral preacher in Vienna's Stephansdom where he remained for two years. It was

⁴⁷ Wiedemann, Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation..., vol. 5, p. 509. On 20 September 1559 Archbishop Michael of Salzburg asked the-then Passau Official Christoph Hillinger to send Eder the sum of ten Doppeldukaten as a wedding gift. Such a gesture may well have been mere protocol as Eder was the rector of Vienna University. It does however still point to Eder's connections and involvement with the secular clergy.

⁴⁸ In a letter of 2 February 1581 Strada wrote to Jacopo Dani, secretary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, recalling entertainment for Riccardo Riccardi, a young Florentine gentleman Dani had recommended. In attendance at the banquet were Georg Draskovich, Bishop of Győr, two Dominican friars, court preacher Citardus and the '...Lettor dello studio [...] acciò che'l gentilhuomo havesse conversatione di huomini dottissimi, li quali, oltre alla lingua italiana che parlano, sonno poi nelle scienze et facultà consumatissimi...'. Jansen suggests this unnamed gentleman was probably Eder. 'Citardus' was Ferdinand I's Dominican court preacher, Matthias Esche of Sittard. This letter must, however, have been written retrospectively and refers to an occasion that evidently took place before the end of 1568. It could not have happened after that date, as one of the guests, Citardus, died in the autumn of that year. Dirk Jacob Jansen, 'The Instruments of Patronage. Jacopo Strada at the Court of Maximilian II: A Case-Study', in Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit 17, 1992), pp. 182-202, pp. 200-201. For more on this event see too Howard Louthan, The Quest For Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna (Cambridge, 1997), p. 125.

⁴⁹ There has been a significant body of writing produced on Eisengrein. See in particular Philip Soergel, Wondrous In His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda In Bavaria (California, 1993), and the much older Luzian Pflieger, Martin Eisengrein (1535-1578). Ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit der katholischen Restauration in Bayern. Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, ed. Ludwig Pastor, vol. VI, 2 and 3 Heft, (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1908).

Eder and the Viennese Jesuits who Eisengrein credited with this rapid conversion, and although Eisengrein himself spent most of the remaining 16 years of his life based at Ingolstadt, he and Eder remained in regular contact.⁵⁰ Particularly poignant is Eder's reaction to news of his friend's death. In a letter to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria dated 17 May 1578, Eder wrote in a terse postscript: 'Man sagt den herrn Eysengrein todt; wo dem allso, ist es mir von hertzen laidt'.⁵¹

Despite the extent of Jesuit influence on his life, Georg Eder therefore showed himself willing to work with all Catholics to achieve religious change. There may well have been potential for inter-order disputes: the hostility of the Carmelites and Dominicans to the Jesuits' use of their property in Vienna is a case in point, as was Eder's clash with the Dominicans over the fate of his student, Andronicus.⁵² Nor were relations between the secular and the regular clergy always good. Yet Eder's case does demonstrate the reality of the struggle for Catholic survival and reform in the latter half of the sixteenth century: it did not necessarily operate on a clear-cut, orderly basis but was rather the result of local contacts and personal ties.

⁵⁰ Pflieger, *Martin Eisengrein*, pp. 9-10. Eisengrein spent part of his time in Vienna lodging at the home of the Jacob Jonas, the Catholic Vicekanzler who had been instrumental in advancing Eder's career. It may well be that he too influenced Eisengrein to bring about his conversion. Eight letters in which Eder refers to his friendship with Eisengrein are included in the collection Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*. Their content will be discussed later in the thesis.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-169, p.169. Eisengrein had died on 4 May.

⁵² See above. On Eder's intervention as university rector over the case of Andronicus, see chapter two.

Just as chapter two demonstrated that Eder's Catholicism did not bar him from promotion at the Habsburg court, this chapter indicates that Eder's position at the court did not hinder his service to the church. It is true that Eder did suffer on occasion for his religious stance. In a letter of 1 April 1573 sent to the Jesuitprovinzial Magius, Eder complained of his image at court: 'I run about, hither and thither, to Trautson, to the Spanish Legate, to others, that we may seek remedies...on account of which I seem a fool at court'. He later added that he knew that there were Catholic bishops and even a Cardinal who regarded him as 'superstitious'.⁵³ The sources also suggest that Eder actually masked his true attitude to the Jesuits while in his role as university rector. In a letter of 2 January 1560 from the rector of the Jesuit college in Vienna, Joannes de Victoria, to Peter Canisius, Victoria comments: 'We had clearly understood that Eder had a far different attitude to the Society or the College of Vienna than he indicated by certain exterior signs'.⁵⁴

Exactly what these signs were is not clear, but it is true that Eder and like-minded members of Vienna University could not always enact the anti-heresy legislation they would have most desired. Shortly after his arrival in Vienna,

⁵³ '...Cursito, ad Trautsohnium, ad Hispanum Legatum, ad alios; ut quaeramus remedia...ob quam stultus videor aulae...'; 'Scio etiam de nostris Episcopos esse, qui me mimiae superstitionis arcessant; atque adeo id Cardinalium unius cuiusdam de me iudicium fuisse...'. Eder concludes this letter by re-affirming the consolation he finds in the Society of Jesus, stating that he can endure being cast out by the world so long as the Jesuits do not do the same: 'Sed esto, ejiciat me mundus, ut opprobrium, & abjectionem plebis: quod etiam alis antehac fecit multis, me melioribus; mihi sat erit solatii, dum ne ab sanctissima Jesu Societate rejiciat'. Extracts from this letter are printed in Socher, *Historia Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu*, pp. 360-361. 'Trautson' refers to Hans Trautson, a member of the Geheimer Rat as Obersthofmeister and Obersthofmarschall under both Ferdinand I and Maximilian II.

⁵⁴ 'Hoc unum satis sit nos intellexisse plane Ederum longe alium animum erga nostram Societatem vel Collegium Viennense habuisse quam significabat exterioribus quibusdam signis', Braunsberger (ed.), *Beati Petri Canisii, Societatis Iesu, Epistulae et Acta* vol. 2, (Freiburg, 1898), pp. 571-577, pp. 573-574.

Canisius headed a commission to reform the university and the Bursen or student lodgings, with the ultimate intention of eradicating false doctrine therein. According to two 1569 reports by the papal nuncio, Biglia, Eder was also concerned by the promotion of Lutherans within Vienna University.⁵⁵ This concern, however, put men such as Eder in the minority and counted for little against the determination, particularly of Maximilian II, to maintain confessional harmony. On 5 September 1564 Maximilian passed a law stating that doctoral candidates at Vienna University had only to swear that they were members of the Catholic church, as opposed to the Roman Catholic church.⁵⁶ The Emperor reinforced this four years later with a decree stating that affiliation to the Confession of Augsburg would be no barrier to promotion within the university.⁵⁷

What is less well known about the reign of Maximilian II, however, is that he was not entirely dismissive of the needs of those seeking Catholic reform, and as a result Eder was not only able to pursue many of his own efforts to revive the church, but to even find officially sanctioned means of doing so.⁵⁸ That Maximilian II was responsible for the establishment of the Klosterrat, an

⁵⁵ Bericht number 149, dated 28 July 1569, and Bericht dated 9 December 1569. Ignaz Philipp Dengel (ed.), *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1560-1572* part 2, vol. 6 (Vienna, 1939), p. 327. The paraphrase is Dengel's.

⁵⁶ This was tested by Sigismund Eiseler, who, despite his refusal to swear allegiance to the Roman Catholic church, nonetheless gained a doctorate, became a professor, rose to the rank of Dekan of the Law faculty and in 1576 was elected rector. See Kurt Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft. Kaiser Maximilian II. und die Universität Wien', in Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (eds.), *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, 17, 1992)*, pp. 203-231, p. 218.

⁵⁷ This decree was dated 4 February 1568.

⁵⁸ The Jesuits' unwillingness to compromise may have run counter to his confessional politics, but Maximilian II did allow his sons Rudolf and Ernst to be educated by Jesuits in Spain.

Imperial body designed to reform the religious houses of Lower Austria, has already been noted. On occasion, perhaps out of respect for his father's fondness for the new order, Maximilian permitted the findings of this body to work in the Jesuits' particular favour. In July 1571, for instance, a Klostrerrat evaluation noted that the Klarissenkloster of St Anna remained a wealthy house but was inhabited by only one nun. The Klostrerrat subsequently advised the Emperor to incorporate the Klarissenkloster into that of St James, but the Jesuit Provinzial Magius seized the chance to ask the Emperor rather to use the Klarissenkloster to enlarge the material income of the Jesuit college. This Maximilian did, albeit slowly.⁵⁹ It was also under the authority of Maximilian II that the Carmelite property in which the Jesuits had been based since 1554 was formally handed over to the Society of Jesus. On 15 October 1568 the Reichskanzlei entrusted the administration of the exchange to Jakob Öchsel and to Georg Eder himself, another suggestion of Eder's known association with the Jesuits.⁶⁰

Such generosity to the Catholic church in a political climate of confessional peace-keeping bears witness to what must have been painfully apparent to Eder and Emperor alike: that the religious state of Lower Austria and of Vienna was in a perilous situation and desperately in need of change. At the heart of the problem was the sheer lack of clergy, regular and secular, in quantity and in

⁵⁹ L. Bittner, Inventare des Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs Bd. V Gesamtinventar des Wiener Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchivs vol. IV (Vienna, 1936), p. 519-521.

⁶⁰ As it turned out, Eder and Öchsel had to travel to Pressburg on the important dates of the transfer and alternatives had to be found for them. Ibid, p. 526. See Paula Sutter Fichtner for further instances of Maximilian II's gestures of support to the Jesuits in Vienna, Emperor Maximilian II (Yale University Press, 2001), p. 192.

quality. A survey of 1568 by the Hofkammer listed the largest religious house in Vienna as consisting of only twelve Observant Franciscan monks, while the largest female house was the nine-strong house of St James.⁶¹ The supply of secular priests for Vienna was to a large extent dependent on the Theology faculty of the university, and this had also been long in decline: between 1529 and 1539, the faculty had only two professors, and had none at all for a short period after 1549. According to the Bishop of Laibach, writing in the late 1540s, not a single priest had been ordained in Vienna in two decades.⁶² Those who did minister in Vienna were also far from acceptable. In the mid-sixteenth century, one man wrote that ‘the seven deadly sins have become as the daily bread of our clergy here’, while the convert from Protestantism, Friedrich Staphylus, reported to the-then Emperor Ferdinand that the clergy in Austria were utterly perverted, that there were more sects than there were parishes, and that hardly one priest in 100 denied himself a concubine.⁶³

By the latter half of the sixteenth century, the effects of this on the next generation were clear to be seen. In a letter of 10 June 1568 the Papal nuncio Biglia reported the statistics of participation in Communion for Easter of that year, for both within and without the city walls of Vienna. Biglia also divided his list according to those who took Communion *sub una* and *sub utraque*. The number of those who participated according to Catholic rites within the city walls was only 5704 with, tellingly, the vast majority of these receiving

⁶¹ Roderick Geyer, ‘Dr Johann Caspar Neubeck, Bischof von Wien, 1574-1594’, (unpublished Doktorarbeit, University of Vienna, 1956), p. 42.

⁶² Brodrick, *Canisius*, p. 170.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 170. The translation is by Brodrick.

communion from the Jesuits.⁶⁴ To put this in perspective, the total population of the 'inner' part of Vienna was between 25,000 and 30,000 by the middle of the sixteenth century.⁶⁵ The statistics are bleaker still for the nature of participation beyond the city walls. Here the impact of the *Auslaufen* to Lutheran services was much in evidence: 4618 took communion in both kinds outside the city walls.⁶⁶

To compound such problems a further difficulty was that of finding a candidate, suitable or otherwise, willing to take the role of Bishop of Vienna. The bishopric of Vienna was a relatively recent creation, and hardly an alluring one. Aside from the spiritual torpor of clergy and laity, plus the minefield of Imperial politics, the bishopric itself was not an impressive gain. Only created in 1469, it was small and poorly endowed, particularly in comparison to that of the neighbouring Bishop of Passau. As a result, the post of Bishop of Vienna had no incumbent at all between 1555 and 1558, and between 1568 and 1574, while between 1563 and 1568 Urban Sagstetter acted only as administrator.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ 3600 parishioners are recorded as having received communion *sub una* from the Jesuits at Easter 1568. The highest figure after this is 1022 for Stephansdom. 2369 took communion in both kinds within the city walls, a smaller number but still a significant minority. Biglia to Alessandrino, Ignaz Philipp Dengel (ed.), *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1560-1572* part 2, vol. 6 (Vienna, 1939), p. 153.

⁶⁵ John Spielmann suggests that the total population of Vienna was as high as 80,000 in the fourteenth century until successive plague epidemics brought the figure down to 50,000 where it remained until the end of the sixteenth century (p. 12.) He also suggests that the 'inner' part of the city probably totalled 25-30,000 inhabitants, while the 'outer' was close to 25,000. *The City and the Crown. Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600-1740* (Purdue University Press, 1993), p. 12, p. 30.

⁶⁶ By contrast, only 1674 took communion according to the Roman rite. Biglia to Alessandrino, Ignaz Philipp Dengel (ed.), *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1560-1572*, p. 153.

⁶⁷ Anton Brus was Bishop of Vienna between 1558 and February 1563. The bishopric was then administered by Urban Sagstetter until June 1568, but he was not present in the early years. The post remained wholly unfilled until the appointment of Johannes Neuböck in 1574. For more on this situation, see Krexner and Loidl, *Wiens Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe*, pp. 40-45.

Eder therefore had great motivation to take action, and this he did within the parameters outlined above. He acted as a layman, he co-operated with all members of the Catholic community, and he was able to work within the constraints of Imperial service, in order to serve his faith. In all of this Eder remained overwhelmingly influenced by the Jesuit 'way of proceeding', revealed both explicitly in his words and implicitly in his actions.⁶⁸

Evidence for Eder's service to the church during his first decade in Vienna, in the 1550s, is very limited. What does survive, however, suggests that Eder was deeply influenced by the work of his friend Canisius for the church in Vienna. It has already been noted that during the period of his residence in Vienna, between 1552 and 1556, Peter Canisius performed a highly active ministry, particularly of preaching; as a result, he was headhunted on several occasions to take on the unenvied post of Bishop of Vienna. Canisius was unwilling to do so, possibly out of devotion to his own order but also a fear that the additional duties would distract him from the task of winning souls. He had therefore to turn down repeated requests from the Emperor Ferdinand himself to accept the Vienna bishopric, and was even compelled by Pope Julius III to at least act as its administrator for a year between 1554 and 1555.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 11. This phrase was commonly used in Jesuit writing to describe their ministry.

⁶⁹ Matthias Wertwein died in 1553 after just one year in office. The post remained vacant until 3 November 1554 when Canisius was compelled to act as administrator.

The impact of his example was, however, not lost on his younger friend, Eder. In 1574 Eder made a telling claim to the Duke of Bavaria about the nature of his past service to the church in Vienna. He asserted that Martin Eisengrein and others would report that in the time the Vienna bishopric was vacant, he did so much that it was as if a bishop were there.⁷⁰ The editor of this letter, Karl Schrauf, suggests that this vacancy refers to a period between 5 June 1561 and 1563, from the time of Anton Brus's call to be Archbishop of Prague, to the beginning of the administration of Urban Sagstetter.⁷¹ This could be correct, though Eisengrein could only have borne witness to the first half of this activity as he left Vienna for Ingolstadt in 1562. Eisengrein was, however, in Vienna throughout the much more substantial years of vacancy between 1555 and 1558, and it may well have been the case that during this earlier period Eder assisted Canisius in his work, or at least saw the necessary skills in action to perform effectively in the role of bishop. Whatever the case, by the 1560s and 1570s Georg Eder had evidently gained, most likely from Canisius, a strong grasp of the qualities needed to make a competent bishop: a concern for the imposition of clerical discipline and morality; the encouragement of high-quality preaching; and the proper education of the faithful. Like the Jesuits, Eder pressed this agenda as a means of bolstering the existing local ecclesiastical

⁷⁰ 'Was ich aber der kirchen mit schreiben und sonst dienen kan, das will ich in kainen weg underlassen, wie ich dann in kainen zweifl stell, E.F.G. werden von herrn Eysengrein und anderen genuegsamlich berichtet sein, das ich die zeit des vacierenden bistum alhie sovil gethon, alls wäre eben ain bischof verhanden gwest'. Eder to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, 28 August 1574, Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, p. 89. By 1574, Martin Eisengrein was a highly respected Ingolstadt theologian, and would have been well known to the recipient of Eder's letter.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

structure without actually joining it himself.⁷² Also like the Jesuits, Eder worked toward such goals with great energy.

One way in which Eder acted as a 'surrogate bishop' in the 1560s and early 1570s was through his efforts to impose clerical discipline and secure competent, theologically correct preachers for vacant pulpits. This Eder was able to do because of, rather than in spite of, his posts at the Imperial court. With his known concern for Catholic reform, Eder was a natural choice to participate in some of the Klosterrat activities.⁷³ Details of three cases survive, the first of which reveals Eder's role in the selection of a suitable preacher for the vacant position at Vienna's church of St Michael. On Pfingstmontag, 1572, Eder was among those who heard a sermon preached at St Michael's by Georg Puelacher, the Octonarius at Stephansdom. The experience was evidently not a pleasing one: with Eder's supervision the post was filled on 5 August not by Puelacher but by a Martin Radwiger, 'weil seine Probepredigt gefallen'.⁷⁴

⁷² This function of the Society of Jesus is noted by John O'Malley in his article: 'Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to look at Early Modern Catholicism' in his Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century (1993), XII, pp. 177-193. For the Jesuits' role in supporting local Catholic worship in a different context see David Gentilcore, 'Adapt Yourself to the People's Capabilities: Missionary Strategies, Methods and Impact in the Kingdom of Naples, 1600-1800', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 45 (1994), pp. 269-296.

⁷³ I am hesitant to describe Eder as a 'member' of the Klosterrat, though it is arguable that by virtue of his various court offices, 'membership' would not necessarily be a pre-requisite to participation in Klosterrat proceedings. It is true that the only records of Eder's input into the finding of preachers for vacant parishes are dated after 1568, when the Klosterrat was first established. It is also true that the cases in which Eder was apparently involved deal with exactly the issues of discipline and morality with which the Klosterrat was most concerned. In no source, however, it is ever explicitly stated that Eder worked as part of the Monastery Commission, and later in life he expressed displeasure at its operation: see chapter five. Most of all, however, to describe Eder as a member of such a body is to de-emphasise the driving force behind his work for reform, which was his connection with the Society of Jesus. Any participation by Eder in Klosterrat operations was supplementary to his other efforts toward bringing Catholic reform.

⁷⁴ Theodor Wiedemann, Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation im Lande unter der Enns vol II, (Prague, 1880), p. 132, citing the Consistorial-Acten.

Eder's service to the church in Vienna was further exercised through his participation in Klosterrat activities which curtailed the immoral lifestyles of certain monasteries under investigation. Evidence survives of Eder's and fellow-Catholic Reichshofrat Johann Hegenmüller's involvement in an assessment of the Chorherrenstifte St. Dorothea. On 14 November 1571 the two men reported that the life of the inhabitants was 'sehr ärgerliche, strafmässige und leichtfertige'.⁷⁵ This seems tame, however, in comparison with Eder's investigation of the convent of St James, mentioned above. In a report dated June 1573, Eder, Stadtanwalt Caspar von Lindegg zu Lisana, and the Bishop of Gurk's representative, Kaspar Christiani, outlined their findings. Amongst a litany of other moral and disciplinary outrages, it was found that the Canon Matthias Spasmus had fathered two children with one of the nuns. Eder and his colleagues also found that the convent housed the equivalent of 50 buckets of wine, more than necessary for any number of Eucharists, while one of the nuns, Susanna von Püchheim, was memorably described by Eder himself as a 'kecker Schnabel' who loved nothing better than to travel with her father into the city and gossip.⁷⁶ This particular investigation ended with the punishment of many in the convent: the two illegitimate children were removed from the premises, the Abbess was imprisoned in a convent far from Vienna, and the head of the convent of St Laurence was placed in administrative charge of the shamed convent of St James.

⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. II, p. 127. Wiedemann's paraphrase of the Klosterratsakten.

⁷⁶ Ibid., vol. II, p. 130. Wiedemann's paraphrase of the Klosterratsakten.

Eder did not restrict his service to the church to the supervision of the standards and teaching of others, however. There survives one known case of his own preaching, though such is the nature of the sermon as evidence that Eder may well have preached more than survives in print. As with his work for the Klosterrat, Eder preached his sermon as a layman and did so in his official capacity, this time as university rector, under the guise of an oration at a doctoral promotion. Published two years after its delivery in 1570 under the title Oratio Pro fide catholica, the subject of Eder's speech had been the truth of the Catholic Church and the necessity of a decisive renunciation of heresy.⁷⁷

It was however towards the medium of print that Eder appears to have most heavily directed his concern for the correct education of the Catholic faithful. In each of the three consecutive years between 1568 and 1570, Eder published at least one new volume aimed at the instillation of orthodox Catholic doctrine into the minds and souls of his readers. 1568 saw the publication of his first two such works, the Oeconomia Bibliorum and the Partitiones Catechismi Catholici...ad parochos.⁷⁸ Although many surviving copies appear to have been

⁷⁷ The full title was Ad rubricam codicis de Summa Trinitate oratio G. Ederi. Pro fide catholica. Habita Viennae XVI. Sept. an LXVIII. dum claris. Viris D. Joanni Schwartzentaler ac D. Martino Puschman Neapolitanis in U.J.Doctorea conferret insignia. It was published in Budapest in 1570. The preface to the reader by Martin Winclerus establishes the theme of heresy arousing Catholics to reveal the truth afresh: 'Prosunt ergo nobis Haeretici, non uerum docendo, quod nesciunt, sed ad uerum quaerendum & aperendum Catholicos excitando'. Fol. A3r.

⁷⁸ Oeconomia Bibliorum Sive Partitionum Theologicarum Libri Quinque: Quibus Sacrae Scripturae Disposito, Seu Artificium Et Vis atque ratio, in tabulis velut ad viuum exprimitur, & ita ob oculos ponitur, ut non modo absolutissimam complectantur uniuerse Theologiae summan atque Methodum, sed Commentarii etiam vice haberi queant. Opus Magno Studio Et Labore Congestum, Et Ad Solidam Divinarum literarum cognitionem, artemq caelestis philosophiae recte per discendam accommodatissimum: Quod non iniuria quis uel aurea Catenam, uel Clauem dicat totius doctrinae Christianae. Authore D. Georgio Edero I.C. Frising. Divorum Impp. Ferdinandi Augustissime memoriae I. & nunc Caesaris Maximiliani II. Consiliario Aulico Imperiali. His Adieciimus Etiam, Cum Propter Argumenti Similitudinem, Tum ut studiosus Lector, quis sacrae scripturae sit usus, viuum habeat exemplar, Partitiones Catechismi Catholici

bound together, these were individual books with different audiences in mind.⁷⁹ The first edition of the physically heftier Oeconomia Bibliorum contained 714 folio pages of what was essentially a book by book introduction to the Bible for Catholic priests. Presented in the form of charts and tables rather than undiluted Latin prose, it works methodically through the history, content, and theology of each book of the Bible, with references from a wide range of sources: the Church Fathers, the Councils, and Eder's own contemporaries.

The 119 page Partitiones was also in folio format but aimed at a younger readership. Dedicated to the 'Magistrat und die Universität' of Cologne, the work contained extracts from the key passages of the two year-old Catechismus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos that had been produced as a result of the Council of Trent. The original version had been addressed specifically to parish priests who were then to provide oral explanation of the doctrine therein to their parishioners; Eder's re-working was intended primarily for use within schools. Like the Tridentine work on which it was based, Eder's Partitiones was divided into four pieces of condensed theology: the Creed, the Sacraments, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer. Unlike the original, but like Eder's Oeconomia Bibliorum, the Partitiones utilised diagrams and charts to provide a

Tridentini eodem D. Georgio Edero authore (Gervinus Calenius and Iohanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582). Partitiones, Catechismi, Catholici, Eius Nimirum Qui Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, Pii V. Pont. Max. Iussu, ad parochos primum editus: Nunc Vero Facilioris Cognitionis Gratia in luculentam hanc Epitomen & commodas aliquot Tabulas, sic digestus atque distributus est. Ut Omni Hominum Et Aetati Et Conditioni magnopere usui esse possit: Per D. Georgium Ederum Frising S. Caesareae Maiestatis Consiliarum & C. Paulus Ad Tit III. Haec sunt bona & utilia hominibus. Stultas autem questionones, & genealogias, & contentiones, & pugnas legis deuita: Sunt enim inutiles & vanae & c. (Gervinus Calenius and Iohanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582).

⁷⁹ See chapter one, note 42.

more educator-friendly presentation of the complex doctrines to be communicated.⁸⁰

Eder's one publication from 1569, the Catechismus Catholicus ... ad Parochos was, like the Partitiones of the previous year, a simplified version of the Tridentine catechism aimed at the education of younger Catholics.⁸¹

Appropriately dedicated to Duke Ernst of Bavaria, made Bishop of Freising five years earlier at the tender age of eleven, the Catechismus Catholicus followed exactly the same pattern of the Partitiones, from the employment of charts and tables to communicate complex ideas, to the fourfold structure of the Creed, Sacraments, Decalogue and Lord's Prayer. This was, however, a physically smaller work than the two of the previous year: it consisted of 463 pages but was bound as an octavo.

1570 saw the publication of one further pedagogical work composed by Eder: the Compendium Catechismi Catholici. Like the Partitiones of 1568 in structure and aim, and like the Catechismus Catholicus of 1569 in its dedication and physical dimensions, there were two important additions to the version of

⁸⁰ Eder's employment of such charts was not new: Martin Luther's 'Shorter Catechism' had appeared in a similar format in 1528, and the style had medieval precedents.

⁸¹ Catechismus Catholicus Qui Antea Quidem Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, Pij V. Pontificis Maximi iussu, ad Parochos praecipue scriptus nunc vero pio Ecclesiae iuvande studio, in compendium redactus, ad captivitate Christianae sic partitus est & accommodatus, ut in scholis etiam pueris utiliter proponi queat. Cum Praefatione Ad Illustrissimum Principem & D.D. Ernestum Comitem Palatinum Rheni, ac utriusq. Bauariae Ducem &c. Ecclesiae Frisingensis Administratorem, pro Ecclesia Romana, adversis eam calumnia, qua blaterant aliqui, in ea verum Catechismum hactenus aut non traditum, aut non recte propositum. Per D. Georg Eder Frisingensem, S. Caesar. Maiestat. Consiliarium (Gervinus Calenius and Iohanne Quentel, Cologne, 1569).

1570.⁸² A 143 page section entitled Confessio Catholica Concilii Tridentini was appended at the back, comprising a list of key doctrines of the Catholic church, with a short explanation of each.⁸³ The main body of the Compendium itself bore the greater departure: for the first time, a work of Eder's was complete with numerous illustrations designed to enhance the reader's comprehension of the text. Some of these are woodcuts that simply depict a scene relevant to that section of the work. In the first part, for example, on the Creed, a woodcut of the crucifixion scene complements the line: 'Suffered under Pontius Pilate'.⁸⁴ Others are designed to enhance understanding of more abstract notions: at the outset of the section of the sacraments is a picture of Christ on the cross surrounded by images of each of the sacraments in practice.⁸⁵

The physical and intellectual processes behind the production of such works again reflect those features of Eder's service to the church already identified in this chapter. The composition of such substantial works interfered neither politically nor physically with Eder's court career. His religious writings were all specifically aimed at strengthening the Catholic church, a goal in harmony with the religious policies of Maximilian II: indeed, the Oeconomia Bibliorum of 1568 was dedicated 'Ad Pontificem, et Imperatorem'. Eder's work within the

⁸² Compendium Catechismi Catholici, Quo Ut Antea semper, ita etiamnum ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini pie recteq; S. Romana & apostolica utitur Ecclesia. Cui nunc primum accessit Confessio Catholica Univers Concilij Tride[n]tini, de praecipuis Doctrinae Christianae Articulis, hoc potissimum seculo controuersis. Per D. Georg. Eder, Iurecons. Frisingen. S. Cesar. Maiestat. Consiliar (Gervinus Calenius and Iohanne Quentel, Cologne, 1570).

⁸³ Confessio Catholica Concilii Tridentini, de praecipuis christianae religionis Articulis, hoc potissimum seculo controversis.

⁸⁴ Compendium Catechismi Catholici, fol. C4r.

⁸⁵ Ibid., fol. G2v.

court and the university did not suffer either: the posts he held meant that he would have had ample time to devote to the composition of such works. Eder's role as university rector was mainly administrative and he did not even hold any such university posts during the bulk of the 1560s.⁸⁶ Although his work as Reichshofrat involved attendance at meetings on an almost daily basis, these tended to take place only in the mornings, and each Reichshofrat was granted six or eight weeks off over the course of year.⁸⁷

Eder's writing of Catholic pedagogical works also reflects the continued influence of the Society of Jesus. Education was a key part of the Jesuits' ministry, from the sermons they preached on the streets, to the colleges they established in the cities to which they were sent.⁸⁸ Peter Canisius was a particular proponent of the catechism as pedagogical tool; the significance of his trilogy of Catholic catechisms from the 1550s has already been noted.⁸⁹ Of Canisius, John O'Malley has added that 'To a degree unusual for Jesuits in other parts of the world, he labored more directly for the implementation of the Tridentine decrees, beginning in 1565 with his appointment by the pope as his special envoy to carry them to the German bishops'.⁹⁰ In view of the extent of Canisius' influence over Eder, it seems no coincidence that the younger man

⁸⁶ See chapter two, notes 97 and 98.

⁸⁷ See chapter two, note 80 and Oswald von Gschließer, *Der Reichshofrat* (Vienna, 1942), p. 82.

⁸⁸ John O'Malley notes that the Formula of the Society of Jesus listed the 'instruction of young and uneducated persons in Christianity' as a specific ministry of the Society. He adds that all Jesuit documents from the order's early period clearly refer to catechism, not the schools for which the Jesuits became better known. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 116.

⁸⁹ See above, note 6.

⁹⁰ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 276.

focused his own writing on the distillation of the Tridentine decrees into catechetical form, thereby following Canisius in both style and content of pedagogical work.

On this subject, 1567 had seen a curious incident which points simultaneously to Eder's closeness to the Jesuits, in spirit and in fact, and a stunning lack of communication which had led to a considerable amount of wasted effort on the part of layman and order. On 23 July 1567 Peter Hoffaeus, rector of the Jesuit college in Munich, wrote to the General of the order, reporting that Eder's friend, Martin Eisengrein, had told him that in Vienna, 'der kaiserliche Rat Doktor Eder, ein großer Freund der Gesellschaft' was currently working on a translation of the Tridentine catechism from Latin into German.⁹¹

Unfortunately, Hoffaeus himself had been doing exactly the same, and he asked his superior for advice on how best to proceed. The then-general Francis Borgia replied on 23 September relaying the news that the Pope wished the translation by Hoffaeus to proceed. Hoffaeus' German translation of the Tridentine catechism was subsequently published at Dillingen in the year after. To add to the confusion, however, in the dedication to what was apparently his second-choice of project- the diagrammatic version of the Latin catechism that was the Partitiones Catechismi Catholici...ad parochos, Eder noted that it was his

⁹¹ Bernhard Duhr, citing Germ. Epp. VIII, p. 230, Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, vol. 1, p. 782. The paraphrase is by Duhr.

‘teacher in theology and particular patron, Peter Canisius’ who had beaten him to the original task.⁹²

The reason for the Pope’s choice of the Jesuit Hoffaeus’ translation as opposed to that of Eder may well lie in Eder’s continued status as a layman. Translations of the Tridentine catechism to languages other than Latin or Italian were entrusted primarily to members of the Society of Jesus, no doubt to ensure the accuracy of such important teaching. Eder’s laity therefore explains why his pedagogical writings remained firmly rooted in Latin versions of the catechism of the Council of Trent, and why they were all so closely derived from each other.⁹³ Just as the content of the 1568 Partitiones Catechismi Catholici...ad parochos is based almost entirely on that of the Catechismus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos, so too Eder’s Catechismus Catholicus of 1569 and Compendium Catechismi Catholici of 1570 all rely heavily on each other in style, structure and verbatim content.

This is not to say, however, that Eder’s contribution as a layman to Catholic pedagogy was regarded in any way as inferior.⁹⁴ On the contrary, Eder’s Catholic writings attracted the praise of many within the hierarchy of the church, including the Pope himself. Even more significant is that the papal

⁹² ‘...Atque hanc versionem, diuina concedente gratia, iamdudum absoluisssem, nisi mihi a fide dignis relatum fuisset, eundem laborem ante me sibi sumpsisse Reuerendum Patrem Dominum Petrum Canisium Theologum...’, Partitiones Catechismi Catholici Tridentini, fol. A*4r.

⁹³ Gerhard J. Bellinger has demonstrated that between 1566 and 1587, the year of Eder’s death, there were 54 editions of the Roman catechism: Bibliographie des Catechismus Romanus Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini ad Parochos 1566-1978 (Baden-Baden, 1983).

⁹⁴ It is interesting to note in this context that the first catechism classes were run by laypeople. See O’Malley, The First Jesuits, p. 116.

praise of Eder was bestowed on the one work for which he was entirely responsible, the Oeconomia Bibliorum of 1568.⁹⁵ Eder's other works were equally well received. The Dominican prior Dietrich von Herzogenbusch described the Partitiones as a pearl of incomparable price, while the 'Agenda Coloniensis ecclesiae' of 1614 recommended the use of Eder's Compendium Catechismi Catholici along with the Canisius catechism, more than four decades after its first publication.⁹⁶ Of particular value to Eder would have been the approval of Canisius, and this he had: in a letter of 1 December 1569 Canisius described to Truchsess von Waldburg how that Eder had abridged the Roman catechism, in order that the book might better serve the schools.⁹⁷

The two works from 1568, the Oeconomia Bibliorum and the Partitiones also clearly found a market: the volumes' original printers, Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel of Cologne, published a new edition of both in 1571 that included the papal approval, and reissued the same version in 1582. A further new edition was even printed outside the German-speaking lands, in Venice by Dominicus Nicolinus in 1572.⁹⁸ An important part of this readership appears to have been in the Jesuit colleges. Of the numerous copies consulted in the

⁹⁵ All three subsequent editions of the Oeconomia Bibliorum open with a letter of approval from Pius V to his 'dilecto filio, Georgio Edero', dated 2 January 1569.

⁹⁶ Cited in N. Paulus, 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder. Ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts', Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland, 115 (1895), pp. 13-28, pp. 81-94, p. 240, p. 26. P. Bahlmann, Deutschlands Katholische Katechismen bis zum Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts (Münster, 1894), p.56, citing Cologne 'Agenda', p. 233.

⁹⁷ 'Ederus contraxit Catechismum Romanum, ut scholis liber rectius inseruiret'. Braunsberger (ed.), Beati Petri Canisii vol. VI, pp. 376-383, p. 377.

⁹⁸ See note 78, above.

research of this project, those with visible provenances almost all came from Jesuit libraries.⁹⁹

Eder's pedagogical writings were, furthermore, not only well received but apparently influential in their own right. The Dompfarrer of Speyer, Heinrich Fabricius, used Eder's Compendium Catechismi Catholici as the basis for a German version of the same, while Eder's Partitiones were later employed by a leading Jesuit, Antonio Possevino.¹⁰⁰ Possevino (1533-1611) acted as papal legate and nuncio in Scandinavia and eastern Europe between 1577 and 1587, and later rose to the order's hierarchy: that such a man saw fit to draw heavily on the writings of Eder says much about the quality and nature of his service to the church.¹⁰¹

iii) 1573: Imperial condemnation

The year 1573 was a watershed in Georg Eder's career. Until then, his service to the Catholic church had not clashed with his Imperial service. Indeed, the two

⁹⁹ Of the three copies of the Oeconomia Bibliorum and Partitiones found at the Munich Staatsbibliothek, two had been in Jesuit ownership (classmarks '2 Exeg 187' and 'Exeg 190'), while the third ('Exeg 189') had belonged to a Franciscan foundation. A copy of the Compendium Catechismi Catholici also came from Jesuit possession: 'Catech 280'.

¹⁰⁰ Kurtzer Catholischer Catechismus Wie sich desselben die Heilig Ro. und Apostolisch Kyrch. von anfang biß dahero jeder zeit recht gebraucht. Auß dem grossen Catechismo so hie beuor vermuß des Algemeynen Tridentischen Concilii Beschluß außgake. Der Catholische Jugend zu guten newlich mit fleiß gezogen, und jetzo in hoch teutsch ubergesetzt (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1570). This work is almost identical to Eder's, even down to the use and positioning of the illustrations.

¹⁰¹ R.P. Antonii Possevini... Theologi Societatis Iesu, de Sectariorum nostri temporis Atheismis liber. Confutatio, item, duorum pestilentissimorum librorum, à Ministris Transsylvanie editorum, ac theseun Francisci Daudis aduersus Sanctissimam Trinitatem. Praeterea, Antithesis haereticæ perfidiae contra singulos articulos Orthodoxæ fidei (Birckmann, Cologne, 1586). In a section headed 'De Atheismis haereticorum', Possevino refers to Georg Eder as his source, pp. 83r-96v.

had frequently complemented each other. In Eder, the Habsburg rulers had a competent functionary who helped bolster the Imperial authority and support the confessional peace, regardless of his personal views. From the Habsburgs, Eder received tacit support for his work for Catholic reform, even finding a place in Imperial bodies such as the Klosterrat to pursue his Jesuit-inspired agenda. As late as September 1572 Eder had re-affirmed his relationship with the dynasty by speaking in public praise of the Emperor Maximilian II's son Rudolf, on the occasion of his coronation as King of Hungary.¹⁰²

Such a background makes the events of October 1573 all the more striking: it is not surprising that when Eder is mentioned at all in histories of the period, it is for this incident in particular.¹⁰³ It seems that the events took even the main protagonists themselves by surprise. At the end of September 1573 the latest in Eder's growing canon of Catholic pedagogical works was published. The Evangelische Inquisition was like those that had preceded it, in that its 227 pages were devoted to the laying out of correct Catholic doctrine in an orderly and accessible form. It differed, however, in that it was entirely Eder's own composition, was more polemical in tone, and was also his first work in German.

¹⁰² Orationes II. Gratulatoriae, Ad Rudolphum Sereniss: Ac Potentiss: Regem Hungariae, & Archiducem Austriae, & c. D. Imperat: Max:II. Filium. Una, Inclyti Regni Hungariae Nomine, Habita Posenii Sub Ipsa Inauguratione Per Reuerendiß:Principem ac D.D. Antonium Verantium Archiep: Strigon: eiusdem Regni Primate, Legatum natu. &c.Altero Nomine Celeberrimi Archigymnasii Viennensis. Recitata Post reditum Viennae à Clarißimo Viro D. Georgio Edero I.C.S. Caes: Maiest: Consiliario Aulico Imperiali (Stephan Creutzer, Vienna, 1573).

¹⁰³ The incident is outlined in detail in Schrauf's introduction to his edition of Eder's letters, Der Reichshofrat. It is the same crisis that dominates Howard Louthan's summary of Eder's career, Quest for Compromise, pp. 127-129. Most recently, Paula Sutter Fichtner has re-told the episode in Emperor Maximilian II, pp. 195-196.

It is possible that Eder sensed some trouble brewing. Unlike his earlier works, this one was published in Dillingen, at the press of Sebald Meyer. It was also dedicated not to the Emperor but to his two younger brothers, Ferdinand and Karl.¹⁰⁴ The work was published, furthermore, only months after Eder had written to the Jesuits concerning his increasing alienation at court over the fervour of his faith.¹⁰⁵ In this letter of 1 April 1573 to Magius, Eder had also expressed alarm at the confessional politics of the Habsburg court, and at the Imperial handling of the situation:

‘Therefore you must not cease, by God, from your daily prayers for the city of Vienna, for the Emperor, and for the Archdukes, his sons. For truly we are able to say, “Save us, Lord, we perish!” I myself know the ways and characters of men, even of those who hold government. I know their counsels, and they are all carried by deception... I see nothing of hope, unless Caesar immediately rushes against these evils’.¹⁰⁶

Such factors may however be coincidental. And even if Eder was feeling less secure of his position by 1573, he clearly did not expect the Evangelische Inquisition to precipitate the crisis that it did. Eder blithely remained at his posts in Vienna immediately after the work’s publication, and even gave copies to the

¹⁰⁴ ‘Denen Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten unnd Herren, Herren Ferdinando unnd Carolo Ertzhertzogen zü Oesterreich, Hertzogen zü Burgundi, zü Steyer, zü Kärnten, zü Chrayn und Württemberg ... Gebrüdern, Meinen genedigsten Herren’, Evangelische Inquisition, fol. * iir.

¹⁰⁵ See note 53, above.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Quapropter ne desinatis, per Deum! pro Viennensi urbe, pro Imperatore, pro Archiduchibus Filiis quotidiana nuncupare vota. Vere enim dicere possumus: Domine, Salva nos, perimus! Saepe me, ut nosti, sollicitum res habent nostrae; sed nunc discrucior intimis animis, & omnino perturbor. O Pater! vix centesimus induat in animum: quae, & quanta mala in hanc urbem nostram invecta sint. Novi ego mores, & ingenia hominum, etiam eorum, qui gubernacula tenent. Scio quorum consiliis, & fraude gerantur omnia; quare haud injuria plus aliis me providere puto... nihil video spei: nisi quamprimum his malis Caesar occurrat’. Extracts from this letter are printed in Socher, Historia Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu, pp. 360-361.

Emperor's two eldest sons and to the Emperor himself, via Adam von Dietrichstein.¹⁰⁷

What followed was dramatic. On 2 October 1573 Maximilian II issued a decree against his Reichshofrat, with crushing terms.¹⁰⁸ Eder was never to write on the subject of religion again.¹⁰⁹ Every single copy of the work, bound and unbound, was to be submitted to the Lower Austrian government: none were to be retained.¹¹⁰ Full details of the numbers of copies printed, and their places of destination, were to be sent without delay to the Hofkanzlei.¹¹¹ All copies already distributed in Vienna were to be immediately submitted to the Lower Austrian government.¹¹² The names of those members of the Theology faculty

¹⁰⁷ Rudolf and Ernst had been back in Vienna since 1571 after their seven-year stay in Spain. Dietrichstein, a Catholic, had been responsible for the boys' welfare while abroad. See chapter two.

¹⁰⁸ Karl Schrauf notes that the decree against Eder was one of the sharpest ever issued by Maximilian II. *Der Reichshofrat*, p. xiii. Copies of Imperial decree also in Schrauf, pp. 1-4, and in B. Raupach, *Evangelisches Oesterreich, das ist, Historische Nachricht von den vornehmsten Schicksalen der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirchen in dem Ertz-Hertzogthum Oesterreich* (Hamburg, 1736), pp. 147-149 (in German); (Hamburg, 1742), pp. 31-33 (in Latin).

¹⁰⁹ 'Doctor Eder, bei irer hochsten ungnadt und straff ernstlich, das er von dato an vorthin alles schreibens in religionsachen gentslich müessig stee und weder haimblich noch offendtlich in sein oder jemandts andern namen nichts in truckh oder sonsten ausseen lasse'. Karl Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁰ '...Das er in angesicht alle und jede exemplar angezognen puechs, eingepunden und uneingepunden, sovil er deren hatt, one abgang zu irer kay. Mt. niederösterreichischen regierung handen mit seinem pedtschafft verwart erlege und weiter kainß mer von handen lasse'. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹¹ '...Das er ihr kay. mt. alßbaldt zu handen dero hofcanzley gründtlich bericht, wievil er solcher exemplar truckhen lassen, und an waß ort er dieselben außgetailt und verschickht abfordere und ermelter regierung au den andern übergebe'. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹² '...Das er dieselben püecher, so er alhie in der statt Wienn under sondere personen außgetailt, alsbaldt all widerumben abfordere und ermelter regierung zu den andern übergebe'. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

who had approved the work were to be listed and given to the Emperor.¹¹³ The printer's name was to be surrendered.¹¹⁴ Should any of these steps not be taken, Eder would lose his post at court and suffer further, worryingly unspecified punishment.¹¹⁵

Nor was this a mere piece of paper. It was evidently composed with some passion by the Emperor who even had the decree read back to him before it was formally issued.¹¹⁶ He supplemented its terms with a missive sent the very next day to Johann Egolf, the Bishop of Augsburg. The offending work had been published within the territory for which Egolf was responsible, and the Emperor wished him to ensure that such an incident would never occur again. Egolf was not only to track down every copy of the Evangelische Inquisition, but also to personally examine all future works published in his episcopal territory.¹¹⁷ The

¹¹³ '...Nachdem er sich in seinem puech auf die übersehung und ratificierung der alhieigen theologischen facultet lendet, solle er ir kay. mt. in specie mit namen berichten...', *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁴ '...So ist irer kay. mt. zu wissen von nöthen, durch waß personen er solch truckhen zu Tillingen...', *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁵ 'Dann wo solches in aim oder anderm nit beschähe, wurden ir kay. mt. gegen ime nit allain mit entsetzung seinen rathdiensts, sonder auch in ander weeg nach allen ungnaden verfahren und ine noch darzue weiter weisen, wölches irer kay. mt. ganz ernstlicher und entlicher willen und mainung ist', *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁶ This detail comes from a letter by Ludwig Haberstock dated 8 October 1573, in which he related Eder's plight to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria: '... Welches dann die kay. mt. vor ausfertigung selbs abzuhören negert und sey in summa see übl damit zufriden', Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. 19-20, p. 19.

¹¹⁷ '..Wer ime solch buech erstlichen zu truckhen angedingt, wievil er darauf exemplar, so wol zu seim selbst vertrib als zu notturfft des Doctor Eder's getruckht, wievil er dem Doctor Eder alher geschickht und wohin die andern außgethailt worden und zu finden sein möchten, und dessen alsdann zum wissen berichten'. 'Wöllen derhalben D.A. von mererer sicherhait wegen und zu verhüetung dergleichen hochschädlicher buecher bedacht sein, bey allen iren buechtruckhern zu verordnen und zu erhalten, damit nichts solchs, so unser und des hayl. reychs constitution und ordnung zuwider, auch zu yetzigen zeitten meer schädlich dann nützlich ist, one vorgeende gnugsame examination und D.A. oder irer rätthe zuelassung...nit getruckht oder zu truckhen verstat werde'. Maximilian II to Johann Egolf, 3 October 1573, in Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. 4-6.

process of halting the spread of such writing in general, and Eder's book in particular, started much closer to home, however. The Emperor saw to it that the two copies Eder had sent to his sons as gifts were removed from their possession.¹¹⁸ In addition, the Imperial decree in condemnation of Eder was posted in a variety of locations local to Eder: at the Lugeck in Vienna's business district; in wine houses; in bookshops and homes. Most crushing of all, it was read aloud at a meeting of the Privy council at the court of which Eder was part.¹¹⁹

What had provoked such a decree? In his discussion of this crisis in Eder's career, Howard Louthan emphasises a particular feature of the Evangelische Inquisition: its disparaging discussion of the Hofchristen.¹²⁰ These Hofchristen or 'court Christians' were those characterised by Eder as full of learning and knowledge of this world, who dissembled and equivocated over their true religious beliefs to gain personal advancement.¹²¹ Eder then elaborates on this

¹¹⁸ Bohdan Chudoba, Spain and the Empire 1519-1643 (New York, 1977), p. 151.

¹¹⁹ Eder later outlined these events in a letter to Eisengrein dated 20 October: 'Der 5. diß ist mir solches decret in sizendem rat presentirt worden, darab ich mich dermassen entsetzt. . . Am nechsten tag darnach ist solches decret in cubiculo caesareae maiestatis me absente offentlich verlesen und meniglich zu communiciren erlaubt worden, darauf desselen tag under den kaufleuten am Lugegg umbgezogen, verlesen und meniglich publicirt, auch sondere leut deputirt worden, die abschrift davon an die fürnemsten ort im reich spargieren sollen, wie dann beschehen, das man es per Austriam in allen tafernen umbgezogen. . .'. 'Volgends sein leut verordent worden, so von hauß zu hauß herumbgangen und die exemplaria nicht allein von den buechfürern, sonnder auch den kauffern abgevordert haben.' Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. 23-26, pp. 23-24.

¹²⁰ Louthan, Quest for Compromise, p. 128.

¹²¹ 'Die Hofchristen werden diß orts gennt, die sich auß weltlicher weißheit understehn dörfen, zwischen disen so widerwertigen Secten, in Religionsachen, wie in Burgerlichen händelen zutädigen unnd zu mittelen. Damit sie eintweders darunder ein partida machen, und vermainte vergleichung treffen, oder doch zum wenigsten sich selbs mit jederman befridigen und betragen möchten. Nit darumb, daß sie allain bey Hof sien sollen, sonder daß sie solches laurn, für die höchste weyßheit diser welt achten, und darumb von meniglich für die aller höfflichsten wöllen gehalten werden. . .', Evangelische Inquisition, pp. 165v-p. 166r.

problem in some of the most vivid passages of the entire work. There are those he describes as half Lutheran and half Catholic, who move whichever way the wind blows:

‘...Sonder kören den Mantel nach dem wind, und stellen sich wie die Wetterhanen. Bey den Bäpstischen sein sie Bäpstisch: mit den Lutherischen Lutherisch. Mit disen essen sie flaisch, mit jenen gehen sie ins Bad, mit den andern feyren sie, und gilt ihnen in Summa ein Religion souil als die ander...’.¹²²

Another variety of Hofchristen are described as being neither Catholic nor Lutheran, who submerge their own views in the interests of peace:

‘Andere wöllen wol auch höflich sein, machen es aber etwas gröber, sein im grund weder Bäpstisch noch Lutherisch, unnd haben doch darneben ihre sondere opiniones, welche sie under dem schein eines güten mittels und zeitlichen fridens uberal zum höchsten auffnutzen’.¹²³

Eder, however, writes of a different, higher goal: that of Catholic orthodoxy and religious purity. For Eder, wavering, equivocal confessional stances lead only to soul-damning confusion. Referring to Paul’s comments on those who were always learning, but never able to come to a knowledge of the truth, Eder states that such people have turned the beautiful unity of the Catholic church into a ‘Babylonische Confusion’ in which no-one can any longer distinguish between white and black, or right and wrong.¹²⁴ As a result, comments Eder, ‘Die Mittler thün der kirchen mehr schaden, als die ketzer selbs’.¹²⁵

¹²² Ibid., p. 166r.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 166v.

¹²⁴ ‘Das ist, auß der schönen lieblichen einigkait der Catholischen Kirchen, ein pur lauter Babylonische Confusion, und endlich ein solche verwirrung anrichten, daß niemandts mehr recht verstehen noch wissen kan, was weiß oder schwartz, was recht oder unrecht, noch weniger was er thün oder lassen solle’. Ibid., p. 168r, citing II Timothy chapter 3 verse 7.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 72v.

It is possible that such passages were perceived by certain sections of the court as a personal attack. The characterisation of learned figures who put temporal affairs above spiritual conviction does seem to hint not so much at those within the Emperor's own multi-confessional Hofakademie, but rather those Catholics at the court who tolerate the promotion of such persons and their views, without making any attempt to defend the truth. This was clearly a group particularly offended by Eder's writings: of the five who Eder himself later identified as having expressly supported his condemnation, at least two were Catholics and two others may have been.¹²⁶ Karl Schrauf has added that the main villain of the piece was in fact the Reichsvizekanzler Weber, the epitome of the Hofchristen who appeared devoid of any religious scruples at all.¹²⁷ Eder himself seemed to believe that Weber was responsible for the decree: in the same letter to Albrecht of Bavaria in which he named the three he regarded as having supported his condemnation, he stated that it was Weber who had caused all that had befallen him.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ The five expressly named by Eder were Crato, the Emperor's Protestant physician, Kämmerer Johann Freiherr von Heissenstein, Reichshofrat Christoph Zott, and two Catholic Reichshofräte, Wolfgang Unversagt and Johann Hegenmüller. That Heissenstein and Zott are not named specifically as Protestants in any primary or secondary material may imply that they were Catholics; that they remain unnoted for their confession may also suggest why they were so offended by Eder's words: they were exactly the sort of compromising, time-serving Hofchristen that he wished to criticise. Eder mentions the first three retrospectively in a letter to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria dated 11 December 1573: '...Haben diesen handl furnemlich der von Heyssenstain Dr Crato aperte, der herr vicekantzler aber und Philippus Zoth haimlich getriben, darzue von inen auch andere gezogen worden'. Hegenmüller had also sent a report to the Duke of Bavaria, his own ex-employer, on the situation, dated 7 November 1573. In this he expressed his unease at the harshness of Eder's words: '... In Dr. Eders buech steedt under anderm allein in zwayen titulen, das die neuglaubigen erger dann Türcken, Juden und haiden, item das sy es auch wol mit dem teuffel selbst halten. Ob nu jetzundt solliches dem religionfriden gemäß, das hat ain jeder leichtlich zu erachten und ist eben so unrecht...', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrat*, p. 59 and p. 40, respectively.

¹²⁷ On Weber see chapter two. Schrauf, *Der Reichshofrat*, pp. xvi-xix.

¹²⁸ 'Von dem herrn Weber haben zuevor seine diener alles ghört, was mir hernach begegnet', *ibid.*, p. 59.

Any upset within the court community is unlikely, however, to have been the sole reason behind the Imperial decree against Eder. His opinions would have been well known long before the publication of the Evangelische Inquisition, through the years of practical work he had done in the name of Catholic reform. Any court member who felt personal affront at Eder's passion for the revitalisation of Catholic orthodoxy would have had ample opportunity to launch an attack on his progress. Eder was however protected first by Ferdinand I and then by Maximilian II who, despite their concern for confessional peace, remained fundamentally Catholic rulers who would permit and even support such efforts to minister to an ailing church. For Eder to have received such a sharp condemnation, he must have caused greatest offence to the Emperor himself. This Eder did in spectacular style. The content of the Evangelische Inquisition appeared to mock every aspect of Maximilian II's life: his personal piety, his religious policy, and, worst of all, the very authority of which he was so protective.

The passages quoted above on Hofchristen may have caused offence to members of the Habsburg court in Vienna, but the one member who would have felt the greatest sting from Eder's words must have been the Emperor Maximilian II himself. He was as famous for his passion for learning as any other member of his court, but was also known for his apparent inability to commit personally to any one confession.¹²⁹ This thesis has already demonstrated that Maximilian II was, in spite of a seemingly contradictory

¹²⁹ See chapter two.

religious policy, an Emperor who wished to promote Catholic reform as long as the religious peace and the imperial authority remained intact. In his own day, however, he was better known for an erratic pattern of personal devotion that left even his closest family members uncertain as to whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant.

As a young man Maximilian had consistently demanded the right to receive communion in both kinds, and in 1557 informed his father Ferdinand I that his conscience would not permit him to participate in Ascension Day processions in Vienna and Pressburg. He quarrelled violently with his father over his employment of the Lutheran court preacher, Sebastian Pfauser, and when Ferdinand insisted on Pfauser's dismissal, Maximilian begged asylum from a Protestant prince, Elector Frederick of the Palatinate. Relations with his cousins in Spain were also frequently tense over the question of Maximilian II's personal religion, particularly after Maximilian condemned Catholic celebrations of the St Bartholomew Day massacres of 1572, and the ferocity of inquisitorial methods in the Netherlands.¹³⁰ The mystery even prompted an alarmed Pope Pius IV to demand a written guarantee of Maximilian's personal orthodoxy, a document he received in 1563. Even when he died, however, three years after the Evangelische Inquisition crisis, the Emperor Maximilian II's personal confession remained unclear: on his deathbed, he refused the last sacrament in any form.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Philip II was said to have described hearing news of the massacre of Huguenots as the happiest day of his life, while the Pope had ordered celebratory medals to be cast.

The Evangelische Inquisition did not only appear to criticise the Emperor for his personal worship: it was also an attack on his peace-seeking religious policy.

The work contains specific statements about, for example, the 'falsche ainigkeit zwischen der Römischen Kirchen und der Augspurgerische Confession', but is in itself a challenge to such peace by highlighting the differences between the two confessions and the heresy of Protestantism.¹³² Karl Schrauf has also noted that even Eder's use of the word 'Inquisition' in the title would have been provocative for non-Catholic readers.¹³³ The preamble to the terms of the Emperor's condemnation of Eder reflects his anger at such potential damage to the peace for which he had worked so long.¹³⁴

The greatest offence to the Emperor Maximilian appears, however, to have been caused on the very first page of the Evangelische Inquisition. Maximilian II was furious that the title page bore the phrase 'Mit Röm. Kay. May. freyheit, und Geistlicher Oberkeit bewilligung', which not only implied that he personally approved of the contents, but suggested that his authority was open to abuse and

¹³¹ Howard Louthan suggests that for Maximilian to have received communion in both kinds would have offended his family, while to have taken only the bread would have offended his own conscience. Quest for Compromise, p. 87.

¹³² Evangelische Inquisition, p. 24r. This was in contrast to Eder's previous pedagogical works, which dealt only with Catholic doctrine.

¹³³ Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, p. xi.

¹³⁴ '...Mit sonderer hefftigkhait, hitz, unbeschaidenhait und injuriosischen wortten villerlai stendt und personen, und sonderlich die augspurgischn confessionsverwonten nit allain in irem glauben und bekhandtnuß, sonder auch an dero standt, ehren und wülden aufs hefftigist angezogen, geschmecht und verdambt, da doch ime und meniglich wol bewußt, mit was eifer, mühe und sorgfeltigkhait irer kay. mt. löblichen vofahren und ir mt. selbst nun vill lange jar auf allen reichs- und versamlungstügen mit hochstem dahin gearbait, auch von gemainen stenden im religionsfriden und sonsten hailsamblich verglichen und constituiert worden, das niemandts den andern an ehren, wülden, standt, gewissen und sonsten ihm wenigstn angreifen, belaidigen oder verschimpffen solle...', *ibid.*, p. 1-2.

mockery.¹³⁵ Maximilian II's anger over this particular feature of Eder's book is again evident from the introductory passages of the decree itself:

'Und des noch mehr ist, so hat er undter das bemelt puech mit hochsten unfueg und andern zur ergernuß, auch mißprauchung irer mt. namens und tittlß truckhen lassen, das es mit irer kay. Mt. gnad, freihait und zuegeben außgangen und von der facultet theologorum ratificiert sey, da doch irer kay. mt. von deren khainem yhemalß das wenigste gewißt oder fürkhommen'.¹³⁶

Eder's crime was therefore to have besmirched the very authority on which Maximilian II's control relied, on which the peace rested, and for which he himself had acted as supporter. Indeed, there is an apparently personal side to the Emperor's condemnation of Eder: one of Maximilian II's first remarks in the decree refers to Eder's longstanding service at the court.¹³⁷

Analysis only of the Imperial decree against Eder does not, however, entirely explain why his condemnation carried the much wider significance that it did. For this it is fruitful to return to the source of the problem: the Evangelische Inquisition itself. This was no ordinary book, written by no ordinary man. To the international Catholic community, Georg Eder was nothing less than a doctor of the church, a now-established Catholic author whose writing had long been approved by its own leaders, including the Pope himself.¹³⁸ Eder was, furthermore, only continuing his work for the salvation of souls, by attempting

¹³⁵ See appendix one, illustration two for the title page from the 1573 edition of the Evangelische Inquisition. The claim of Imperial permission that so infuriated the Emperor is clearly visible at the bottom of the title page.

¹³⁶ Schrauf, Der Reichshofrat, p. 2.

¹³⁷ '...So lang irer kay. Mt. besölter und würckhlicher rath...', *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹³⁸ See above for Pius II's approval of Eder's Oeconomia Bibliorum, first published in 1568.

to educate laity and clergy alike in correct Catholic doctrine. As such, the Emperor's attack on Eder's could also be interpreted as an attack on Catholicism and all attempts to bring about church reform.

Eder's defence of his own book was, for one thing, watertight in its justification of the teaching contained therein. Eder rests his authority to write about such matters on a number of points, the first being that the teaching role of the laity is ordained by God. Just as God established the roles of bishop and priest, so too He created doctors and teachers who, Eder suggests, have served the church well in the fight against heresy throughout its history.

‘Darumben der Herr in der Kirchen nit allein bischoff und Priester auffgestellt, sonder auch etliche zü Doctorn und Lehren verordnet, welchen bißher nie verwehrt worden, ausser der kirchen von Glaubenssachen, in Schulen und sunst das zureden unnd zuschreiben, das zü erbawung wahrer Religion dienstlich, dessen wir nit allain bey den alten, sonder auch zü unsern zeyten etliche merckliche Exempla zuweisen, daß etwa auch Laische und doch gelehrte personen der Kirchen treffentlich beystand wider die Secten erzaight haben’.¹³⁹

Eder's second line of defence is temporal in origin: he reminds his readers that he has two doctorates, one in law and the other in theology.¹⁴⁰ It is however his

¹³⁹ That this may have been a cause of some friction is suggested by the fact that Eder anticipates his lay status being used against him: ‘Denen andern aber, so vermainen möchten mir hette darumben nit gebürt, mich in Religion und Glaubenssachen einzulassen, daß ich ein lay, ein Jurist, sunst auch ein ungeweyhete, weltliche und polytische person seye, kan unnd waiß ich anders noch bessers nit zuantworten, dann daß gleichwol die Religionsachen, fürnemlich den Priestern beuolhen, daneben aber auch andern mehr erlaubt ist, sich derselben etlicher massen anzunehmen’, *Evangelische Inquisition*, Vorrede, fol. ** ii r-v.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Ob dann wol an ime selbs wahr, daß ich mit meinen diensten, darzü ich unwürdiger biß hero gezogen unnd gebraucht worden, zuthün genüg, jedoch und dieweil ich nu [sic] mehr etwas betagt worden, ist mir hoffenlich weder zuerargen noch zuerweisen, daß ich mich jetziger zeit, als in bayden faculteten Theologiae ac Iuris prudentiae ein graduirte person, umb dise ding, so den gemanen Religion streit, und der Seelen seligkeit betreffen, etwas ernstlicher als zuuor je angenommen, der in vil weg angefochtne und bekümmerten Kirchen damit einen trewhertzigen züsprung zulaisten’, *ibid.*, fol. ** ii r-v.

third point of justification that would have provided a source of much contemporary rancour. Eder, as with all his previous works, had had the Evangelische Inquisition approved by high-ranking Catholic clerics and theologians. That these three were Dr Maximilian Brixien of the theology faculty of Vienna University; Dr Hieronymus Torren of the Ingolstadt theology faculty, and the Jesuit Theodoricus Canisius, none other than the half-brother of Peter, meant that the Imperial condemnation of Eder's work had much broader repercussions than a decree against one man.¹⁴¹

Despite its infamous passages on the 'Hofchristen', the Evangelische Inquisition was, furthermore, overwhelmingly a work intended to instruct rather than inflame. It had long been Eder's wish to produce an instructional work for Catholics in the vernacular: his reluctantly abandoned plan to translate the Roman catechism into German a few years earlier bears testament to this.¹⁴² The desire to educate is evident throughout the Evangelische Inquisition. The following passage is echoed many times throughout the work, both in language and sentiment:

¹⁴¹ 'Ego Doctor Maximilianus Brixienensis, ordinis Praedicatorum, Theologicae facultatis Archigymnasii Viennensis pro tempore Decanus, una cum eadem facultate hunc librum Magnifici D. Doctoris Georgii Ederi approbo tanquam Catholicum, & editione dignum, maximeq; utilem ad Catholicos in avita religione retinendos, & eos qui ab ea deflexerunt revocandos. Ego Hieronymus Torrensis Doctor Theologus, & in alma Academia Ingolstadiana Theologicae facultatis pro tempore Decanus, & professor ordinarius, hunc librum M.D. Georgii Ederi examinatum approbavi, magnoq; commodo legi ac tari posse censeo. Ego Theodoricus Canisius Doctor Theologus, & Catholicae Academiae Dilinganae Rector pro tempore, hoc opus clarissimi Doctoris D. Georgii Ederi, ad fidem orthodoxam propagandam, & errantes in viam revocandos in primis utile ac salutare iudico', *ibid.*, fol. +++ iv verso. Eder had also sent two copies of the published version of the work to 'Herren Vätern der Gesellschaft Jesu' before the issue of the Imperial decree. See Schrauf, Der Reichshofrat, p. XII.

¹⁴² Eder returns to this point in the Evangelische Inquisition: 'Insonderheit aber haben wir Catholischen an solchen teutschen Büchern mangel, darauß die einfaltigen. nit allein den grund des gantzen Religionhandels, sonder auch die unterschied wahrer unnd falscher Religion, aigentlich vernemmen und erlernen möchten', fol. ** v.

‘Für die ander gemaine red aber wirdt disem gerad zuwider under dem armen einfeltigen Christlichen pövel heut zü tag inn der gantzen weyten Welt ein sehr jämerlichs klagen und zagen angehört: Der Christliche Religion Stand sey diser zeit dermassen verirrt unnd verwirrt, daß schier niemands mehr rechtgeschaffen wissen künde, wie oder was er glauben solle’.¹⁴³

In the Evangelische Inquisition Eder frequently expresses this paternalistic concern for the ‘poor simple Christian people’ who no longer know how or what they should believe. The Evangelische Inquisition is a work that specifically aims to counteract the damage done by false teaching and also a lack of competent Catholic teaching in which, complains Eder, the Catholics have themselves begun to defend the very heretics they should be condemning.¹⁴⁴ Eder uses a common image of the time to portray his hope in writing the Evangelische Inquisition: that it will act as a spiritual ‘cure’ in the same way that a doctor would treat an ill patient.¹⁴⁵ The consequences of failure are also portrayed in vivid if hyperbolic language:

‘Daß von tag zü tag je lenger je mehr arbeitseliger lauth, hin und wider von einer Religion zü der andern umbfallen, Also daß die heut Lutherisch morgen Calvinisch, ubermorgen Schwenckfeldisch, bald Widertaufferisch, und zu letzt Mahumetisch werden’.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 2v.

¹⁴⁴ ‘...So ist doch unwidersprechlich wahr, daß Christo und seiner heiligen gemain von Ketzern durch falsche Lehr jederzeyt mehr abbruch und schaden zügefügt wordenn als von den ungläubigen Wütterichen durch mord und blütuergiessen wie groß auch solche verfolgung je gewestn oder immer mehr sein künden’. ‘Unnd ist zwar nit ein schlechte noch geringe ergernuß, wann die Gelerten selbs von der Catholischen Kirchen abfallen, unnd die Secten verthädigen’, Evangelische Inquisition, fol. + verso; fol. ++ iii r-v.

¹⁴⁵ ‘...Sonder zü trewhertziger anstellung eines Christlichen Rathschlags, oder geistlichen Cur, ungefährlich auff die weiß, wie erfarnen unnd getrewen Medici oder artzt mit iren Pacienten und Krancken zuhandlen pflegen’, *ibid.*, fol. +++ verso.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7r-v.

Such a sensationalist style reflects Eder's intention to use the Evangelische Inquisition as a reader-friendly manual of Catholic orthodoxy to be believed and heresies to be shunned. Eder's writing style in the Evangelische Inquisition is always colourful, with a tone that on occasion sounds sermon-like:

'...Daß auch die gelerten under einander nit allein in mancherlay Secten zerspalten, deren je einer anders von Religion sachen helt als der ander, sonder in vil dingen ihnen selbs auch zuwider, jetz weiß dann schwarz, heut kalt morgen warm, ein weyl ja ein weyl nain reden, schreiben unnd predigen, mit solcher unbestendigkeit, daß sich auff ihr Lehr gar nichts zuverlassen, Als die sich wie die Wetterhanen, nach dem wind hin und wider tören....'¹⁴⁷

The book is, furthermore, effectively organised, with its question-and-answer format regarding what is heretical and what is Catholic truth providing a simple aid to the reader. Though there are no pictures, the main headings and key points are laid out in bold type. The text itself remains uncluttered by detailed theological notes, but there are extensive marginalia in which Eder reveals the orthodoxy of his sources. Not surprisingly, the bulk of these are either Biblical in origin or derived from the Council of Trent. As far as Eder was concerned, in the Evangelische Inquisition he was merely continuing the service to the Catholic church that he had been performing since the 1550s. That the Emperor condemned such a man for the publication of such a work caused a sensation in the Catholic Europe of the 1570s, with implications that were far-reaching for all concerned.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 8r.

Chapter Four

‘Meine widersacher vervolgen mich auf das hefftigist...’¹

The Wittelsbach Correspondent, 1573-1587

Up until October 1573, the career of Georg Eder was a working example of the fruitful co-existence of reform-oriented Catholicism and Imperial authority in Vienna. Despite the potential for conflict, the first phase of Eder’s career demonstrates that these two forces not only could be served and served well by the same man, but could even complement each other. The events surrounding the publication of Eder’s Evangelische Inquisition, however, shattered this precarious balance. For Maximilian II, the contents of Eder’s book had appeared to slight him, his religious policy and, most threatening of all, his authority. For Eder, the severity of the Emperor’s subsequent decree against him and his writing constituted a serious blow to his efforts to stimulate Catholic reform.

This chapter examines the consequences of Maximilian II’s condemnation of Georg Eder. Aside from the personal repercussions Eder faced in Vienna, the terms of the Imperial decree against him were relayed swiftly throughout the major Catholic courts of Europe, propelling the affair into one of international political and religious import. One such court was that of the Wittelsbach Dukes of Bavaria whose head, Duke Albrecht, took immediate steps to resolve Eder’s predicament.

Of greater long-term significance for Eder is that Duke Albrecht's intervention also heralded a new phase in his career: one of a shifted allegiance, in which Eder became a servant to Bavarian rather than Imperial authority.

These events will be explored in three sections. The first, entitled 'Eder's condemnation: the aftermath', looks at the immediate response to the decree against Eder, in Vienna and much further afield. Section two, 'The Bavarian Challenge', focuses on Wittelsbach involvement in Eder's fate and the considerable political significance of such intervention. Section three, 'Eder's Reports from Vienna', examines the nature of Eder's subsequent service to the Dukes of Bavaria, as demonstrated by his composition of detailed reports on the situation in Vienna for his new patrons in Munich; the chapter as a whole will also act as a case study of the multi-layered functions of the early-modern Nachrichtendienst.² As such, it will expand on themes already raised in this thesis, particularly that of the relationship between the late sixteenth-century secular powers and the promotion of Catholic reform. The continuation of Eder's story also raises a new theme, however: that of the extent of Bavarian interest in and influence over events at the neighbouring Habsburg court in Vienna.

¹ Eder to Martin Eisengrein, 23 October 1573. Karl Schrauf, (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung. Als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich. vol 1, 1573-1578 (Vienna, 1904), pp. 37-38, p. 38.

² The term is used by Victor Bibl to describe the process of information-sharing between early-modern courts. As Eder's case will demonstrate in this chapter and the next, although the conveyance of news was a key function, such reports could be used to other ends as well. Victor Bibl, (ed.), 'Briefe Melchior Klesls an Herzog Wilhelm V von Baiern', MIÖG, 21 (1900), pp. 640-673, p. 641.

i) Eder's condemnation: the aftermath

In 1574, just one year after the Evangelische Inquisition crisis, Georg Eder sat as the subject of a copper engraving.³ The result is in itself a succinct summary of the aftermath of the Imperial condemnation that rocked his career: though Eder's ravaged physical features suggest a man under great stress, his title of 'Sacrae Caesaris Consilii Aulici Imperialis...' is still very much part of the picture. This is an expression in miniature of the results of the decree of 1573. In Vienna, the affair appears to have had no lasting impact on Eder's court career; beyond the city, however, Eder's case became the focus of attention at the courts of Madrid, Munich, and in Rome itself. In its aftermath the Imperial decree against Eder became something of a political football in the world of late sixteenth-century confessional politics, with Eder himself at the centre of the struggle.

One of the many seeming contradictions of Eder's career is that he was the subject of a ferocious decree from his Emperor and employer on 2 October 1573, and yet returned to work as Reichshofrat within the fortnight. The Reichshofrat Protokolle indicate that Eder was certainly present at their sitting on 14 October, while the records of the Hofkammerarchiv suggest that Eder was back in his post there by 4 January 1574 at the latest.⁴ This quick return was hardly due to Eder's own clumsy pleading of his case.

³ See appendix I, page three. For more on this engraving, see chapter two, note 134.

⁴ HHStA, RHR Protocolla rerum resolutarium xvi 37, fol. 176r; Hofkammerarchiv Expedit Regist n^o 103, fol. 8r.

Eder's immediate response to his predicament was to write to the Emperor Maximilian: he did so, however, in a letter in which his panic is almost palpable in every line.⁵ Composed just four days after the issue of the Imperial decree, Eder's written plea to the Emperor is an uncharacteristically haphazard jumble of points through which he attempts to regain favour. That this incident has been a personal catastrophe for Eder is something he makes clear from the very first lines:

'das mir die zeit meines lebens unversehenlichers noch schmerzlicher nie zugestanden, dann das bei E. Röm. Kay. Mt., meinem yederzeit allgernedigisten und liebsten herrn ich in solche ungnad gerathen und fallen solle...'⁶

Eder appeals first to what he portrays as the shared Catholicity of the Emperor and the book the Emperor has just banned. The Evangelische Inquisition is, Eder reminds Maximilian, simply a work designed to guide the 'poor, simple people' through the spiritual confusions of the day.⁷ This is all he has ever sought to promote in his pedagogical writing, and indeed, Eder reminds, one of his most successful works was dedicated to the Emperor himself.⁸

⁵ Eder to Maximilian II, 6 October 1573, Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. 6-17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁷ '...Das ist ainer rechtsgeschaffnen und aigentlichen erkundigung wahrer und falscher religion außgeen lassen, hat mich zum vordristen eben das verursacht, darauff das gantze werckh gericht, nämblich das jämmerlich clagen und zagen des armen ainfeltigen verführten pövels, das schier niemandt mehr wissen khünde, wie, was und weme er glauben oder nicht glauben solle', *ibid.*, pp. 7-8. In his choice of phrase Eder is here echoing the exact wording of the text of the Evangelische Inquisition itself: see chapter three, page 150.

⁸ 'Und erstlich, alls ich von anfang heero der catholischen religion halben von vilen angefochten worden, die sich vernemen lassen, das ich damit vil ungunsts auff mich laden solle...so hab ich den sachen mit allem vleiß nachgedacht, auch die fürnembsten streitbuecher aller thail in religionssachen, sovil ich deren bekhommen mögen, ersehen und daneben zu meiner nachrichtung außgezogen, was mich zue erkundigung der warheit für dienstlich und ersprießlich angesehen... Dazwischen auch insonderhait ain werckh über die gantze bibl heiliger göttlicher schrift zuesamen getragen, welches ich E. Röm. K. Mt. neben der vorigen bapstlichen heiligkeit, selbs dediciert hab

Eder's second point, however, was much less likely to endear him to Maximilian.

Referring to a work by Johann Friedrich Coelestinus, a Lutheran, Eder notes that in spite of its defamation of the entire Catholic clergy, the book was still published.⁹

The implication, that Maximilian II's rule favoured the dissemination of inflammatory heresy over Catholic orthodoxy, is something that Eder wisely does not press, but rather he makes several more repetitious appeals to the purely pedagogical intention of his own book before getting to the essence of his defence.¹⁰ The Evangelische Inquisition is not in opposition to the Augsburg

und biß anhero dermassen abgangen ist, das es alberait zwaymal getruckt worden, also daß es auch die gelehrten nicht allein im heyligen reich, sonder auch apud exteros für ain nutzliches werckh gehalten', *ibid.*, pp. 7-8. The work to which Eder refers is: Oeconomia Bibliorum Sive Partitionum Theologicarum Libri Quinque: Quibus Sacrae Scripturae Disposito, Seu Artificium Et Vis atque ratio, in tabulis velut ad viuum exprimitur, & ita ob oculos ponitur, ut non modo absolutissimam complectantur uniuerse Theologie summan atque Methodum, sed Commentarii etiam vice haberi queant. Opus Magno Studio Et Labore Congestum, Et Ad Solidam Divinarum literarum cognitionem, artemq̄ caelestis philosophiae recte per discendam accommodatissimum: Quod non iniuria quis uel aurea Catenam, uel Clauem dicat totius doctrinae Christiane. Authore D. Georgio Edero I.C. Frising. Divorum Impp. Ferdinandi Augustissime memorie I. & nunc Caesaris Maximiliani II. Consiliario Aulico Imperiali. His Adieciimus Etiam, Cum Propter Argumenti Similitudinem, Tum ut studiosus Lector, quis sacrae scripturae sit usus, vivum habeat exemplar, Partitiones Catechismi Catholici Tridentini eodem D. Georgio Edero authore (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582). As he indicates himself, by 1573 this tome had been reprinted twice.

⁹ '...Das ain zeit hero so vil greulich erchröcklicher und gottlessterlicher schrifft in disen landen spargiert worden, darinnen nicht allain die prelaten gaistlichen standts, vom wenigsten bis zum höchsten, sonder auch die fürnembsten potentaten und in gemain alle die, so der allten catholischen religion anhengig, zum höchsten iniuriert, sonderlich aber für antichristen, tyrannen, gottlessterer und abgötterer außgeschrien und verdampt werden...', *ibid.*, p. 8. The book to which is referring would appear to be either Christliche, summarische Antwort D. J. F. Celestini auff etliche Gottslesterische Bepstische Bücher, zum theil wider jn, zum theil in Gemein, wider alle Euangelische Kirchen und Lerer, newlich ausgangen, published in 1571, or perhaps more likely Pantheum, sive Anatomia et symphonia papatus, et praecipuarum haeresum veterum & praesentium. Das ist, gründliche und unwidersprechliche beweynung, aus Gottes Wort, Kirchen Historien, und der Papisten, Ketzter und Secten selbst eignen gewirdigten Büchern. Das der Babst der warhafftige offenbahret Antichrist sey, etc..., published in 1568.

¹⁰ 'Auff solche weis und mainung hab ich diss werckhle zusammen getragen, nicht in forma disputationis noch aignen urthls, sonder mit schlechter warhaffter unbetrüeglicher erzelung, was ain thail den andern beschuldige, und was auff jhener seitten durch sondere privatpersonen für seltzamer ungerumbter, ergerlicher und irriger opiniones mit unfueg erdacht und zu nachthail der wahren religion under dem schein des evangelii verthädigt werden...', Eder to Maximilian II, 6 October 1573, Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. 6-17, p. 9.

Confession, claims Eder; rather, it is an attempt to reveal the false teaching that conceals itself under its name.¹¹ As a result, Eder is deeply hurt by the Emperor's charge that he has acted in opposition to the Imperial authority:

‘sonderlich aber E. Kay. Mt. constitution zuwider ungehorsamblich, straffnessig und mit gefahr solle gehandelt haben, da schmerzset mich...’¹²

Eder goes on to add that it was not he who implied that the work had been printed with ‘Röm. Kay. May. freyheit’, the term that had so embarrassed Maximilian.

Rather, asserts Eder, this was entirely the doing of the printer, Meyer, to whom the privilege had been granted in the first place.¹³

Any possibility of the Emperor revoking his decision to halt the circulation of the Evangelische Inquisition was however greatly reduced by Eder's next step: clearly

¹¹‘Insonderhait aber bitt ich genedigist zu behertzigen, das diss werckh in specie nit wider die augspurgisch confession gerichtet, sonder fürmemblich wider die, so under dem schein solcher confession alle ire böse und von ettlichen confessionisten selbs verdambte irrthumben under disem namen und titl verthädigen, wie ich mich dann aines ortts in disem buech dahin erclert hab...’, *ibid.*, p. 11.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹³ ‘Betreffendt, dass ich mich bei der überschrifft diss buechs E. Röm. Kay. Mt. namens und tittle missbraucht haben solle, alls ob dasselb mit E. kay. Mt. gnad, freyhait und zugeben außgangen sey, dess hab ich mich für mein person nie angemafft oder berhuembt, noch dem buechtrucker zuegemuettet, sonder wirdt villedicht daheer volgen, das er, der truckher, von E. Röm. Kay. Mt. ain generalfreyhait auff ain anzal oder alle seine büecher hat’, *ibid.*, p. 10-11. On this, Eder is quite correct. According to Karl Schrauf, Meyer had been issued with the Imperial privilege on 20 September 1569, to remain valid for ten years. Meyer was therefore within his rights. Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, p. xxi. Eder claims that his decision to have the work printed by Meyer in Dillingen rather than by a printer in Vienna was taken for purely financial reasons: the printers in Vienna had insisted that Eder pay for a number of the copies himself: ‘Das ich aber diss buech dorumben nicht hie, sonder zu Dillingen solle trucken lassen und damit ein gefahr begangen haben, da wölln E. Röm. Kay. Mt. mir umb Gottes starckh zusetzen lassen, sonder mir gnedigst glauben geben, das es vilmehr zu verschonung uncosstens, auch anderer gelegenhaitwegen beschehen. Dann ausser dess, dass die hieigen buechtruckher von wegen der langsamen ohnwerung so grosse werckh nit annehmen, hette ich ein stattliche anzal exemplaria nemmen und bezalln müessen, das mir zue sonderer beschwerd geraicht und dem buechtruckher wenig nutz geschafft hette...’, *ibid.*, p. 12.

petrified by the terms of the decree, Eder submits details of the whereabouts of every copy of the book, thereby making the Emperor's suppression of the work all the easier. In view of its author's connections, the locations of the missing copies are hardly surprising: aside from those that Eder had innocently presented to the Emperor's two eldest sons and to the Emperor himself, a handful of copies had been sent to individuals in Graz, Olmütz, Innsbruck and Munich.¹⁴ That the latter three in particular were significant Jesuit bases explains the journey of the books there; that Eder had also received some help from his old friend Eisengrein (who he unhesitatingly implicates in his 'crime') also accounts for the transit of some books to Bavaria, where Eisengrein was by then based.¹⁵ Eder confesses that the printer may well have sent many copies on to Frankfurt, a centre of the book trade in the German lands, but adds that he himself only has one copy in his possession.¹⁶ After promising to co-operate on another term of the Imperial decree- the naming of those who had given theological approval of the work- Eder then offers, unprompted, the name of the publisher in charge of distribution, a Georg Willer of

¹⁴ 'Wo deren mehr zu finden, weiss ich nit; mir hat er 50 sollen geben, davon er aber auff mein schreiben etliche auff Insprugk und etliche auff München der f. Dt. und denen von Bayrn sambt etlichen fürnembsten rätthen wirdet überschickht haben. Ich hab dreu geeg Grätz und zway gen Olmütz geschickt, die übrigen hab ich hie vereert und außgethailt', *ibid.*, p. 14

¹⁵ '...Dann das ich es zuvor durch herrn Eysengrein einem trucker zu Ingolstatt angetragen, welcher aber damals mit seiner truckerei nicht mögen auffkhommen', *ibid.*, p. 14. It would soon become apparent that it was the Duke of Bavaria's approval of the book which helped save Eder's career as a writer of Catholic pedagogy. Copies would also have been sent to Innsbruck and Graz as the bases of the courts of Maximilian's brothers, the Archdukes Ferdinand and Karl, to whom the work had been dedicated.

¹⁶ '...Ich bei meinen handen nicht mer alls ain exemplar gehabt und zway bei dem buechbinder...ich sonst ausser der ersten ungeordneten rapulation kain abschrift behalten...Zum andern hab ich mit dem trucker nie kainen pact gemacht, wievil er exemplar trucken solle, von ime auch derhalb khain wort verstanden, ohne was ich durch andere erinnert, das er dern etliche hundert solle auffgelegt haben, die wirdt et alberait auff Franckfurt, wie ich wol sorg trag, gefuert und an andere ortt under seine verwohnte buechhandler außgethailt haben', *ibid.*, pp. 12-13

Augsburg.¹⁷ Having done as much damage as possible to the future circulation of his own book, Eder concludes by casting himself once more on the mercy of his 'in vil weeg sorgfelltigen catholischen kayser, meinen allergnedigsten und allerliebsten herrn'.¹⁸

Eder's plea fell on deaf ears. Indeed, the Emperor Maximilian II's only response was to use the information Eder had supplied to halt the book's spread. 19 October saw the issue of a further decree that demanded the submission to the Lower Austrian government of all copies of the Evangelische Inquisition within three days; having had Willer identified as the book's publisher, on 10 December the Emperor supplemented his earlier mandates with a decree to Willer's home-city of Augsburg, demanding details of exactly how many copies Willer might have received from the printer at Dillingen.¹⁹ 24 December saw the publication of a

¹⁷ As well as those named in the Evangelische Inquisition as having offered approval, Eder adds that he sent the work to the rector of the college at Dillingen and to the theology faculty of Ingolstadt: 'Dasselb exemplar, so alles mit meiner aigenen hand geschriben, hab ich volgents bei ainem Ausgpurger poten gen Dillingen ad rectorem auch pro censura überschickt und gebetten, es gleichfalls bei der facultet zue Ingstatt übersehen und volgends, wo es der mhue werth sein solle, trucken ze lassen, und daneben ein klains briefl an der trucker geschriben, da es approbirt wurde, damit fleiss ze haben... dann der facultete approbation halber solle hernach gehormster bericht volgen...', *ibid.*, pp. 12-13. 'Aber meine exemplaria seind mir von Geörgen Willer von Ausgpurg ainsthails durch ainen hieigen buechfuerer und ains thails durch ainen floßman, den ich nie gesehen, zu hauß überantwurtet worden', *ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁹ '...So ist hiemit irer kay. mt. gantz ernstlicher befelch, dass er solchem decret allsbaldt in angesicht und innerhalb dreien tagen von heut dato an zu raitten in allen artickln endtlichs volziehen thue und die bücher von allen ortten, dahin er sy alhie vereert, widerumb abforder und gantz ohne abgang zusammen samble und der niederösterr. regierung verpetschafft übergebe, auch allsdann ir kay. mt. in specie berichte, wie er engezogen decret in ailen artickln volzogen habe, dabei ir kay. mt. in genedigclich gewarnet haben wöllen, das er sich disfalls vor mehrer ir key. Mt. ungnad und straff, die ime auß der nitvolziehung erfolgen möchte, verhüet', *ibid.*, pp. 22-23. '...Deren puecher aber eur burger und puechfuerer N. Willer noch in großer anzall haben und täglich hin und wider umbs geltt außgeben solle, so bevelchen wir euch hiemit genedigclich, das ir allsbaldt ermeldten puechfuerer für euch erfordert und ime ernstlich aufleget, dieselben Ederischen puecher, eingebunden und

further decree on the subject, this time announcing an impending visitation of all Viennese bookshops, and in the meantime the Emperor concluded weeks of correspondence with Johann Egolf, the Bishop of Augsburg, by requesting that he ensure the removal of Meyer's printing privilege.²⁰

It is, however, the very public nature of Maximilian's response to Eder's work that enabled the Emperor to permit Eder to retain his posts in Vienna. By proclaiming Eder's offence against the Imperial name, by demonstrating his ability throughout the land to hunt down copies of a forbidden book, and by affirming his determination to uphold the religious peace, the Emperor Maximilian had reasserted the very authority that he felt Eder had shaken. To punish Eder further would have damaged the Emperor's image as a protector of both confessions; to accept Eder back into the upper echelons of the court, however, meant that Maximilian II could appear magnanimous, could retain the services of a competent functionary, and, importantly, could keep Eder where he could see him.

uneingebunden, alsbaldt all ohne abgang zu eurn handen zu erlegen und euch in specie bey seinen bürgerlichen pflichten gründtlich zu berichten, wie vil er allenthalben derselben puecher von Tillingen bekommen...'; *ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

²⁰ '...In yedem puechladen, desgleichen in den heusern die puecher und tractat ersehen, von den puechfieren einen ordenlichen und gründtlichen catalogum aller irer wahren abfordern, und was sy für sectische oder sonsten unnütze, schedliche und verspottne schmechpuecher, tractat, lieder oder dergleichen, so wider den religionsfriden und weeder catholicisch noch auch der augspurgischen confession nit sein, finden ...'; *ibid.*, pp. 69-70, p. 70. Maximilian II to Egolf, Vienna, 15 November 1573, '...So begern wir an D.A. genedigclich, sy wellen von ime, dem Mair, sein privilegium abfordern und uns dasselb zu unserer hofcanzley ehist überschickhen, auch ime Mair ernstlich einsagen lassen, vorthin bey unserer ungnad und straf in seiner trukherey die wort unserer khayserlichen freyhait- es werde ime dann insonderhait von uns erlaubt- nit zu geprauchhen...'; *ibid.*, pp. 43-44, p. 43.

Unfortunately for Maximilian II, the affair was not so cut-and-dried as he might have liked. The Evangelische Inquisition and the furore that surrounded its publication cast an unwelcome spotlight on his confessional policies, and did so right across Europe. The latter half of the sixteenth century was an age of increasing news-gathering and news-sharing between courts, and the tale of Maximilian's condemnation of his Reichshofrat was one that travelled far and wide, re-told in terms not always favourable to the Habsburg Emperor.

One such court was that of Madrid. This thesis has noted that, as the base of the Spanish Habsburgs, there were already multiple links between the two courts, and by the second half of the sixteenth century there ran a steady stream of correspondence, both diplomatic and familial, between Vienna and Madrid.²¹ By October 1573 the leading Spanish diplomat in Vienna was Don Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, Count of Monteagudo. Eder's case apparently made an impression on him: a later inventory of his library indicates that the only work in German out of more than three hundred volumes was the Evangelische Inquisition.²²

It is, however, the language in which Monteagudo reports the case to Philip II that is particularly telling. His initial summary of the events is dated 18 October 1573, and in it he depicts the affair as being a clash between one of Vienna's most up-

²¹ See pp. 33-34, p. 48 and p. 56.

²² 'Item 37, "Yten, un libro en tudesco y en latín que se intitula ynquisición"', Fernando Bouza, 'Docto y devoto. La biblioteca del Marqués de Almazán y Conde de Monteagudo (Madrid, 1591)', in Friedrich Edelmayer (ed.), Hispania-Austria II: Die Epoche Philipps II (1556-1598), (Vienna, 1999), pp. 247-310, p. 282. The Evangelische Inquisition was predominantly in German though it did have some Latin glosses.

standing, outstanding Catholics and an Emperor apparently more concerned for the protection of the Confession of Augsburg.²³ Along with a copy of the decree itself, Monteagudo even adds a chilling observation from Adam von Dietrichstein, a man well-known and respected in Madrid.²⁴ According to Dietrichstein, writes Monteagudo, in Vienna 'los católicos tenían ménos libertad en esta parte que los herejes...'.²⁵ Philip II's personal response to his cousin's behaviour is not known, but news of the Imperial decree did spark off a strong reaction against Maximilian II in the broader hierarchy of Catholic Europe of which Philip was an important part.²⁶

This reaction took various forms, but the one that must have been of greatest relief to Eder was his receipt of a letter of personal consolation from none other than Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius in Rome.²⁷ Written on 21 November, Hosius is

²³ 'Doctor Hedero' is, attests Monteagudo, a 'muy honrado hombre, y con ser gran jurista, ha oido el curso de teología y está aprobado por esta Universidad, y estimado por uno de los mejores teólogos della'. By contrast, the Emperor Maximilian had responded to his work with 'un decreto tan en favor de la confesion Augustana', Martin Fernandez de Navarrete (ed.), Por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle (Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de Espanya), vol. 111 (Madrid, 1842), pp. 332-339, p. 338, p. 335.

²⁴ On Dietrichstein's career in Madrid, see chapter two, p. 73.

²⁵ Navarrete (ed.), Por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, p. 335.

²⁶ It is unusual that of all moments in Eder's life, this is the one for which very little evidence of Jesuit support exists. Eder does mention the decree in a letter to Mercurian dated 28 October 1573, but this document is concerned mainly with the move of Eder's son to the German College in Rome. ARSI, *Epistolae Germaniae* 153 fol. 293r-294r. A possible explanation is that this matter went further into the realm of politics than the Society of Jesus felt comfortable with; it may also be, simply, that many letters have not survived.

²⁷ Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. 44-45. Also in Stanislaus Hosius, Opera Omnia, Tom. II. (Cologne, 1584), pp. 368-369. Eder's work clearly made a genuine impression on Hosius; five years later he recommended the Evangelische Inquisition to Duke Wilhelm of Jülich as a 'goldenes Buch'. Hosius, Opera, p. 438, translation by N. Paulus, 'Hofrath Dr Georg Eder. Ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts', Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland, 115 (1895), pp. 13-28, 81-94, p. 240, p. 84.

unequivocal in his support of Eder, even suggesting that the Emperor's behaviour has rendered him a martyr for the faith:

'You whose former life will be able to be thought something of a death, this life is now of such a sort that nothing hoped for may seem to have been greater than it... The crown of justice has been set in store for you, which the Lord will grant you on that day as a just judge, since you will have suffered for his name's sake persecutions...'²⁸

Hosius also promises practical aid:

'Yet I do not hope that in this vale of tears anything will be lacking to you. Whatever I might contribute for your help and honour I will gladly grant to the best of my ability, nor shall I permit any part of the duty of your best friend to be lacking in me. I have not yet seen your son, but as soon as I do, I will embrace him with whatever services of kindness I am capable...'²⁹

The response to Eder's fate went higher, however, than to the rank of Cardinal. It is unclear precisely how and when Pope Gregory XIII came to learn of the Emperor's action against Eder: the papal nuncio in Vienna, Giovanni Dolfín, had been based there since 1571, and certainly outlined the situation in a report of 10 October.³⁰

²⁸ 'Cuius vita prior mors quaedam existimari poterat, ea nunc est huiusmodi, nihil ut illa magis expetendum fuisse videatur... Reposita est tibi corona iustitiae, quam reddet tibi Dominus in illa die justus iudex, quandoquidem propter nomen illius persecutiones pateris, quas in magna felicitatis tuae parte ponere debes', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrat*, p. 44-45.

²⁹ 'Verum nec in hac lacrymarum valle spero quicquam tibi defuturum. Quicquid adferri a me poterit ad te iuvandum et ornandum, pro virili mea conferam lubens nec ullum amantissimi tui hominis officium in me requiri patiar. Filium tuum nondum vidi, sed eum, simul ut videro, quibuscunque potero humanitatis officiis complectar...', *ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁰ Giovanni Dolfín, Bishop of Torcello, served as nuncio in Vienna from July 1571 until April 1578, and wrote approximately four to ten letters per month back to Rome where they were dealt with in the first instance by Cardinal Tolomeo Gallio of Como. On this process of information-sharing and processing, see Almut Bues (ed.), *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585* part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. xii-xxiv. Appendix II of this thesis also reveals the flurry of correspondence between Rome and Vienna that surrounded the *Evangelische Inquisition* crisis.

Like Monteagudo, Dolfin too presented the case as the work of a pious Catholic being crushed by 'un decreto tanto severo' of an Emperor.³¹ It is also unclear exactly how the Pope responded to the situation, as no documentation survives. What can be ascertained, however, is that he wrote a personal missive about the matter to the Emperor himself on 21 November, and his comments may be inferred from Maximilian II's reply, which does remain extant.

In essence, it seems that the Pope's main problem with the Imperial decree against Eder's book is that the Emperor had acted in a way which not only damaged Catholicism, but cast doubts on his personal orthodoxy. These at least are the two charges against which Maximilian seems most at pains to defend himself in his reply.³² He opens with the traditional Habsburg appeal- to illustrious forebears- as one point in favour of his adherence to Catholicism:

'I am in turn able to confirm the trust of your Holiness that he ought to expect from me, no less than from my forebears, in whose steps I have decided to follow, all those things which are able to be constantly displayed as by an obedient son, as a nourisher and defender of Catholic religion'.³³

Indeed, Maximilian goes so far as to suggest that in his judgement, Georg Eder is a substandard defender of the Catholic faith: according to Maximilian, such writers

³¹ 'Nel consiglio aulico di S.M.C. v'è un dottore, che si chiama Giorgio Edero di Baviera, il più sincero et ardente catholico che sia in queste parti...ha composto un libro in lingua tedesca intitolato da lui Inquisitione evangelica', Dolfin to Gallio, Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, pp. 196-202, pp. 196-197

³² Maximilian II to Gregory XIII, 24 December 1573, in Augustus Theiner (ed.), Augustinus Annales Ecclesiastici vol. 1, (Rome, 1856), pp. 126-127.

³³ 'Vicissim vero S.V. certam reddere possum, quod a me non minus quam a progenitoribus meis, quorum vestigia inhaerere statui, ea omnia expectare debeat, quae ab obsequenti filio, ut catholicae religionis cultore, et defensore unquam praestari possunt...', *ibid.*, p. 126.

should have the ability to deliver 'either a knock-out blow, or inflict the lightest wounds'.³⁴

In contrast to the image he creates of himself as a pious Catholic ruler, Maximilian II thus attempts to portray Eder as the criminal, who broke not only the terms of the peace, but also his employer's trust. In so doing, Maximilian also gives the Pope a tacit reminder that his inheritance is not that of a heresy-free Spain, but rather that of a confessionally mixed central Europe.

'Since it is impossible for anyone who knows the German language to deny that in the book...many things were written with injurious words... according to the conditions of the peace, which were not my own novelties, but were determined by my sainted father...and had often been repeated and confirmed by myself, it was most severely forbidden...and this interdict should have been violated much less by [Eder] himself, acting beyond the limits of the province entrusted to him, than by just anyone'.³⁵

To resolve any lingering uncertainty about what should happen next over this matter, Maximilian finally dispenses with all niceties. After noting that he cannot believe the Pope has been persuaded that Eder had been harshly treated, he concludes curtly:

³⁴ '...Tantum absit quod catholicos quos defensos potius et conservatos cupio, vel laedere, vel levissima injuria afficere voluerim', *ibid.*, p. 127.

³⁵ 'Cum utique nemo germanici idiomatis gnerus negare possit, in libro quem me inscio edidit contra modestiam, quae in eo requirebatur, multa injuriosis verbis scripta esse, quod ne ab aliqua parte fiat, iis pacis conditionibus, quae non recens a me, sed jam antea, a divo genitore meo, cum omnium statuum Germaniae consilio et consensu sancitae, et saepius repetitae ac a me confirmatae fuerunt, severissime interdictum esse, idque ab ipso extra demandatam sibi provinciam minus quam ab alio violari debeat', *ibid.*, p. 127.

‘Since Your Highness in this difficult business offers himself to me and mine so promptly and well-disposed, I offer the thanks which are due with all reverence, not doubting that Your Holiness would not interrupt anything, either in this matter or any other...’³⁶

For Maximilian II, Eder’s case and, by implication, the confessional politics of his lands, were a matter for his judgement and his jurisdiction alone.

What can be pieced together of this exchange between the Pope and Emperor reveals much of the state of Papal-Imperial relations in 1573. For Maximilian II, the role of Holy Roman Emperor had of necessity evolved into one where the priority was the maintenance of control over a confessionally diverse range of peoples. Catholicism, although still the preferred confession, could not be promoted at the expense of peace and, with it, the fragile Imperial authority. What had not changed for Maximilian, however, was a belief in the centuries-old freedom of the Holy Roman Emperor to legislate as he saw fit; to compound his beliefs in this particular case must have been the fact that Eder was not only a resident of the Habsburg lands themselves, but the Emperor’s very own court.

For Pope Gregory XIII, the revelation of Eder’s case had accentuated a position on the part of the Emperor that was untenable in both spiritual and practical terms. His own employee Eder might have been, but the decree against him had been issued in the Imperial name. For the Papacy, the very man appointed by God to act as a

³⁶ ‘...De Edero esse tam sollicitam non possum non credere S.V. persuasam esse quasi quid durius in eum sit statutum...Quod vero S.V. in arduis illis negotiis, se erga me meosque tam prompte et propensam offert, eas quas debeo omni reverentia ago gratias, non dubitans S.V. nec in iis nec aliis quicquam intermissuram, quod mihi meisque honori et emolumento esse possit’, *ibid.*, p. 127.

secular defender of the faith was now himself acting as a persecutor of that faith for the sake of political expediency.³⁷ He was, furthermore, misusing his power in realms that conflicted with ecclesiastical jurisdiction; once again, Eder's case had raised the age-old clash between secular and ecclesiastical authority.

In response there followed a curious episode which not only typifies the increasingly farcical turn Eder's life was taking, but has echoes of the ongoing struggle between Emperor and Pope over jurisdiction.³⁸ Aided by the conveniently timed deaths both of Eder's second wife and Bishop Urban of Gurk, the decision was taken in Rome to make the freshly-widowed Georg Eder of Vienna the new Bishop of Gurk.³⁹ As such, the Papacy would make its allegiance in the 'Eder case' more than clear; Eder's episcopacy would act as a continued embarrassment to the Emperor who had banned his book; Rome would have displayed its authority, and

³⁷ It is worth remembering that Maximilian in particular had long been the subject of suspicions over the true extent of his personal commitment to Catholicism: see chapter three, pp. 145-146.

³⁸ See chapter two, pp. 59-61, for the tussles over the Imperial Klosterrat of 1568. There is also a limited amount of evidence to suggest that the Papacy sponsored translations of the *Evangelische Inquisition* in another move that would have conflicted directly with the Imperial authority without actually breaking the terms of the decree. According to a letter sent from Gallio in Rome to Gropper, dated 23 October 1574, the Pope was anxious to receive a copy of the Latin translation of Eder's book: 'Tragt auf, sobald als möglich das Buch von Georg Eder welches ins Lateinische übersetzt in Köln erschienen sein soll, an den Papst zu senden', W. E. Schwarz (ed.), *Die Nuntiatur-Korrespondenz Kaspar Groppers (1573-1576)* (Paderborn, 1898), p. 200. It is not impossible that this happened, but no copies of any such work survive. Even if such a translation had been published, it may be surmised it had a limited print-run and in any case would not have made as forceful a point to the Emperor as the attempt to have Eder made Bishop of Gurk.

³⁹ Rosina Eder had died on 18 June 1573; according to Eder's own testimony, Bishop Urban of Gurk passed away on 13 October of the same year. See Eder's letter to Eisengrein, 20 October 1573, Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 23-26, p. 26.

Eder himself would be safely ensconced in a remote, neglected see from whence he could cause few further diplomatic ripples.⁴⁰

This is not to say that the attempted bestowal of the Bishopric of Gurk on Eder was solely for cynical reasons.⁴¹ In one of the earlier letters on the subject, the papal nuncio Dolfin referred to Georg Eder as one of the most sincere and zealous Catholics in the region; according to Cardinal Gallio, Eder was both Catholic and learned.⁴² Nonetheless, the attempted appointment still made waves.

As the second appendix to this thesis indicates, the subject of Eder and his elevation to the rank of bishop occupied a considerable amount of the correspondence between Rome and Vienna between October 1573 when the idea was first mooted, and the closing months of 1574 when Eder's rejection of the plan became known. To transform a twice-married layman into a bishop of the Catholic church was not something easily done. The Council of Trent had decreed only ten years earlier that certain minor functions could, in the absence of unmarried clerics, 'be supplied by

⁴⁰ Eder's perception of the practical restrictions he would face in such a role appear to have been a key factor in his refusal to accept the bishopric when it was offered to him. As such, this episode is an important indicator of Eder's view of service to the church, and as such will be re-explored from that angle, as opposed to its political significance, in chapter five.

⁴¹ This complex incident is recounted in Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3, vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. LXXIX-LXXXV, and Ludwig von Pastor, (Ralph Francis Kerr ed.), The History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages, vol. 20 (London, 1930), pp. 83-4.

⁴² '...Il più sincero et ardente catholico, che sia in queste parti', Dolfin to Gallio, 10 October 1573, Germ. Vol. 70, pp. 456-464. '...Persona intelligente, catholica et fedele', Gallio to Portia, 15 November 1573, Nuntiaturberichte III, p. 231. Both cited in Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, p. LXXIX.

married clerics of approved life, provided they have not married a second time'.⁴³ Not only did Eder fall into the twice-married category, but the post of bishop could hardly be described as minor. A special dispensation had to be produced, along with the consent of the Archbishop of Salzburg who held the right of nomination to the see for that election.⁴⁴ The latter proved to be slow to gain, and the Archbishop of Salzburg refused to grant his approval unless the appointment was supported in writing by the Dukes of Bavaria, the Archduke of the Tyrol, and the Emperor himself. How the Emperor responded when pressed for such a request unfortunately is not known, but by September 1574 reports were beginning to circulate that Eder was planning a third, earthly marriage rather than marriage to the church. As Gallio succinctly informed Dolfin, 'Poiché il dottor Edero è più inclinato al conjugio che a la vita ecclesiastica'.⁴⁵ Soon after, on 22 October 1574, the Dean of Brixen, Christoph Andreas von Spaur, became the new Bishop of Gurk.

Eder seems to have suffered no recriminations for his decision to withdraw. Indeed, as a further outward symbol of his protection of Eder, by the end of 1574 the Pope

⁴³ Rev. H. J. Schroeder (ed.), The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent (Tan Books, Illinois, 1978), p. 175. Exactly why having been married twice should have posed a problem that having been married once did not, is unclear from the content of the decree itself.

⁴⁴ The bishoprics of Freising, Passau, Vienna, Wiener-Neustadt and Gurk all lay within the Kirchenprovinz of Salzburg.

⁴⁵ Gallio to Dolfin, Rome, 4 September 1574, in Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturreichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3, vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 621-623, p. 622.

had awarded him with a papal medal, a personal letter, and a sum of money.⁴⁶

Despite its anti-climactic ending, the attempt to make Eder the Bishop of Gurk had still provided a focal point for the pro-Rome forces to rally around Eder and register their disapproval of Maximilian II's behaviour. The process had seen Eder's appointment and all that it stood for gain even the support of Maximilian II's own brothers, the Archdukes Ferdinand and Karl, while backing also came from the Dukes of Bavaria.

ii) The Bavarian Challenge

The Bavarian response to Eder's situation is deserving of particular consideration, for Duke Albrecht of Bavaria reacted to the Evangelische Inquisition crisis in a manner that reflected his own complex relationship with the Habsburg Emperor. This relationship was one of multiple layers- dynastic, political, confessional- every one of which fed the growing rivalry between the two powers.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ 'Al dottore edero con molto mio contento darò i danari con il breve et la medaglia, accompagnandolo con quelle parole che giudicarò a proposito', Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 20 December 1574, in Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, pp. 716-718, p. 717.

⁴⁷ Though there is some quality historiography on Bavaria in the sixteenth century, there is very little that deals specifically with Wittelsbach-Habsburg relations in the same period. On the confessional situation in early-modern Bavaria see in particular Andreas Kraus (ed.), Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte (Munich, 1988); Edelgard Metzger, Leonhard von Eck (1480-1550) Wegbereiter und Begründer des frühabsolutistischen Bayern (Munich and Vienna, 1980); David W. Myers, 'Die Jesuiten, die häufige Beichte, und die katholische Reform in Bayern', Beiträge zur Altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte, 42 (1996), pp. 45-58; Walter Brandmüller (ed.), Handbuch der Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte (St Ottilien, 1993)

The Duchy of Bavaria shared a substantial border with Upper Austria; it was one of the Habsburg lands' closest neighbours and as such was, even by virtue of its size and geographical cohesion, ever a simmering threat. The Wittelsbachs were certainly linked to the Habsburgs by important family ties: in the decades that are the focus of this thesis, the Duke of Bavaria, Albrecht V (who ruled the territory 1550-1579) was married to Anna of Austria, Maximilian II's sister. In the next generation, 28 August 1571 saw the wedding in Vienna of Albrecht V's eldest daughter Maria to Maximilian II's youngest brother, Archduke Karl of Inner Austria.⁴⁸ There survive some cases of cosy co-operation between the two families: according to Paula Sutter Fichtner's recent biography of Maximilian II, the Habsburg Emperor and the Wittelsbach Duke shared a love of the work of the Netherlandish musician Orlando di Lasso. The brothers-in-law would exchange his musical compositions, while it seems they both also shared a love of Hungarian wine. In addition, Sutter Fichtner notes, 'A variety of fish and game- live, dead and in varying stages of decomposition- traveled from Munich to Vienna or the other way around'.⁴⁹

In early-modern Europe, it was not, however, unusual to have Habsburg in-laws: in this period, the Habsburgs had married into every royal and major noble family on the continent, with the sole exception of Scotland. Nor could such pleasantries conceal the growing tensions between the two dynasties. There were, firstly, the

⁴⁸ Albrecht was succeeded by his eldest son, Wilhelm V, who ruled from his father's death in 1579 until 1598. Duke Wilhelm died in 1626 at the age of 78.

⁴⁹ Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (Yale University Press, 2001), p. 33.

political tensions that had marked their recent pasts and threatened the peace of their immediate future. The border between Wittelsbach and Habsburg territories was, for example, under constant dispute: as late as the 1620s Duke Maximilian of Bavaria occupied parts of Upper Austria for a time. The spectacular growth of the Wittelsbach university at Ingolstadt was a constant source of Habsburg jealousy in the light of Vienna University's ailing fortunes.⁵⁰ What might have been a relatively innocuous dispute over the right of jurisdiction over the Bishopric of Passau became yet another power-struggle, while the Wittelsbach-dominated Landsberg League, in existence since 1556 for the defence of Catholicism in the Empire, was an additional source of tension between the two powers.⁵¹

Indeed, it is over the question of confessional politics that the greatest source of antagonism between the Habsburgs and Wittelsbachs lay. It is not simply that the Dukes of Bavaria demonstrated themselves to be much more unequivocally in favour of Catholic reform than their Habsburg counterparts. It is true that as individuals the Wittelsbachs were able to demonstrate their Catholic orthodoxy in more visible forms than the Austrian dynasty. From Albrecht V onwards, the senior Wittelsbach sons were educated at Jesuit-dominated Ingolstadt University, and the

⁵⁰ Kurt Mühlberger, 'Zu den Krisen der Universität Wien im Zeitalter der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzungen', Bericht über den achtzehnten österreichischen Historikertag in Linz veranstaltet vom Verband Österreichischer Geschichtsvereine in der Zeit vom 24. bis 29. September 1990 (Veröffentlichungen des Verbandes Österreichischer Geschichtsvereine 27, 1991), pp. 269-277, p. 271.

⁵¹ Rona Gordon Johnston, 'The Bishopric of Passau and the Counter-Reformation in Lower Austria, 1580-1636', (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1996), pp. 27-30. This climaxed in the 1590s, but had been grumbling for decades as both dynasties sought control over the largest diocese in the Holy Roman Empire. The League of Landsberg was only disbanded in 1598.

family themselves played an active role in the sponsorship of Jesuit work in their territories. Albrecht V saw to it that the new Jesuit colleges at Ingolstadt and Munich each received 4000 Gulden per year from his personal coffers, while junior male family members were pushed into episcopal sees that might otherwise have fallen into the wrong hands.⁵² The more notorious examples are those of the elevations of Albrecht's two youngest sons to the bishopric: in 1564 Ernst was made Bishop of Freising at the age of eleven, while 1567 saw his younger brother Philip become Bishop of Regensburg at three years of age.⁵³ Such placements could however play an important role in defending against heresy whilst enhancing Wittelsbach authority: in 1583, after the departure of Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, Ernst was made Archbishop of Cologne with the collaboration of the Spanish regime in Brussels. The Rhenish see thus became a Bavarian secundogeniture outside the Wittelsbachs' own territory.

It is this very ability to make political capital out of Catholic devotion that rendered the Wittelsbachs such a serious threat to their Habsburg neighbours. As has been seen throughout this thesis, the confessionally and physically disparate nature of the Austrian Habsburg inheritance meant that it was the power of the Imperial name itself on which unity, peace and above all authority rested. The Wittelsbachs did not have the Imperial title- in itself undoubtedly a sore point- but they were in a

⁵² W. E. Schwarz (ed.), *Die Nuntiatur-Korrespondenz Kaspar Groppers*, pp. ix-x.

⁵³ On this see Philip Soergel, *Wondrous In His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda In Bavaria* (California, 1993), pp. 78-79. Ernst would also become Bishop of Hildesheim, Liège, Halberstadt and Münster.

position to exert their authority in their own territory by doing exactly what the Austrian Habsburgs dared not: eradicating Protestantism by force.

What is striking about the Wittelsbachs' drive to purge Protestantism from their lands is the speed with which the policy was formulated and implemented. In 1558, Albrecht V appointed the uncompromising Simon Eck as his chancellor, and together they produced ordinance after ordinance that directly attacked those who persisted in participating in Protestant worship. The property of any ducal subject who remained Protestant was to be seized; anyone who crossed borders to attend Protestant services was to be fined between 50 and 100 Florins; and in 1568, all such legislation fell under the control of a Geistliche Rat, composed of secular as well as ecclesiastical officials, and established to supervise levels of orthodoxy within the Bavarian territory.⁵⁴ By 1570, all Bavarian Protestants were required to either renounce their beliefs or emigrate, and one year later Duke Albrecht overturned all the concessions made in 1556 that had once granted communion in both kinds and the toleration of clerical marriage. The force of such steps was, however, largely possible through Duke Albrecht's uncompromising stance taken against the Protestant Bavarian nobles at the Ingolstadt diet of 1563. Not only did the Duke dismiss the assembly when the Lutheran contingent requested further religious concessions, but the very next year he took what was the illegal step of seizing the Count of Ortenburg, the ruler of a small territory who had recently initiated pro-Lutheran reforms. A series of trials followed in which Ortenburg and

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77. The Geistliche Rat was responsible for the promotion of correct Catholic belief within the Duchy's schools, universities, and in broader public life.

other Lutheran noble associates were deprived of their lands, and through which the Wittelsbach Duke imposed his authority afresh over his territory.

For the Dukes of Bavaria, Catholicism thus became the tool with which they imposed unity on and asserted control over their own lands. It was also a way, however, in which they could demonstrate their own particularist tendencies within the Holy Roman Empire of which they were part. Just as the Protestant nobles used their territorial confession to express their own separate identity within the Empire, so the Wittelsbachs used Catholicism to the same end. It was, however, in many ways more threatening to the Habsburg Emperor. By enforcing Catholicism in his own lands in a way that the Austrian Habsburgs could not, Duke Albrecht was in effect beating the Emperor at his own game. By fulfilling the role of secular defender of the faith far more effectively than circumstances had permitted either Ferdinand I or Maximilian II to do, by the 1570s it was the Duke of Bavaria who was the de facto secular champion of Catholicism in the Empire.

In such a context, the case of Eder and the Imperial decree against him provided the Wittelsbachs with a further cache of confessional ammunition with which to challenge their Habsburg rivals. Although Eder was himself a Bavarian, there is no evidence to suggest that Duke Albrecht V had ever heard of him before 1573.⁵⁵ It does seem that Albrecht had, however, finished reading a copy of the Evangelische

⁵⁵ This view is supported by the fact that in a letter dated 21 January 1574, and therefore relatively early in their relationship, Eder fills Albrecht V in on the details of his career to that point: 'Dann ob ich wol in die 22 [jar], erstlich alls camerprocurator...dermassen gedient...'. Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, pp. 71-79, p. 78.

Inquisition before news of its condemnation had filtered through to his court. On 9 October 1573 Albrecht V composed a personal letter of congratulation to Eder. He had, wrote Albrecht, been given the book by his chancellor, Eck, and had been particularly impressed by the clarity with which Eder had outlined correct Catholic belief.⁵⁶ Such a feat would, Albrecht assured Eder, result in no small rewards in terms of the revival of the church:

‘Stellen demnach gar in khainen zweivel, dieser dein christlicher eifer, welchen du mit disem werch ungebeten und überflüssigt erzaigt, werde zue erbauung catholischer religion und khirchen nit wenig, sonder hoch ersprieslich sein, auch on sondere frucht abgehen’.⁵⁷

The warmth of Albrecht’s tone to Eder suggests that the Duke was personally thrilled to see his beleaguered confession receive the support of a competent writer. There was also a political aspect to such praise: for Albrecht V, the content of Eder’s Evangelische Inquisition was in itself a support to his religious policy of promoting Catholic orthodoxy as an expression of ducal authority. What happened next, however, gave the Wittelsbach Duke even more opportunity to assert his position within Catholic Europe as a whole.

Duke Albrecht heard of Eder’s fate from no less than four sources. The first to write was Ludwig Haberstock, the Vienna-based Bavarian Sekretär. In a letter dated 8 October, Haberstock noted that the decree against Eder was the sharpest

⁵⁶ ‘... Welches wir mit vleis durchlesen, darin nit allain derjenigen artikhel unsers catholischen christlichen glaubens starkhe ausführung der neuglaubigen christen behelf und argumentiren gegen der ablainung, sonder auch yetzigen religionstandts ein solche compendios und helle bescreibung befunden, dergleichen uns hierinen nie fürkhomen’, *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

issued in living memory, and that its terms had given the opponents of Catholicism much cause to celebrate.⁵⁸ Next to report on the matter was Johann Egolf, Bishop of Augsburg, who wrote to Albrecht from Dillingen on 16 October.⁵⁹ Despite having co-operated with the Emperor in tracing all copies of the work, Egolf made his personal sympathies known to Duke Albrecht in his description of Eder as ‘gutt frumb Dr Eder, welcher dadurch grosse ungnad, wie zu besorgen, auff ime laden würdt...’.⁶⁰ A third, more critical reporter was Johann Hegenmüller. A Reichshofrat like Eder, Hegenmüller had previously served as a Rat in the Wittelsbach court and on 7 November expressed some reservations to his ex-employers about the ferocity of Eder’s language within the pages of the Evangelische Inquisition.⁶¹

In agreement with Haberstock and Egolf, however, was the fourth person to inform Albrecht of what had happened: Martin Eisengrein. Eder had written to his friend and accomplice Eisengrein twice within three days, outlining his situation.⁶² Since

⁵⁸ ‘Der zaigt mir an, er habe seins erinnerns, so lang er in disem dienst sey, khain so scharpff und strengs decret gefertigt...So ist hie ein gar groß geschray und jubiliern bey den widersachern...’, *ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. X fol. 23r-23v.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-42. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. X fol. 70r-72v. For more on Hegenmüller, see chapter two p. 71. For more on his criticism of Eder’s tone in the Evangelische Inquisition, see chapter 3, pp. 143-144, note 126.

⁶² Eder’s first letter to Eisengrein was dated 20 October 1573. In it, he details all the terms of the decree against him and his ‘unglückhafften buechs’. On 23 October, Eder wrote again of his persecution and also expressed his deep appreciation of Duke Albrecht’s earlier letter of praise for his now-condemned book: ‘Meine widersacher vervolgen mich auf das hefftigist; die freundt sein sollen, fürchten sich und scheuhen mich, also das ich die ganz zeit heer kainen andern trost nie ghabt, dann das mein gnädiger furst und herr herzog Albrecht etc mir ain gar gnedigs briefle zuegeschriben, das ich mich zum allhöchsten erfreut und in eewigkeit daruben danckhen wil’. It may well have been that Eder was aware of Eisengrein’s favoured position at the Wittelsbach court

his departure from Vienna in 1562, Eisengrein had become a powerful figure within the political and ecclesiastical hierarchy of Bavaria. Of him, Philip Soergel has commented that his 'career exemplifies the blurring that occurred between state and clerical functions as the Wittelsbachs worked to establish their hegemony over religion'.⁶³ As such, Eisengrein participated in the Wittelsbach Geistliche Rat as an examiner of clerical standards, while it was also he who played a leading role in the procurement of the bishopric of Freising for Albrecht's young son Ernst. As a result, Eisengrein had been suitably rewarded by the Duke in whose territory he served: amongst other positions, he was made provost of collegiate churches in Passau, Moosburg and Altötting, while in 1570 he was elected Superintendent of Ingolstadt University. Eder could therefore hardly have explained his predicament to a more influential friend, and on 30 November Eisengrein finally took action on his Viennese colleague's behalf. Eisengrein personally composed a long letter to the Wittelsbach Duke in which he described the religious and political implications of Maximilian II's 'ungnedig kaiserlich decret'.⁶⁴

Eisengrein's opinion would have carried much weight, not only for the esteem in which he was held at the Wittelsbach court, but also because he had substantial personal experience of the situation in Vienna.⁶⁵ Forceful too were the arguments

and was angling for Albrecht's further intervention. Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 23-26 and pp. 36-38, respectively.

⁶³ Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, p. 106.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-53, p. 46.

⁶⁵ Not only had Eisengrein lived in Vienna between 1553 and 1562 (see page 118), but also spent two years there in the late 1560s. While in Vienna in 1569 he had personally become involved in a

he placed before Duke Albrecht in favour of intervention on Eder's behalf. His chief tactic is to argue that Maximilian II has behaved in a way that is historically, theologically and politically reprehensible. Citing the gospel of Matthew on the necessity of making a true confession of one's faith, Eisengrein suggests that there are numerous examples from history of spiritual dissimulation amongst rulers.⁶⁶ Clearly implying that Maximilian II's actions have rendered him another such guilty party, he adds that Christ himself has expressly forbidden such behaviour.⁶⁷ Eisengrein's argument also has, however, a contemporary flavour: he outlines the results of such mis-rule on the city of Vienna itself, where heretical preaching is rife and causes severe damage to the cause of Rome.⁶⁸ Eisengrein's portrayal of his intended recipient as a blessed defender of the faith, Duke Albrecht, is in flattering contrast:

'Welches E.F.G. weit löblicher und rhuemlicher, auch bey künftiger welt et apud omnem posteritatem, bey Gott aber vill ain bessere belohnung bringen

dispute over the non-participation of university members in the annual Corpus Christi procession through the streets of the city. On that occasion, Eisengrein persuaded the Emperor to demand their participation, regardless of personal confessional scruples.

⁶⁶ Matthew chapter 10, verses 32-33: 'Whoever acknowledges me before men, I will also acknowledge him before my Father in heaven. But whoever disowns me before men, I will disown him before my Father in heaven', (NIV version).

⁶⁷ 'Dann ob wir gleichwol in haidnischen und weltlichen historien hin und wider vill exempla lesen, wie etwa gwaltige könig, fürsten und herrn per simulationem und dissimulationem grosse ding außgerichtet...das es sich in sachen unser seelenhail und den christlichen glauben betreffend nit also tempoririern, simuliern und dissimulieren wölle lassen, sonder ausdruckenlich von Christo verboten sei...', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrat*, p. 47.

⁶⁸ '...Gestattet ir mt. in derselben hauptstatt zu Wien, das die winckelprediger hin und wider in den heusern nit allain das hochschedlich giff der ketzerischen lehren außgiessen, sonder auch die catholische fürsten und reichständ, fürnemlich aber die hohe geistliche obrigkait, mit unleidenlichen calumniis und lesterworten auf das schimpflichest antasten und bey dem gmainem man in verachtung bringen, wie E.F.G. auß beiliegendem muster ainer predig oder vilmehr außzugs ainer predig, so deß niderösterreichischen landmarschalcks sectischer predikant den 11 Julii dises ietzlauffenden 73 jars zu Wien offenlich gethon und mir durch glaubwürdige leut communiciert worden, gnedigst zu vernemmen', *ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

würdt, als wann sie sonst grosse und königlich schätz auf diser welt gesamlet und hinder ier verlassen hett'.⁶⁹

It is doubtful whether Albrecht V actually needed Eisengrein to provide him with such justifications for intervention in Eder's fate. Albrecht's response to Eder's plight was swift, unequivocal, and seemingly tailor-made for the Duke's procurement of optimum political capital. Naturally, in the issue of Eder's possible elevation to the rank of bishop, Duke Albrecht took the pro-papal side. His own immediate response was, however, to help Eder's cause by directly flouting the terms of the Imperial decree against him. In a letter dated 19 December 1573, the Wittelsbach Duke wrote to Eder telling him that he would buy all remaining copies of the Eyangelische Inquisition from Willer in Augsburg: evidently they had been neither seized nor submitted by this point.⁷⁰ He was, furthermore, successful in this. In a letter of 21 January 1574 Eder thanked him for rescuing the bulk of the copies, while the legacy of Albrecht's intervention can still be seen even today in the survival of at least four copies of a work that Maximilian II had wished to see wholly eradicated. How many more copies were actually in circulation in the sixteenth century can only be imagined, but it has been estimated that from a probable initial print-run of 1500, Willer would have had approximately 1400 copies in his possession.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 53.

⁷⁰ '...Das die überigen exemplaria bey dem Wiler zu Augspurg, wo nit alle, yedoch zum merer thail ufkhaufft werden sollen...', *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

⁷¹ '...Dann dieser zeit mir und dem unschuldigen buech zue ainem gluckhlichen anfang nit wol ain grossere gnad bschehen kunden, den das die exemplaria so wol abgangen und die ubrigen zue mererm thail ab interitu et infamia vendiciert und erlediget worden', pp. 71-79, p. 72. Four copies

Wittelsbach employment of Eder's case as a vehicle with which to challenge the authority of the Austrian Habsburgs did not stop, however, in 1574. The growing Bavarian bureaucracy had, by the 1570s, become increasingly partial to the gathering of news and information from across Europe as a means of enhancing its own security and position.⁷² Based on the premise that knowledge is power, as the sixteenth century progressed the Munich court became a growing repository for thousands of reports from regions that were particularly combustible: France, the Spanish Netherlands, Bohemia and Hungary.⁷³

As such, and for the reasons already discussed, Vienna was thus of special interest to the Wittelsbachs. Although in geographical terms their courts were relatively close, as the sixteenth century went on increasing numbers of Bavarian 'Agenten' bolstered the formal correspondence between Vienna and Munich with their own news, insights and gossip.⁷⁴ The Haberstock and Hegenmüller who first reported

of the 1573 edition of the Evangelische Inquisition were examined in the researching of this thesis: one in the British Library (3908.ccc.77.), two in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (252.036-B.Fid (=21-150); 77.Dd.16), and one in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (4 Polem. 1004a). Examination of further library catalogues suggest that at least a further four copies are in existence: at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel; St John's University, Collegeville; Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg; and the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. On the numbers of copies of the Evangelische Inquisition, see Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. XXIII-XXIV.

⁷² For the only monograph on this subject, see the aged but magnificent work by Friedrich Leist, Zur Geschichte der auswärtigen Vertretung Bayerns im XVI. Jahrhundert (Bamberg, 1889). For an edited collection of such materials, see Walter Goetz (ed.), Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Baierns Fürstenhaus vol. 5 Beiträge zur Geschichte Herzog Albrechts V und des Landsberger Bundes 1556-1598 (Munich, 1898).

⁷³ BHStA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv: Korrespondenzakten-Auswärtige Residenten, signatures 4365-4372, 4385-4394, 4428-4437 and 4441-4452 respectively.

⁷⁴ Leist notes this use of the term 'Agenten' to describe such correspondents, but such a term is not intended to be suggestive of sinister infiltration or espionage: Geschichte der auswärtigen Vertretung Bayerns, p. 2. Exactly who was in regular touch with the Munich court would have been

Eder's fate to Duke Albrecht were two such figures, as were Reichshofrat Timotheus Jung, Reichshofrat and Reichsvizekanzler Siegmund Viehauser, Kanzleischreiber Georg Ehrenpreis, and Sekretär der deutschen Expedition Andreas Erstenberger.⁷⁵

By the late 1570s, however, for various reasons these reporters were unable to offer news from Vienna to the extent to which Duke Albrecht would have wished: such a communications problem must have been all the more frustrating as the year 1578 marked an apparent renewal of Habsburg efforts to limit the exercise of Protestantism, with all the subsequent agitation that such efforts brought.⁷⁶ The solution was clear: Georg Eder would be the new Viennese correspondent, in a choice that benefited both Munich and their new appointment. For the Wittelsbachs, Eder's reports would not only keep them informed of what was happening at the rival court, but alert them to any further instances when Bavarian intervention might be politically and religiously expedient. In addition, their open

no secret in Vienna, though some of the material contained in their reports was certainly highly sensitive. For the apparent increase in their numbers in Vienna throughout the sixteenth century, *ibid.*, pp. 4-6. The formal diplomatic correspondence from the period between Wittelsbach and Habsburg family members is located in BHStA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv: Korrespondenzakten-Österreichisches Korrespondenz, signatures 4456-4466 inclusive. The subjects covered in this material include matters of state, foreign travels, dynastic marriages and recent deaths.

⁷⁵ BHStA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv: Korrespondenzakten-Auswärtige Residenten, signatures 4291-4349 inclusive.

⁷⁶ None of these figures appear to have sent many bulletins at all between 1577 and 1587, the period in which Eder was most active in the role. In the case of Jung, it seems that matters of state took him away from Vienna and his reports were not only increasingly erratically timed, but from a series of non-Viennese locations: Augsburg, Prague and Cologne (signature: 4312 XX/2 1568-77). Hegenmüller too appears to have been away from Vienna for significant periods for the 1570s: between 1577 and 1579 he was in a position to send only eight missives from Vienna, in comparison to the 53 sent by Eder over the same eventful period (signature: 4316). See appendix II for a full list of Eder's correspondence from Vienna, 1577-1587.

patronage and employment of Eder- still an internationally known confessional cause célèbre- would act as a constant undermining of the Habsburg religious policy that had once seen Eder's writings condemned. From Eder's perspective, the arrangement brought him the chance to bind himself closer still to the new patron whose protection promised much that the Habsburgs could never provide. By 15 March 1577 at the latest, Eder had started writing the first of at least 123 detailed reports to the Wittelsbach Dukes of Bavaria, thus beginning a process that would endure throughout the final decade of his life in Vienna.⁷⁷

iii) Eder's Reports from Vienna

It is almost impossible to ascertain the extent to which Eder's reports to Bavaria were composed of what the Wittelsbachs wanted to hear, what Eder wanted them to hear, and what the real situation actually was in Vienna. Eder's Bavarian correspondence certainly bore all the hallmarks of one purporting to fulfil the requirements of the early-modern Nachrichtendienst. For one thing, Eder wrote to the Wittelsbachs not only with frequency, but with the regularity that they apparently demanded.

The role of the correspondent, at least as far as the Wittelsbachs were concerned, was to write regularly, regardless of whether or not there was much to report.

⁷⁷ Schrauf, *Der Reichshofrat*, pp. 96-97. Eder may have started sending his communiqués before 1577. However, it was around this time that Jung and Hegenmüller were less able to correspond regularly from Vienna, so Eder may well have been asked to step in at that point.

According to Leist, comments from sixteenth-century Bavarian correspondents, stating that they were writing in spite of a lack of news, were common.⁷⁸ Evidence internal to the reports indicates that Eder himself clearly fitted into this pattern. In a particularly short missive from 1577, Eder remarked that it was so quiet in Vienna at that point, the Duke would have more news in one day than he had for an entire week.⁷⁹ In another letter, dated 4 October 1578, Eder explicitly assured Duke Albrecht that he would write, if not weekly, then fortnightly, and as appendix II illustrates, this was a promise he tried hard to keep.⁸⁰ From what survives, it seems that Eder averaged approximately one letter per fortnight, though at one point, between April and July 1578, he was writing almost one report per week to the Munich court.⁸¹ That there are several surprising gaps in the pattern of report-

⁷⁸ Leist notes the frequency of such phrases as: 'Von Zeitungen ist alle Ding an disem Hofe gar still', 'Von zeitungen ist diser Zeit alhie gar nichts vorhanden', '...Diese vergangne wochen hat sich leider nichts schriftwürdiges zuegetragen', Leist, Geschichte der auswärtigen Vertretung Bayerns, p. 18.

⁷⁹ Eder to Albrecht, 30 November 1577: 'Sonst ist es hie so still, das ich glaub, E.F.G. haben in ainem tag mer zeittung [als] hie in ainer gantzen wochen...', Schrauf, Der Reichshofrat, pp. 125-128, p. 126.

⁸⁰ '...Will aber meine schreiben de religionis statu hinfuro fleysig widerum continuieren und disen abgang gehorsamlich erstatten, wo nicht wochenlich, doch zue 14 tagen'. Perhaps as a way of 'covering' for any possible lapses in his report-sending, Eder also uses the age-old line that the post cannot always be relied upon: '...Darf der post gar nicht trauen. Hab vom 6 September ain paggetle auff Prag geschickht, das ist mir den 24 hie widerum zuekomen', *ibid.*, pp. 232-235, p. 232.

⁸¹ What can be reconstructed of Eder's report-writing suggests that the rate fluctuated somewhat: between 20 December 1578 and 30 May 1579 he sent twelve reports, an average of one every two weeks. Much the same rate was achieved between 13 July 1579 and 1 December 1579 and 25 March 1581 and 1 August 1581 when Eder posted eleven missives and nine missives respectively. The period from January until 30 July 1580 saw Eder write 17 such letters, at an average of three per month. According to Leist, the Ordinari-Post carried mail between courts on average only once or twice a week: Leist, Geschichte der auswärtigen Vertretung Bayerns, p. 19.

writing may be explained by the fact that some batches of Eder's correspondence are simply no longer extant.⁸²

The other key function of the Nachrichtendienst was, as its title suggests, to communicate news from other courts. Again, Leist's survey of such correspondence is instructive as he observes that Bavarian reports often included such suggestions that the information included was accurate and the result of determined enquiry. That the correspondents wished to cover their own reputations should a piece of information later be found to be incorrect, their reports were peppered with such phrases as 'man sagt', 'ich bin glaublichen bericht', 'die zeit wirds zu erkennen geben', 'ich vernimm von einem glaubwürdigen Herren' or 'sovil ich vernimm'.⁸³

Eder too appears to have made an effort to fulfil this important function. In one letter, he explains apologetically that his lack of news on the Viennese court is due

⁸² No letters survive for the periods between the end of July and 4 October, 1578; 27 October 1580 and 9 January 1581; 26 January to 6 May 1584; and between 25 August 1585 and 2 November 1586. In some instances Eder may have been away from Vienna on court business: in his letter of 4 October 1578 he suggests as much: '...Das ich sonst im landt ain commission zue verrichten gehabt und darunder recreationis causa etliche closter besuecht...', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, p. 232. That not all of Eder's letters have been preserved is suggested by the existence in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv of short summaries of two of Eder's letters that had apparently been dated 31 October 1581 and 19 April 1582, but which can no longer be found: BHStA, Staatsverwaltung: Signature 1931 fol. 20r-v

⁸³ Leist, *Geschichte der auswärtigen Vertretung Bayerns*, p. 27. Despite his efforts, Eder did not always get his facts straight. In a letter to Duke Albrecht dated July 1578, Eder refers to 'episcopis Pataviensibus, sit Graf Niclasen von salm', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 228-231, p. 230. As Schrauf points out, the Bishop of Passau from the von Salm family was Wolfgang, not Nikolaus, a fact that Eder should have known well.

to his having been confined to the house for twelve days due to illness.⁸⁴ In another, dated 5 October 1577, Eder was however able to unveil something of a 'scoop' over the sudden disappearance in the night of the Archduke Matthias from Vienna to Brussels.⁸⁵ Matthias' mission to become Governor-General of the Spanish Netherlands was one that had been shrouded in secrecy. The major fear was, quite rightly, the opposition of Philip II, who regarded the presence of the young Austrian Archduke as a threat to Spanish authority in that notoriously troubled region.⁸⁶ Such an episode would have been of much interest to the Wittelsbachs. Aside from the basic political value of having such knowledge as soon as possible, Matthias' move heralded the possible widening of the division between the two branches of the rival Habsburg dynasty, as well as the exacerbation of the confessional strife in the Spanish Netherlands: both were scenarios that offered the Bavarians the chance to further strengthen their own position within Catholic Europe. Eder was not only the one who had first sent them this gem of information,

⁸⁴ 19 January 1578, 'Von hoffzeitungen wais ich der zeit sonders nichts, ursach, das ich bey 12 tagen hero schwachait halben nicht von haus kumen. Was ich aber furtershin erfahren kan, das schreibe ich schierest hernach', *ibid.*, p. 144.

⁸⁵ 'Aber die catastrophe, so darauf ervolgt, ist vilen verwundlich zue vernemen, dann am dritten tag darnach, in der nacht umb 10 uhr, ist erzherzog Mathias selbs dritter zuem statthor auskumen und davongezogen; wie die sag, sollen ir dt auff die Niederlandt zuziehen, und wirt die vermuettung daher genomen, das die niederländischen stende ainen gesanten, N. von Malenstein, hie gehabt, wellicher darunder auch verloren worden, und der Rueber, obrister im Zips, mitgezogen', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 119-120, p. 120. Although Matthias left Vienna at the beginning of October 1577, he only made his official entry into Brussels on 18 January 1578. Eder's report was therefore the unearthing for the Wittelsbachs of a highly sensitive piece of information that would not become public knowledge for another three-and-a-half months.

⁸⁶ On Matthias' moonlight flit to Brussels, the political tensions surrounding his move, and his disastrous tenure there, see Howard Louthan, 'Matthias in the Netherlands: the political failure of irenicism', *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 143-154.

but he also made sure the Wittelsbachs realised the difficulties he faced in ascertaining such material.⁸⁷

There is however an important sense in which Eder's reports departed from their formal function and are in fact more reflective of Eder's own agenda, in which he hoped to persuade the Wittelsbach Duke to intervene to an even greater extent in the revival of Catholicism.⁸⁸ The typical Bavarian report covered a broad range of topics, from events at court and affairs of state to more mundane matters including, on one occasion, the death of a dog.⁸⁹ In this, Eder's differed from the usual correspondence flowing back to Munich. He rarely wrote of any external political events; instead, Eder's comments in virtually every report are focused on two topics and two topics alone: the desperate state of Catholicism in Vienna and its environs; and the cause of this problem, namely, Habsburg mis-rule.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ 'Von der furstl. Dt. ertzherzogen Mathia [sic] sein gleichwol vor wenig tagen schreiben hieher kumen, es werden aber diese ding so gehaim und still gehalten, das ich bishero kaine particularia erfahren kunden', Eder to Duke Albrecht, 30 November 1577, Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichsofrath*, pp. 125-126, p. 126.

⁸⁸ As chapter five will reveal, Eder also used his reports as a means of persuading Duke Albrecht to help re-ignite his stalled career as a Catholic writer. In this context, it is worth noting that Eder's letters tend to be substantially longer than those of the other Bavarian correspondents writing from Vienna at the time. For example, those sent by Hege Müller between 1572 and 1575 rarely covered more than two folio sides; Eder's were rarely less than that; BHStA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv: Korrespondenzakten-Auswärtige Residenten, signature 4315. The extra length of Eder's letters may be accounted for by his regular pleading of his personal circumstances and also the personal warmth with which the perilous confessional state of Vienna drove him to write.

⁸⁹ Leist, *Geschichte der auswärtigen Vertretung Bayerns*, pp. 27-31.

⁹⁰ Only once does Eder mention what would have been a regular occurrence: the arrival of ambassadors at the Viennese court. In a letter dated 9 February 1578 he writes, somewhat unhelpfully, 'Was die Moscoviterische und Portugelesische potschaffter alhie am kays. hof fur werbung, davon wais ich eigenlich anders nichts...', Schrauf, *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 144-146, p. 146. Similarly, references to the crucial subject of the Ottoman threat and to Hungary barely make it into double figures throughout the hundreds of pages of commentary sent back to Munich by Eder.

There are several possibilities as to why Eder alone focuses almost entirely on confessional news. There had been a precedent for a Bavarian 'religious' correspondent set by none other than Martin Eisengrein who exchanged more than 45 letters with Duke Albrecht in the space of only two years while he was based at the Vienna court in the late 1560s.⁹¹ It may also be that such was the extent of the problems faced by Catholicism in the Vienna of the 1570s, the Bavarian Duke wished to have one informant dedicated to that topic. However, Eder must have been aware that his portrayal of the entire situation as one of desperate gravity, with the Habsburg Emperor as the villain of the piece, would not displease his Bavarian patron and protector, since it was still over confessional matters that the greatest source of tension and rivalry between Habsburg and Wittelsbach lay.⁹²

It is thus under the guise of the Nachrichtendienst that Eder creates a portrait of religious life in Vienna part-based in fact and part-based on the image he wished to create. Two of the most striking passages from the entire body of his Bavarian correspondence are devoted to descriptions of the moral and physical bankruptcy of the Catholic church in Lower Austria. From the first of these, dated 29 December 1577, Eder's skill as an orator can also be imagined:

⁹¹ Soergel, *Wondrous in his Saints*, p. 122.

⁹² It is worth noting that Eder did not always simply choose the course of action that would most please the Wittelsbachs. Chapter five will describe an incident from 1580 in which Eder failed to support the Bavarian dynasty in a dispute between them and the Papacy. It is, however, undeniable that his reports from Vienna were consistently flattering to his Wittelsbach recipient.

‘..Aber auff dem landt, da ist under den geistlichen ain sollicher jamer, das es zu erbarmen. Da ist alles dermassen verwirt, das weder gesang-oder betbuecher, weder messgewandt noch ornat, weder kelch noch altar, weder liecht noch leuchter, weder agent noch directoria, ja schier nicht ain kalendar mer verhanden, sonder fast durchaus alles verderbt und verwüst oder sonst entkommen’.⁹³

In the same letter, Eder raises what he evidently regards as an even more serious problem: that of the lack of ordained priests who will teach correct doctrine with consistency and uniformity:

‘Da ist schier kain gewechter priester mer...Jeder hat sein sonderen modum, also das es gantz und gar zue ainer wuesten worden’.⁹⁴

This is a subject to which he returns with some passion ten months later:

‘...Glaub ich nicht, das im gantzen landt uber zwen prelaten, die es der religion halben treulich gmainen. Der anderen leben und glauben ist so ergerlich, das es Gott im himel zu erbarmen. Sie haben fast all weiber, etliche wenige, etliche aber gar kaine conventualen; bey etlichen waist man von kainer meß mer, die horas canonicas darff man nicht mer nennen, iere pfarn sein maisttails mit glublosen beheyratten minchen oder sectischen landtfarern besetzt, and get übler zue, alls bey den laien’.⁹⁵

Eder’s reference to the laity at the end is telling. Not only does it echo Eder’s own belief in the potential of the laity to live lives as pleasing to God as those of the clergy, but the entire passage expresses his concern that the clergy still have a responsibility to act as moral and spiritual examples for the laity to emulate, not outclass. The consequences of such immorality for the future of the Catholic church as presented by Eder, are dire. In one passage, Eder reports how that in the parish of

⁹³ Eder to Duke Albrecht, Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 130-134, p. 132. That Eder’s tone in his letters occasionally falls into such memorable polemic, and that, on occasion, he echoes phrases found in his published works (see note 98, below), may also suggest that Eder used his reports not merely as a means of forwarding information but of making his case in favour of Catholic reform.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁹⁵ Eder to Duke Albrecht, 4 October 1578, *ibid.*, pp. 232-235, p. 232.

St Michael, a sexual scandal amongst the clergy there was capitalised on to such effect by the Lutheran preachers, that now 3000 more people attended their services than had previously been the case.⁹⁶ Even more gloomy is Eder's long-term prognosis of the situation. On 12 January 1577 he reported to the Bavarian Duke that in an entire month, not two children had been brought to Stephansdom for baptism: as a result, 'die hauptkirch in kurtz zue ainer wuesten werde'.⁹⁷

If his presentation of the state of the Catholic church is bleak, it is not the church itself that Eder portrays as being solely at fault. He cannot avoid, however, placing at least some of the blame at their door. In a vivid image that he also employs in the Evangelische Inquisition, Eder describes how 'Die hürten lauffen davon und lassen uns under den wolffen steckhen'.⁹⁸ What dominates his representation of the

⁹⁶ 'Da hat man unglaubliche reden ausgesossen, und sein in die 8 erlicher frauen mit namen benent und ausgeschrien worden auff die er solle bekennt haben, und etlich erliche junkhfrauen... der gemaine povel ist wider den geistlichen standt ergrimbt, und sein diese ding an alle orth ausgeschriben und von den lutherischen predicanten auff offner cantzl divulgirt worden, mit sollicher bitterkhait, das es ainen grossen abfal geursacht, also das sithero bey 3000 personen mer auslauffen, alls zuevor'. Eder to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, 7 September 1584, Victor Bibl (ed.), 'Die Berichte des Reichshofrates Dr Georg Eder an die Herzoge Albrecht und Wilhelm von Bayern über die Religionskrise in Niederösterreich (1579-1587)', Jb.f.Lk.v.NÖ, Neue Folge 8 (1909), pp. 67-154, pp. 136-137. Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria died on 24 October 1579; as a result, all of Eder's subsequent reports were addressed to his son and successor, Wilhelm.

⁹⁷ '...Bey S. Steffan etwo ain gantz monat under zway kinder nicht zue tauff gebracht werden...', Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, pp. 93-95, p. 95.

⁹⁸ Eder to Duke Wilhelm, 29 April 1580, Bibl (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', pp. 108-111, p. 111. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich, Tom. XI fol. 68r-74v. In the Evangelische Inquisition, Eder had likewise decried the Lutheran preachers as wolves: '...Falsche Lehrer und Wölffgeweißt, daß sie doch ire reissende zân, mit süssen worten und wolberedten leffzen bedeckt, also, daß sie die spizigen Wolffshar, mit linden schaffbeltzen uberzogen...', p. 13r. This may well have been a common image in the circles within which Eder moved. As well as having a Biblical origin, the phrase had also been used by Ignatius of Loyola who had opined that it was better for the flock to have no shepherd than to have a wolf for a shepherd. Cited in John Patrick Donnelly, 'Some Jesuit Counter-Reformation Strategies in East-Central Europe, 1550-1585', in M.R. Thorp and A.J. Slavin (eds.), Politics, Religion and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe (Kirksville, 1994), pp. 83-94, p. 84.

situation in Vienna to his Bavarian recipients is, though, rather the role of the secular powers in allowing such spiritual predators to thrive: the local nobility, the court hierarchy, and the very point at which the buck should have stopped, the Emperor himself.

The theme that is most heavily prevalent in Eder's presentation of the confessional situation in which he has to operate is that of the behaviour of the local nobility. In every way they are portrayed as a virtually impassable hindrance to all efforts to restore the Catholic church: politically, religiously, and personally. However suspect its value as an objective commentary, Eder's Bavarian correspondence provides several fascinating snapshots of how the seemingly innocuous rites of passage such a wedding, baptism or funeral could inflame a volatile religious situation and act as a worrying barometer of the dominant confessional climate.

Of these types of ceremony, it is that of marriage on which Eder has most to say, perhaps because of the public and symbolic nature of the unions celebrated.⁹⁹ This was certainly the case in the marriage in 1580 of the son of the late Catholic

⁹⁹ There is however one marriage ceremony which Eder reports primarily on account of a startling incident that occurred at the wedding feast. In a letter dated 5 October 1581, Eder describes how that at a wedding celebrated at the castle of Richard Strein, a past member of Maximilian II's Hofkammer, the overburdened floor had collapsed, leaving at least three guests dead: '...Ich anjetzo erst erfarn... was sich auff herrn Reicharten Streins hochzeit am haimfueren in seinen schloss Freidegg zuegetragen, das ain neuer poden, darauff 7 rundtafeln gestanden, mit sambt allem volck, so dabey gesessen, auch dient und zuegesechen, gleich wie man das obst auffgesetzt ghabt, eingangen seie, dardurch auch vil leut an eugen, henden, fuessen, rippen und sonst ser beschediget und 3 personen todt bliben sein sollen, wie wol etliche von meren sagen'. Eder to Wilhelm V, Bibl, (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', p. 123. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII fol. 74-77r. Charitably, Eder refrains from writing what he must have thought: Strein was a Protestant, and the tragedy thus a reflection of God's anger.

Geheim Rat and Hofkriegsratspräsident Georg Teufel, and the daughter of Lutheran Freiherr Oswald von Eitzing. To Eder's outrage, though the Archduke Ernst denied his blessing, von Eitzing nonetheless insisted that the ceremony was conducted according to Lutheran rites. The marriage thus went ahead at the wish of the bridegroom and though it had to take place outside Vienna, such was its significance that 21 carriages and 100 horses carried the guests to see the union sanctified by a Lutheran preacher.¹⁰⁰

The nature of high-profile burials and baptisms were further subjects on which Eder lingered in some detail, again in part because they could be counted as 'news' but also because they revealed much of the confessional situation in Vienna. In a letter dated 20 December 1578, Eder described the funeral rites of the aforementioned Georg Teufel, in which the origins of his son's later willingness to acquiesce over a Lutheran wedding ceremony may be identified. According to Eder, Teufel was buried against his own wishes for a Catholic funeral, '...Weder catholisch noch

¹⁰⁰ 'Unsere widersacher aber werden gar not kleinmüetig...da tragt sich jetzt ain solliches exempl, das herrn Georg Teufels seligen süne ainer sich zue h. Oswalden freyherrn derzeit vicestatthalters bei der n.ö. regierung tochter, so lutherisch verheurat, und sein hochzeit auff ersten may alhie auehalten angestellt, will der prautvatter in die copulation nicht willigen, er lasse sich dann durch ainen lutherischen predicanten zusammengeben, derowegen der preutigam die f. Dt. Pro intercessione apud patrem angeruefft. I.f. Dt. aber haben über alle persuasiones nicht ausrichten, ja auch nit sovil erbiten kunden; will er das weib haben und nicht offentlich zue schanden werden, muss er offentlich wider sein religion und gewissen handeln....'. 'Und pro continuatione meines jüngsten schreibens hat es mit des Teufels hochzeit diese catastrophen gewonnen. Alls sich der von Eitzing der brautvatter nicht wollen bewegen lassen, sonder der f.Dt. in faciem gesagt, die copulatio solle durch ainen luterischen predicanten beschehen und kain anders, haben I.f.Dt. darauff allsbald den turnierplatz, so negst der burgg auffgericht gewest, allsbald widerumen abgeschafft und mit dieser hochzeit weyter nichts mer wollen zue thuen haben...Die copulation ist ain mail von der statt zue Vesendorff under dem hochgericht durch ainen lutherischen pfaffen, des von Hoffkirchen predicanten, beschehen, dahin bis in die 21 wägen und 100 pferen verraist, und also ist die copulation bey dem gericht, der turnier aber beym pranger verricht worden'. Eder reports on this telling episode at length over two reports: one dated 29 April 1580 and the other dated 13 May from the same year, Bibl (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', p. 109 and p. 112, respectively.

lutherisch, sonder novo modo on alle ceremoni, "sine crux, sine lux et sine omni Deus" ...'.¹⁰¹

Eder's concern for the younger generation also applied to members of the nobility. As well as the lack of confessional awareness on the part of the likes of Teufel's son, Eder saw infant baptism being used as a political and even dynastic weapon. In a report dated 13 May 1580, Eder described how the young Herr von Schönkirchen, a convert to Catholicism against the will of his Lutheran father, had himself become a father. The young man had wished his child to be baptised as a Catholic, but his father, Ludwig von Schönkirchen, himself took the child outside Vienna to be baptised as a Lutheran.¹⁰²

Such dramatic events were however less regular in occurrence and less regularly reported by Eder than the weekly 'Auslaufen' to exactly the sort of location as that at which the Schönkirchen baby had been baptised or the von Eitzing marriage had been solemnised. As Eder himself noted on several occasions, the Auslaufen involved the movement of literally thousands of people to Lutheran services

¹⁰¹ '...Der allt herr Georg Teufl...und ob er wol catholicisch providiert worden, auch catholicisch gestorben, und in testamento caviert, das man ine catholicisch begraben und bestatten sollte, darzue auch ainen catholicischen son gelassen, so haben sich doch die befreundten lang darüber gezankhet und ine angestern weder catholicisch noch lutherisch, sonder novo modo on alle ceremoni, 'sine crux, sine lux et sine omni Deus'', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrat*, pp. 245-255, pp. 247-248.

¹⁰² '...Hat sich mit ainem jungen herrn von Schönkirchen, so wider seines vattern willen catholicische worden, ain sollicher casus zuegetragen. Alls sein hausfrau 2 tag zuevor kindtsmueter worden, und er dasselb wollen catholicisch tauffen lassen, darzue auch die f. Dt und andere schon zue gefatteren erbeten ghabt, das sein vatter h. Ludwig von Schönkirchen der muetteren under der zeit, weyl der jung herr bey dem ringlrennen patricius sponsi gewest, von der prust nemen und gleichfalls zue Vesendorff under dem Wienerberg luterische tauffen lassen...', Bibl, (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', pp. 112-113, p. 112. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XI fol. 220-222r.

beyond Vienna's walls on a weekly basis. At one point, Eder appears to be excited that a ban on the regular Lutheran exodus might work: on 17 February 1579 he remarked with characteristically vague mathematics that not the sixth, seventh or eighth of people had left the city as had done so in previous weeks.¹⁰³ Two years later, however, he dolefully commented that the Auslaufen over the Wienerberg towards Inzersdorf showed no sign of ending.¹⁰⁴ By 1585, Eder had to concede that despite the many punishments that were being meted out on a daily basis, around 3000 people had still left the city on the Sunday previous.¹⁰⁵

In his descriptions of such a situation, Eder reveals to his Bavarian recipient the effect of the Lutheran tendencies of certain members of the nobility on the worship patterns of the entire population. By taking the terms of Maximilian II's Religions-Konzession of 1568 at its most literal, they had used their private castles as a base for the provision of a Lutheran ministry.¹⁰⁶ Eder suggests, however, that the agenda of certain members of the Lutheran nobility is more pro-active even than that. The Oswald von Eitzing named above as having insisted on a Lutheran marriage

¹⁰³ '... Welliches dennoch so vil gewirckht, das ain zeit hero nicht der 6. 7. oder 8. tayl sovil ausgeloffen alls vor...', Bibl. (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', pp. 72-73, p. 72. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XI fol. 71r-75v.

¹⁰⁴ '...Aber des auslauffens über den Wienerberg gen Intzerstorff ist noch kain ende...', Eder to Duke Wilhelm, 28 September 1581, *ibid.*, p. 122. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII fol. 68-71v.

¹⁰⁵ Eder to Duke Wilhelm, 19 March 1585, 'Und obwol I. f. Dt. bey der burgerschafft starckh darob halten und täglich vil personen eingezogen und gestrafft werden, so wil es doch bey dem gemainen handtwerchsgesindt nicht erleckhen, sonder lauffen wie lenger je mer mit grossen hauffen aus, also das man vermaint, es sein verschinen sontag reminiscere in die 3000 person daraussen zue Intzerstorff gewest', *ibid.*, pp. 144-146, p. 144. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII fol. 212-213v.

ceremony for his daughter, was also singled out by Eder along with two other members of the nobility for having their own preachers to whom crowds would flock every week.¹⁰⁷ Six years later, Eder reported how Herrn Albrecht von Püchheim zu Horn gave shelter to five preachers from foreign parts; that only a few months earlier he had complained of the presence in Vienna of Protestant preachers from Bohemia, Hungary and Moravia, makes the implication clear.¹⁰⁸

Eder presents such attacks on the authority and wishes of the Habsburg dynasty as the height of disloyalty: were it not for the Emperor, he wrote angrily just before the Landtag of 1580, these nobles would not have so much as a bowl of soup to eat.¹⁰⁹ Yet another feature of his reports is the level and extent of political protest with which the Habsburgs had to deal in Vienna, with the Lutheran nobility either

¹⁰⁶ See pages 51-52 on the exact terms of the Concession.

¹⁰⁷ The other two named by Eder in this context were Freiherr Johann Wilhelm von Roggendorf, Landmarschall of Lower Austria 1566-1592, and Niclas III Graf zu Salm, a relative of the von Salm family who had earlier acted as Eder's patrons: 'Unser stathalteramtsverwalter, der von Eytzing, herr landtmarschalch und graf Niclas v Salm und andere mer haben iere aigne praedicanten, darzue laufft ain ubermessige grosse menig...', Eder to Duke Albrecht, 21 January 1574, Schrauf, Der Reichshofrat, pp. 71-79, p. 76.

¹⁰⁸ '...Hat man berayt 5 predicanten von frembden orten hieher gebracht, die werden bey herrn Veyt Albrechten von Puechhaim zue Horn in ainem armen stetl auffgehalten...', Eder to Duke Wilhelm, 21 March 1580, Bibl (ed.), pp. 104-106, p. 104. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XI fol. 198-201r. '...Noch ist die statt vol der vertribenen predicanten, verclaiden sich auff hungerisch, behamisch und ziehen daher wie die metzger, das man sie nit kennen kan, man spiert sie aber bey dem, das so wenig teuffling zue der catholischen kirche gebracht werden...', Eder to Duke Wilhelm, 20 September 1579, p. 97. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XI fol. 159-162r.

¹⁰⁹ Eder to Duke Wilhelm, 21 March 1580, '...Die predigen und raichen das sacrament on allen scheuch in etlicher herrn heuser, so der k. Mt. aigne diener und on I. Mt dienst nicht wol ain suppen zue essen', Bibl, 'Die Berichte...', pp. 104-106, p. 105. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XI fol. 203-204v.

as participants or sponsors. This he portrays as constant, dramatic, and potentially explosive.

The most significant such protest, and the one which Eder takes great pains to describe in detail, is the so-called Sturmpetition of 19 July 1579.¹¹⁰ The period May-June 1578 had seen attempts on the part of the new Emperor, Rudolf II, to limit the impact of his father's Religions-Konzession.¹¹¹ As a result, the Lutheran church, book shop and school in Vienna were forcibly closed, Lutheran preachers expelled, and efforts made to halt the process of Auslaufen: indeed, it is of such an effort that Eder wrote so hopefully in the letter dated 17 February 1579, discussed above. Aside from their disregard for such laws as evidenced by their continued protection of Lutheran preachers and facilitating of Lutheran worship, the Lower Austrian nobles voiced their anger in political terms that drew in the physical support of the pro-Lutheran elements of the populace.

Eder's description of the largest such protest, the Sturmpetition, remains one of the most vivid passages in the entire body of his writing, published or unpublished, and his ducal recipient must easily have been able to imagine the alarming scene that met the young Archduke Ernst on 19 July 1579:

'Und alls I.Dt. an das fenster gangen, den pövel zue sehen, sein sye alle bey 6000 personen auff die knie nidergefallen und mit heller stim auffgeschrien,

¹¹⁰ See page 58.

¹¹¹ The terms were announced on 6 May, and made law on 21 June 1578.

inen das worth gottes und die selikait zue willigen, umb gottes willen, umb gottes willen, und also widerum abgezogen'.¹¹²

Nor was this the only such protest that Eder described in his Bavarian reports.

There had been similar occasions before the Sturmpetition, and similar occasions afterward, but more frightening still was the release of Lutheran frustrations into outbreaks or potential outbreaks of religious violence.¹¹³

As early as 1577, Eder reported a particularly offensive outrage against the Jesuit church in Vienna:

'Vor der Jesuiter-kirchen ist vor 10 tagen ain groß crutzifix abgerissen, ain arm davon an die kirchthür genaglet und daz pild Christi nagst der fleischbanckh in dem kot umbgezogen, an ain maur gelaindt und bey 3 stunden von den feinden des kreytz Christi jemerlich und erschrockhenlich verspottet worden'.¹¹⁴

In a much later report, he describes how the Lutheran traders in Vienna used even the conflict over the calendar reform as a means of bullying some Catholic nuns.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Eder to Duke Albrecht, 10 August 1579, pp. 90-93, p. 90. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. VII, fol. 156r-161r.

¹¹³ For example, in a report dated 27 April 1578, before the stricter laws were even announced, Eder describes the sort of intimidation faced by the ruling dynasty in Vienna: 'Entzwischen sich in und vor der kays. burg in die 200 personen gesamlet, die den losen leuten am herabghen ain gassen gemacht, und sich dermassen genaigt und gebogen, alls der Römische kayser durchgienge', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 160-161. Similarly, there was a protest in the name of the gospel reported by Eder in a report of 17 February 1579: '...Bey höchster straff niemands mer für die statt zue dem neuen gotsdienst auslaufen solle, des gleich wol ainen schreckhen, daneben auch ain bitterkait ursacht, faher sich etliche gerottet und ain supplication pro libertate religionis umbgetrageb, und diesselbe zuem underchreiben umbgetragen...', Bibl, 'Die Berichte...', pp. 72-73, p. 72. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XI, fol. 71r-75v.

¹¹⁴ Eder to Duke Albrecht, 30 November 1577, Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 125-128, pp. 126-127.

¹¹⁵ On the Gregorian calendar reform of 1582, see chapter two, page 59. In a report dated 26 January 1584, Eder wrote to Duke Wilhelm of how: 'Mit dem neuen calendar hat sichs ain zeit hero ubl ansehen lassen; die lutherischen kaufleut haben ir weihnachten erst nach dem neuen jar gehalten, die ganze nacht geschossen und in S. Lorenzkirchen auf die armen nunnen geschossen...',

Such was the atmosphere of fear and intimidation in the city, the Corpus Christi procession of May 1578 erupted into chaos in Vienna's so-called Milchkrieg.¹¹⁶ As the procession passed by the traders at the Kohlmarkt, en route to Stephansdom, some onlookers pressed forward to see the Emperor, who was participating in the city's celebration for the first time in fifteen years. As the milk-stalls began to topple over, in the subsequent confusion a rumour circulated rapidly that the Protestants were about to massacre the Catholics in an alternative, Viennese version of St Bartholomew's Day. Such was the pre-existing atmosphere in the city, the suggestion was apparently considered not beyond belief, and the entire procession descended into an unseemly, panic-ridden struggle in which the participants in the procession fled into the cathedral and safety. This too is an event which Eder portrays in great detail to the Bavarian Duke, lingering in particular on the subsequent confusion of the incident in which no-one knew who was friend or enemy.¹¹⁷

Bibl, 'Die Berichte...', pp. 135-136, p. 136. Eder had anticipated such confessional strife over the reform. On 6 October 1582, he had remarked dryly: 'Der neue calendar ist hie noch nit publiciert, das wirt ain grosse confusion geben', *ibid.*, pp. 129-130, p. 130. Full version in BHSStA, *Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich* Tom. XI, fol. 145-148r.

¹¹⁶ For a summary of this incident, see Louthan, *Quest for Compromise*, pp. 155-156.

¹¹⁷ Eder to Duke Albrecht, 30 May 1578: 'So hat sich doch gestern sub processione Corporis Christi...Dann alls wir mit unser procession von Kolmarckht herab auff den platz, am allten graben genant, komen, da erhebt sich wol vornen ain greiliches geschray von weiberen und ain solliches durchainanderlauffen, das sich jederman zuer wer gestellt, alda man etliche hundert plosser weren gesehen...es ghee alles uber und uber, also das niemandts gewist, wer freunt oder feindt. Da ist es an ain lauffen und fliehen gangen, das die leut hauffenways ob ainander gelegen, die geistlichen hin und wider gstossen und darunder etliche chormentl und anders verlorn worden, also das auch die trabanten und hartschier, sonderlich aber die, so von der burgerschafft in der rustung gestanden, gueten tails die flucht geben...Sonderlich sein die Lutherischen die verzagtisten gwest, in der statt durchainander geloffen, die heuser gespert und geflohen, da sie doch kain mensch gejagt', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 202-205.

This representation of Vienna as a place of simmering religious tensions is one which Eder also applies to the Viennese court. In his reports to the Bavarian Dukes, Catholics in the Habsburg court are mentioned either for the unusual strength of their devotion or for their rarity, both features that in themselves denote their increasing status as an endangered minority. For example, of the Imperial Rat, Helfreich Guet, Eder writes that he is alone as a Catholic amongst others 'one zal'.¹¹⁸ Likewise, Eder's description of Jakob Kurtz von Seftenau, a man who would later become *Verwalter des Reichsvizekanleramtes*, is striking on account of its inclusion of the terms pious, learned and Catholic all within the same sentence in the context of the Viennese court.¹¹⁹ The Catholic ally within the court of whom Eder writes most is, however, none other than the Empress María herself. She is described as 'ain vertrauiste mitlsperson', 'die frum heylyg kayserin', and a known source of Catholic patronage and protection in an otherwise hostile environment.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Eder to Duke Albrecht, end July 1578, 'Ir dt. haben in justitia und religionsachen noch den ainigen mann, den herrn Guet, der solle catholisch sein, aber der andern, so aufhalten, sein one zal', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 228-231, p. 230. In a later letter to Duke Wilhelm, dated 31 December 1584, Eder refers to the same man in glowing terms he otherwise rarely employs: 'So ist herr Guet...ain frumer, auffrechter und erferner mann', Bibl (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', pp. 140-142, p. 140. Full version in BHStA, *Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich* Tom. XI, fol. 189-191r.

¹¹⁹ Eder to Duke Wilhelm, 6 May 1584, '...Ain feiner, fromer, gelerter und catholischer man...', Bibl, (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', p. 136; F. Stieve (ed.), 'Briefe des Reichshofrathes Dr G. Eder...', pp. 446-449, p. 448.

¹²⁰ On the Empress María see chapter two, page 56. Eder to Albrecht, 4 May 1578, '...ain vertrauiste mitlsperson, alls die Röm. kay[serin] oder dergleichen', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 162-164, p. 163. Writing to Albrecht shortly after his condemnation by the Emperor, Eder reveals his suspicion that his arch-enemy, Johann Baptist Weber, prevented him from being warned in advance about his impending fall, lest he turn to the Empress or the Spanish ambassador for help: 11 December 1573, 'Er hatt auch etlichen räten zuem hochsten eingebunden, das man mich nit verwarnen solle, damit ich nit ursach, die frum heylyg kayserin oder die potschafften anzuelauffen', *ibid.*, pp. 57-63, p. 59. In another missive dated 27 April 1578, Eder again identifies the Empress as a potential source of aid: '...Die römische kayserin zue vermitteln, wiewol ich hoff, die sach solle ain anders mitl bekommen', *ibid.*, p. 158.

The impact of such a numerically small Catholic presence in the higher echelons of the court is one which Eder depicts as having serious consequences for the religious composition of the court as a whole. A particularly poignant description is that of 29 December 1577, in which Eder writes of his excitement and emotion over the fact that several Catholics have been elected to important posts, and that the subsequent Christmas saw an attendant rise in those publicly participating in Catholic communion rites:

‘Ir kay . mt. [hat] zue diesem eingeenden 78 jar ainen catholicischen burgermaister, ainen catholicischen richter und zwen catholische rattsmenner eingesetzt und dagegen zwen lutherische abgewexlet...wir so herlichen gotzdienst zue unseren weinachten inner 10 jaren nicht gehabt alls dissmaal, da ain merckliche anzahl in der procession herum und darauff offentlich zue opffer gangen, des so trostlich zue sehen gewest, das mir vor freyden hertz und augen ubergangen.’¹²¹

Eder’s tearful joy is, however, short-lived: in reports from 1578 and 1579, he again returns to his main theme of the distinctly non-Catholic ethos and make-up of the Habsburg court in Vienna.¹²²

¹²¹ Eder to Albrecht, *ibid.*, pp. 130-134, p. 132.

¹²² In a letter to Duke Albrecht dated 9 February 1578, Eder writes that although there are some Catholics at the court, there remain many more opponents: ‘Dann ainmal ist dem also, das wir nicht ainichen eyfrigen catholicischen mann am gantzen hof haben, der sich offentlich und mit ernst umb die allt catholicisch religion anneme, dagegen findt man auff der andern banckh hundert fur ainen, gott wolle sich uber uns erbarmen’, *ibid.*, pp. 144-146, p. 146. In another letter to Albrecht, dated 2 September 1579, Eder complains that all offices, high and low, have become dominated by non-Catholics; indeed, in the whole *Kriegsrat* there are no Catholics to be found: ‘...Nicht allain die höchsten ämbter, sonder auch zeugheuser, gricht und kerckher mit sectischen leuten besetzt sein, und im gantzen kriegsrath nit ain catholische person zue finden...’, *Bibl* (ed.), *Die Berichte...*, pp. 93-97, p. 95.

It is telling that another feature of Eder's representation of the Habsburg court in Vienna is an echo of one of the themes of his Evangelische Inquisition: the presence of those who call themselves Catholics but are in fact motivated solely by personal and political gain. Even the terms he uses to describe such figures are reminiscent of the vivid language of the controversial published work: '...ich solle mit Trautson oder Harrach daraus reden: das ist alles umbsonst; der aine ist frigidus, der ander tepidus und ain calixtiner...'.¹²³ Describing the son of Dr Johann Baptist Weber, Eder's terminology is similar: '...die weder kallt noch warm, und weder fisch noch fleisch sein'.¹²⁴ His bitter conclusion also echoes that of the Evangelische Inquisition: such 'Hoffchristen' do more damage to the church than the heretics themselves.¹²⁵

In such portraits of the confessional situation in the Vienna of the 1570s and 1580s, ulterior motives and personal vengeance on Eder's part are not hard to identify. The Lutheran nobles and their patronage of anti-Catholic preaching and protest acted as a serious frustration to Eder's cherished hopes for Catholic revival and reform. Eder's remarks on the confessional equivocation of certain members can also easily be linked to personal grudges on Eder's part, especially in the wake of the

¹²³ Eder to Bavarian Chancellor Christoph Eisenheimer, February 1578, in F. Stieve (ed.), 'Briefe des Reichshofrathes Dr G. Eder...', pp. 440-442, p. 441.

¹²⁴ Eder to Wilhelm, 8 January 1587, Bibl (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', p. 152.

¹²⁵ Eder to Wilhelm, 6 October 1582, '...Das unsere hoffchristen mer schaden thien alls die ketzer selbs...', *ibid.*, pp. 129-130, p. 130. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII, fol. 145-148r.

Evangelische Inquisition crisis.¹²⁶ There may also be a sense in which such a negative representation of what was happening on the Habsburgs' own doorstep was intended as an ego boost to his new Wittelsbach patrons, in which they could feel themselves superior to their Austrian rivals. It is worth remembering at this point, however, that this was the same environment in which Eder had thrived for many years, and a court from which pro-Catholic religious policies were still emanating, however feeble their impact on the ground. What is therefore most significant about the tone of Eder's reports of Vienna is the massive change in his world view that it represents.

Eder's Bavarian correspondence explicitly and implicitly reflects a complete volte-face on the part of one of the Habsburg dynasty's most faithful supporters with regards to the role of the secular authority in the defence of Catholicism. Up to 1573, Eder had worked within the constraints of Habsburg religious policy to achieve Catholic reform; they had been not only his employers, but the local and Imperial temporal rulers to whom he had been content to entrust the fate of the church. The events of 1573 had, however, forced the Austrian Habsburgs to show their true colours, not only to Eder but to the world: in a choice between defence of Catholicism and defence of their own authority, it was the latter that the Emperor

¹²⁶ As noted above and in chapter three, page 148, Eder regarded Reichsvizekanzler Weber the Elder as the main source of his woes. Thus Weber and his son feature regularly as examples of exactly the type of courtier who are infecting the court with their confessional tepidity. In a particularly cutting comment to Duke Wilhelm, dated 6 May 1584, Eder cannot help attacking Weber the Elder even after the man has died: 'Etliche 'Säulen' derselben sind gestorben: Wilhelm Freiherr von Hofkirchen, Hans Freiherr von Rueber, einer von Puchheim, Christoph von Althan und Dr. Weber. Der letzte ist in aller Stille abgeschieden, und fragt niemand mehr nach ihm, obwohl es früher den Anschein hatte, als könnte man ohne ihn nicht regieren', Bibl, 'Die Berichte...', p. 136.

chose to protect, even at the expense of the former. For Eder, his condemnation and the subsequent reaction to it across Europe opened his eyes to the necessity of and possibilities for a new political landscape, in which loyalty should be placed along the confessional boundaries rather than historical and geographical ones.

Eder's subsequent portrayal of the Habsburg Emperor himself thus reflects this disillusionment: his difficulty appears to be not with the office of the Emperor, or with the Habsburg dynasty per se, but the fact that the convergence of the two has spelled such catastrophe for Catholicism. The bulk of his reports to Munich were written when Rudolf II was Holy Roman Emperor and his younger brother Archduke Ernst was based in Vienna as Statthalter.¹²⁷ Eder's comments on Ernst are generally favourable: on at least three occasions he remarks that the Archduke tries his best, but receives no support.¹²⁸

It is thus the Emperor himself who is portrayed by Eder as being the ultimate source of all the confessional problems in Lower Austria.¹²⁹ Not only is his support of Ernst portrayed as inadequate, but his rule is denounced as one in which his

¹²⁷ See chapter two, pp. 58-59.

¹²⁸ In letters to Duke Wilhelm dated 26 January 1584, 23 January 1584, and 19 March 1585, Eder makes virtually the same comment: 'Der from furst, ertzherzog Ernst thäte gern das beste, aber die sachen bleiben zue hof hengen'; 'Ernst thäte gern das best, aber I. Dt haben kaine hülf'; 'Die f. Dt. alls ain frommer catholischer eyfriger herr, thete gern das beste, aber hilff ist klain...'. Bibl (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', p. 135, pp. 144-145, p. 145, respectively.

¹²⁹ Interestingly, one of Eder's reports may point to Rudolf II's increasingly noticeable mental instability. In a letter to Wilhelm of Bavaria dated 9 November 1582, Eder notes of the Emperor: 'Die k. Mt. sein wol auf, aber imerzue melancolisch, sein nur gern allain und essen immerzue in anticamera', *ibid.*, p. 130. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII, fol. 155-157v.

responsibilities as the apex of the temporal and spiritual hierarchy remain woefully unfulfilled. It is not just that the Emperor has passed religious concessions in effect favourable to Protestants, but his lack of resolve has led to the decimation of Catholic piety: ‘...Alle glauben und halten, wass sie wollen, also das im gantzen Österreich nit 3 stet mer zue finden, die ex integro catholisch wären, hengen sich alle an die benachbarte der zwaier stende, lassen die k. Mt. schaffen und thuen was sie wollen’.¹³⁰

Under such circumstances, Eder therefore had little choice but to take the step of turning to a rival temporal authority, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, for the enforcement of Catholic reform. In his own words, part flattery and part fact: ‘...wais ich auff der welt kainen catholischen fursten, den ich dissorts lieber zue ainem patron und schutzherrn haben wollte, als E.F.G...’.¹³¹ Eder’s enthusiastic compilation of such a vast body of reports for the Munich court provides evidence of this striking shift in allegiance; it also offers evidence of a telling change in tactic, in which Eder uses the vehicle of court correspondence as a means of impressing on his new patron the political and confessional virtue of his cause.

¹³⁰ Eder to Wilhelm, January 1580, *ibid.*, pp. 99-100, p. 100. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XI, fol. 12-17v. On the subject of the religious concession sanctioned by the Habsburg Emperor, Eder comments that ‘Diese concession kan durchaus kain catholische reformation leiden’, Eder to Albrecht, 2 September 1579, *ibid.*, pp. 93-97, p. 95. In the light of existing historiographical debate over the use of the term ‘Catholic reformation’, Eder’s employment of the term is in itself interesting.

¹³¹ Eder to Albrecht, 17 July 1577, Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 102-104, p. 103.

Chapter Five

**‘Das ist aber war, das mir der catholischen religion
wolstand mer alls mein aigne wolfart angelegen’¹**

A Career Revived, 1573-1587

This chapter acts as a partner to the one before, by examining how Eder’s altered political allegiance impacted on his active service to the Catholic church. Between 1573 and 1587 Georg Eder continued to reside in Vienna, from whence he composed his regular reports to his new patrons, the Dukes of Bavaria. Eder also used these reports as a vehicle through which to request specific support, financial and otherwise, for himself and the reignition of his career as a writer of Catholic pedagogical works. The Wittelsbachs happily obliged, and Eder’s service to the church in these final years was one with strong Bavarian backing. This is not to say, however, that the secular authority of the Dukes of Bavaria became the primary influence on Eder’s continued service to his faith. In the last 14 years of his life it was to his first spiritual patrons, the Jesuits, that Eder continued to look for support, and it was they who exercised the greatest influence on the nature and content of Eder’s service to the church right up to his death in 1587.

¹ Eder to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, 30 May 1579, Victor Bibl (ed.), ‘Die Berichte des Reichshofrates Dr Georg Eder an die Herzoge Albrecht und Wilhelm von Bayern über die Religionskrise in Niederösterreich (1579-1587)’, *Jb.f.Lk.v.NÖ*, Neue Folge 8 (1909), pp. 67-154, p. 80.

The examination of such themes in this chapter will be divided into two parts. The first, on 'The Bavarian Protégé', will examine the nature of Wittelsbach backing for Eder's renewed attempts to revive Catholicism, and will demonstrate that this was active support as opposed to the tacit support he had received from the Habsburgs. The sub-title of part two, 'As if I were a priest', comes from a statement made by Eder in 1574 concerning his plans for future service of the church.² As before, Eder served his church as a layman, turning down even a bishopric in order to do so. His loyalties and approach to God's work still lay overwhelmingly with the Society of Jesus. As such, this chapter acts as a fitting end to the thesis, reinforcing as it does themes already raised, including the nature of Eder's service to the church as a layman, and the role of secular authority in patronising such service.

i) The Bavarian Protégé

As early as the end of 1573, Eder was aware that his future service as a Catholic layman rested under the alternative patronage of the Dukes of Bavaria. It is true, as chapter four reveals, that Eder's correspondence to the Wittelsbachs may contain traces of deliberate flattery as a means of adhering them even closer to his cause. Eder's reports are, however, also full of direct requests for practical support, and these Eder received, apparently unstintingly, as soon as he asked.

² 'Das wil ich noch thuen, sovil und mer, alls wäre ich priester, davon mich meine kinder zuem höchsten abhalten', Eder to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, 28 August 1574, Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung. Als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich. vol 1. 1573-1578 (Vienna, 1904), pp. 86-89, p. 89.

At first sight, it is hard to discern exactly what sort of practical support Georg Eder needed from the Duke of Bavaria after his intervention in the Evangelische Inquisition episode. As has already been revealed, Eder remained safely and securely, not only in Vienna, but in the same posts at the very court from whence his condemnation had been issued. He remained in the Hofkammer until September 1586, a mere eight months before his death, while his career as Reichshofrat survived all the Emperor Maximilian II's threats and lasted a full decade after the publication of the Evangelische Inquisition, until September 1583.³

Eder also retained his standing within Vienna University: as well as acting twice more as the Dekan of the Law Faculty in the 1580s, he was elected as university rector for the summer semester of 1580, the winter semester of 1581-1582, the summer semester of 1582 and the summer semester of 1584.⁴ 1581 even saw the publication of another of the speeches Eder had made at so many doctoral promotions before, while his standing had apparently survived sufficiently for his daughter Regina to make an advantageous match in the same year with Geheime Rat Leonhard Dilherr.⁵ Judging from the content of the ceremony, also

³ HKA, Expedit. Regist. n.ö 145; 24 September 1583, HHStA, RHR Protocolla rerum resolutarium xvi 24, fol. 217 v.

⁴ Eder was Dekan of the Law Faculty for the Winter semesters of 1580/81 and 1582/83. On his university career see Kurt Mühlberger, 'Bildung und Wissenschaft. Kaiser Maximilian II. und die Universität Wien', in Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, 17, 1992), pp. 203-231, p. 224.

⁵ Quaerela Iustitiae. Lites nunc fieri omnio fere Immortales. In Coronatione Magnifici Nobilis & Clarissimi Viri, Domini Alexii Strauss, V.L. Doctoris Academiae Viennensis pro tempore Rectoris. Per D. Georg Ederum (Stephanus Creuzer, Vienna, 1581).

commemorated in published form, the event was a high-profile occasion in which the likes of the poet laureate Elias Corvinus participated.⁶

Nor did Eder's name disappear as an author of Catholic works. The terms of the Emperor's condemnation did not preclude the reprinting of writings by Eder that had already entered the public domain. Perhaps due to the quality of his work, but more likely a ploy by printers to cash-in on his new-found notoriety, Georg Eder's religious writings from the late 1560s and early 1570s experienced something of a revival in the years post-1573. Eder's first theological works and arguably his most successful, the Oeconomia Bibliorum and the Partitiones, had already each been reprinted twice in new editions, one from Cologne in 1571 and one from Venice in 1572; what must have been an already flooded market was, however, supplemented by yet another reprint in 1582 of each work, again from Cologne.⁷

⁶ Epithalamia. In nuptias nobilis et Praestantis viri D Leonardi Dilheri S.Rom.Caes. Mtis Aulae familiaris etc Sponsae ac Nobilis...Reginae filiae Magnifici...Doctoris Domini Georgii Ederi...Sponsae. a clariss. et honestiss. viris tum prosa tum metrica oratione...conscripta. Anno MDLXXXI. The 26 page document was published in Vienna in 1581.

⁷ Oeconomia Bibliorum Sive Partitionum Theologicarum Libri Quinque: Quibus Sacrae Scripturae Disposito, Seu Artificio Et Vis atque ratio, in tabulis velut ad viuum exprimitur, & ita ob oculos ponitur, ut non modo absolutissimam complectantur uniuerse Theologie summan atque Methodum, sed Commentarii etiam vice haberi queant. Opus Magno Studio Et Labore Congestum. Et Ad Solidam Divinarum literarum cognitionem, artemq caelestis philosophiae recte per discendam accommodatissimum: Quod non iniuria quis uel aurea Catenam, uel Clauem dicat totius doctrinae Christianae. Authore D. Georgio Edero I.C. Frising. Divorum Imp. Ferdinandi Augustissime memorie I. & nunc Caesaris Maximiliani II. Consiliario Aulico Imperiali. His Adiecit Etiam, Cum Propter Argumenti Similitudinem, Tum ut studiosus Lector, quis sacrae scripturae sit usus, vivum habeat exemplar. Partitiones Catechismi Catholici Tridentini eodem D. Georgio Edero authore (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582). Partitiones. Catechismi. Catholici. Eius Nimirum Qui Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, Pii V. Pont. Max. Iussu, ad parochos primum editus: Nunc Vero Facillioris Cognitionis Gratia in luculentam hanc Epitomen & commodas aliquot Tabulas, sic digestus atque distributus est, Ut Omni Hominum Et Aetati Et Conditioni magnopere usui esse possit: Per D. Georgium Ederum Frising S. Caesareae Maiestatis Consiliarum & C. Paulus Ad Tit III. Haec sunt bona & utilia hominibus. Stultas autem questiones, & genealogias, & contentiones, & pugnas legis

Other works by Eder were re-issued in slightly different forms. For example, the press of Ioanne Parant in Lyon issued a work bearing Eder's name with the title Methodus Catechisimi Catholici in 1579. On closer inspection, this is nothing more than an almost verbatim copy of Eder's work from 1569, the Catechismus Catholicus.⁸ The same printer reprinted another of Eder's works two years later: 1581 saw the publication of the second part of 1570's Compendium Catechismi Catholici, this time alone and under the title of Confessio Catholica S.S. Concilii Tridentini.⁹ Prague was the origin of a final reprint: 1585 saw the publication there of Symbolum der Evangelischen Predicanten, an eighteen page exposition in

deuita: Sunt enim inutiles & vanae & c. (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1568; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, new edition, 1571; Dominicus Nicolinus, Venice, new edition, 1572; Calenius and Quentel, Cologne, reprint of 1571 version, 1582).

⁸Methodus Catechisimi Catholici Antea docte ex Decreto. S. Concilii Tridentini S.D.N. Pii V. Pont. Max. Iussu scripti. Ad Parochos Nunc vero pio Ecclesiae iuuandae studio Hoc ordine ita accommodati, ut ne Dum Parochis utilis: at publice etiam Pueris in scholis proponi queat. D. Geor. Ederi. S.C.M. Consilarii cura ac labore (Joanne Parant, Lyon, 1579); Catechismus Catholicus Qui Antea Quidem Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, Pij V. Pontificis Maximi iussu, ad Parochos praecipue scriptus nunc vero pio Ecclesiae iuuande studio, in compendium redactus, ad captiuentutis Chriftianae sic partitus est & accommodatus, ut in scholis etiam pueris utiliter proponi queat. Cum Praefatione Ad Illustrissimum Principem & D.D. Ernestum Comitem Palatinum Rheni, ac utriusq. Bauariae Ducem &c. Ecclesiae Frisingensis Administratorem, pro Ecclesia Romana, aduersis eam calumnia, qua blaterant aliqui, in ea verum Catechisum hactenus aut non traditem, aut non recte propositum. Per D. Georg Eder Frisingensem. S. Caesar. Maiestat. Consiliarium (Gervinus Calenius and Johanne Quentel, Cologne, 1569). On the latter work, see chapter three, pp. 130-131.

⁹Confessio Catholica S.S. Concilii Tridentini Paulo III Iulio III Pio III & V Pont. Opt. Max De praecipuis Christianae Religionis Articulis, hoc potissimum seculo controuersis. D. Georg Edero I.C. Necnon. S. Caes. M. Consilario Collectore (Joanne Parant, Lyon, reprint, 1581). Interesting in terms of the Jesuit influence on Eder, is that the one surviving copy of this version is bound with several other works including the Imitatio Christi (MüSB Res Conc 235). As recent doctoral work by Max von Habsburg has demonstrated, this was a key devotional text not only beloved of Catholic Europe, but held in particular esteem within the Society of Jesus. Thomas a Kempis's Imitation of Christ: Devotional Literature in an Age of Confessional Polarity (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2001).

German of the main points of the Creed, and apparently lifted from a combination of Eder's earlier religious writings.¹⁰

There was, however, one reprint that did explicitly break the terms of the Imperial decree against Eder. Just one year after the issue of the condemnation, a new edition of Eder's Evangelische Inquisition appeared, like the first edition but missing the 'Mit Röm. Kay. May. freyheit, und Geistlicher Oberkeit bewilligung' that had caused such a furore. It remains impossible to tell by whom and where this illicit version was printed, but it does seem that Eder himself had no direct hand in the publication of the new edition. In a letter to Duke Albrecht dated 28 August 1574, Eder comments that the 'trierischer landthoffmaister', Philip von Reyffenberg, had informed him in a letter of 11 July that 1000 copies of the Evangelische Inquisition had been reprinted in German.¹¹ That Eder was, at this stage, still nervous about any such obvious flouting of the Imperial decree, may be seen from a subsequent comment. The Cologne printer, Maternus Cholinus, had expressed an interest in publication of a Latin version of the banned work; Eder remarks, however, that he is afraid to act on such interest lest he fall into even deeper disgrace.¹² Nonetheless, with or without Eder's say-so the Evangelische

¹⁰ Symbolum der Evangelischen Predicanten Darauss klärlich erscheinet, dass sie nit einen einigen Articul unsers heiligen, alleinseligmachenden, den sie nichte eintweders verspottet, oder verfalschet, oder gar verworssen hetten. Menigklich zur Warnung Auss Evangelischer Inquisition D Georgii Ederi. Cum Consensu Reuerendissi DD Martini Archiepiscopi Pragensis (Prague, 1585). Only one copy of this work survives, and that is in an extremely fragile condition: MüSB Polem. 835. There is no evidence to suggest that Eder had any personal input into the issue of this work.

¹¹ 'Philip von Reyffenberg...hat mir vom 11. Juli zuegeschriben, das mein jüngsts buech, die 'Inquisition', teutsch nachgetruckht und bey 1000 exemplarn verfertigt seien', Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath..., pp. 86-89, p. 89.

¹² *Ibid.*, '...Ich aber alles silentio furuber ghen lassen, damit ich nit mer unfalls auff mich lade'.

Inquisition was reprinted once more in his lifetime, in 1580 at the Ingolstadt press of David Sartorius.¹³

Such a mixture of rule-bending and rule-breaking was, however, not enough for Eder. As has already been demonstrated in this thesis, the writing of Catholic pedagogical works was a central aspect of Eder's ministry; in addition, he was deeply affected by the fact that he, a Catholic, had had his writing banned by a supposedly Catholic Emperor. Eder was frank about his concern over this aspect of the decree right from the start of his Bavarian correspondence. In one of his first letters to Duke Albrecht, dated 11 December 1573, Eder states that the prohibition on his future writing is the worst aspect of the Imperial condemnation: 'Das allerbschwerlichste aber ist, das mir das schreiben in religionsachen so gar precise auff ewig und so gar on alle limitation verwert und verboten sein solle'.¹⁴

As a result, Eder's reports from Vienna are also littered with references to his attempts to publish again as a Catholic writer, and it is to the Wittelsbachs that he looks for support. Some of this requested backing reflects the age-old problems faced by any writer trying to finish a lengthy work. In a letter dated 15 March 1577, Eder promises that his new work and the sequel to the Evangelische Inquisition, Das guldene Fließ, will be ready in a month.¹⁵ A few months later, Eder writes that

¹³ This version was also missing the reference to 'Mit Röm. Kay. May. freyheit, und Geistlicher Oberkeit bewilligung'.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 57-63, p. 62.

¹⁵ '...Da hab ich bey dieser schwermütigen zeit den anderen thail meiner ainfalt so weyt gebracht, das der in ainem monath noch mochte absolviert werden...', *ibid.*, pp. 96-97, p. 96. Das guldene Fließ Christlicher Gemain Und Gesellschaft, das ist, ain allgemaine richtige Form der ersten, uralten,

the extent of his responsibilities as Reichshofrat are preventing him from working on a desired third volume.¹⁶

The most serious difficulty is, however, one exclusive to Eder. His Bavarian correspondence in the months leading up to the eventual 1579 publication of Das goldene Fließ reveals his concern that the new work should somehow circumnavigate the terms of the 1573 decree that banned him from ever writing on religious matters again. It is thus to the Wittelsbachs he looks for assistance, by ensuring that the Bavarians themselves see and approve the work prior to publication. Such a tactic was not only a means of eliminating any error or confessional faux pas from the new work's pages, but also of ensuring the continued political support of the Wittelsbachs should the new Emperor Rudolf II decide to continue the enforcement of his father's ban on Eder's writing.¹⁷

Prophetischen und Apostolischen Kirchen gleich als ain Kurtze Historia Von der hailigen Statt Gottes, wie es umb dieselbe vor dieser Spaltung ain Gestalt gehabt, und wie sich das ieißig Religionwesen darmit vergleiche. Für den anderen Thail Euangelischer Inquisition, mit angehäffter Erinnerung, Was ain Zeit hero zu gütiger Hinlegung und Vergleichung gegenwärtiges Religionstreits für Weg und Mittel gesucht und gebraucht worden, Woran auch dieselben bis daher entstanden, Und welches entgegen die rechten Mittel senen. Durch H. Georgen Eder D. (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1579 and reprint, 1580).

¹⁶ Eder to Duke Albrecht, 14 September 1577, 'Wolte gern den dritten thail zuevor noch an tag bringen, daran ich dieserzeit durch das muesame referiern im reichshofrath verhinderet wirt', Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, pp. 114-115, p. 115.

¹⁷ In a letter to Albrecht dated 15 March 1577, Eder refers to this wish that the draft text be proof-read, and adds that he has enclosed a copy: '...Wirt es neben dem umschreiben ainer fleyssigen correctur bedurffen...verschickh derselben ich hiemit ain model...', *ibid.*, pp. 96-97, p. 96. It seems that such preventative measures were wise; on 29 December of the same year, Eder wrote to Duke Albrecht telling him that Hans von Trautson had told the Bishop of Neustadt that the language of Eder's new work was excessively 'sharp' in places, such as passages in which Lutheranism is described as having been founded by Satan. 'Unser alter herr Trautson ist selbs zue dem bischof von der Neustat komen und ine avisiert, darauff wol acht zue geben, wie er gethon, und etliche worth absonderlich ausgezogen, die zue scharff sien sollen, als da sein: "das Luthertum von teuff gestiffet", "die augspurgische Confession ain Babylonische confusion" und dergleichen...', *ibid.*, pp. 96-97, p. 96. On the Trautson dynasty and Eder's frustration with the confessional tepidity of the

The other difficulty faced by Eder in the 1570s and 1580s was not a direct result of the Imperial decree of 1573, but was nonetheless potentially damaging to his future service to the church. Like most Habsburg employees, the payment of Eder's wages was irregular to say the least. It has already been noted that Eder himself was not from a wealthy background, and that any property he had was, by 1577 at least, registered in the names of his children.¹⁸

Indeed, it was concern for his family's financial well-being that was one of the reasons Eder had given for rejecting the bishopric of Gurk in favour of a third marriage. In a letter to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria dated 28 August 1574 and in the middle of the Gurk negotiations, Eder informed his new patron that his five children were a central feature of his thoughts, and that as a result he was considering marriage to 'ain fast tugentreiche, erliche, wolbegabt frau', the widow of the recently-deceased Bürgermeister of Vienna, Georg Prantstetter.¹⁹ These wedding plans never came to fruition, but in the same letter Eder indicates that retention of his service at court would also help support his family.²⁰

Unfortunately for Eder, it seems that court wages were administered extremely erratically. In the four Hofstaatsverzeichnisse in which Eder's prescribed wages are

same, see chapter two pp. 70-71, and chapter three p. 202. How Trautson the Elder saw a draft of Eder's new work, or whether he actually had seen such a draft, is unclear.

¹⁸ On Eder's financial history, see chapter two, pp. 62-63 and chapter three, pp. 113-115.

¹⁹ 'Etliche haben auch meiner kinder halben, dern ich funffe, nicht geringe bedencken ghabt', Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 86-89, p. 87. Georg Prantstetter had died on 6 May 1574.

²⁰ '...Meinen dienst behalten und eben die wirtschaft haben solle, wie ich nothalben untzthero gehalten, das es mein und meiner kindlen endtliches verderben sein wurde...', *ibid.*, p. 88.

listed, the monthly rate designated for him remains static, at 50 Gulden.²¹ The amount prescribed was not, however, the amount he received. In the letter to Duke Albrecht cited above, dated 28 August 1574, Eder complained that he had received no payment of any type for five years.²² In a letter to Adam von Dietrichstein dated 12 January 1577, Eder raised the same issue: ‘...So tringt mich doch die noth zue clagen, das ich meiner von 6 jaren ausstendigen besoldigung noch kain richtikait...’.²³ A few months later, it was again to the Wittelsbachs that he turned. In a letter to Duke Albrecht, dated 24 May 1577, he wrote that he had received no salary for seven years and as a result one son was in the care of the Pope, and the other living under the provision of the Society of Jesus at Olmütz.²⁴

Judging from the apparent faultiness of Eder’s memory of when he was last paid- according to these reports it could have been in 1569, 1571, or 1570- he was as

²¹ 1563: HHStA, Hofarchiv: Hofstaatsverzeichniss O Me A /SR 183 (1563-1600) Nr. 45a fol. 1v. 1567: Fellner and Kretschmayr, Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung, p. 188 and ÖNB Bibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. 14458, fol. 5v. 1574: Hofstaatsverzeichniss O Me A /SR 183 (1563-1600) Nr. 50 fol. 6r. 1576: *ibid.*, Nr. 55, fol. 8r and Fellner and Kretschmayr, Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung, p. 193. By comparison, some of his colleagues were earning more, in theory at least. For example, the list of 1576 is the final one in which Eder is mentioned as Reichshofrat and in which some monetary recognition of his first 13 years of service might be expected. Yet only one member has a lower wage than Eder, while four others, the aforementioned Gail, Jung, Hegenmüller as well as Johann Tonner von Truppach are to receive substantially more. See Thomas Fellner and Heinrich Kretschmayr, Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung I Abteilung Von Maximilian I. bis zur vereinigung der Österreichischen und Böhmischn Hofkanzlei (1749) vol. 2 Aktenstücke 1491-1681 (Vienna, 1907), pp. 192-193. The higher wages of Hegenmüller, Jung and Tonner may reflect the fact that they frequently acted as Referenten. See Oswald von Gschließer, Der Reichshofrat (Vienna, 1942), pp. 119-122, pp. 112-113 and pp.130-131 respectively.

²² ‘...Ich in das funffte jar hero weder besoldung noch provision haben kunden, sonder meinen aigen pfening zeren muessen...’, Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, pp. 86-89, p. 88.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94, p. 95.

²⁴ ‘...Diene in das 7te jar one besoldung.....Die bápstl. Ht haben meinen elteren sun zue ir genomen; den jungen hab ich ghen Olmutz an die Patres Societatis verordent’, *ibid.*, pp. 98-100, p. 100. On these two sons, see chapter three, pp. 109-110.

inconsistent over financial details as his Habsburg employers. What is of greater significance, however, is who Eder turned to for both practical and political help, and the response he subsequently received. The Wittelsbach patronage of Eder continued well beyond 1573 and 1574; for the remainder of his life, the Bavarians used Eder as an instrument with which to humiliate the Habsburgs and ensure the survival of Catholicism.

The simplest of Eder's problems to remedy was that of his financial position. According to Leist's study of the Bavarian correspondence of the sixteenth century, the Wittelsbachs usually supplied some form of reimbursement for their agents' efforts.²⁵ This did not necessarily have to be monetary: in a report of 1567, Johann Hegenmüller requested 'Winterkleid für seinen Buben'.²⁶ Payment in cash was, however, also provided. In a report of 15 March 1570, the Prague-based Peter Obernburger wrote of his wish to thank the Duke for the 100 Cronen he had been sent.²⁷ The Dukes of Bavaria evidently came to Eder's rescue in the same way: income or not, he did not starve, and in a letter dated 31 December 1584 Eder specifically credited Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria as having saved him from terrible poverty.²⁸

²⁵ Freidrich Leist, Zur Geschichte der auswärtigen Vertretung Bayerns im XVI. Jahrhundert (Bamberg, 1889), pp. 10-11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁷ 'Nachdem E.f.Gn. mir allhie 100 Cronen verehren lassen, so will ich geziemenden Dank hiemit gethan haben', cited *ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁸ 'Hab ich 6 jar kainen heller dienstgelt empfangen und mag mir der herr glauben, da es on meinem gnedigisten herrn hertzog Wilhalmen, das ich mit schanden grosse armuet leiden müeste', Bibl, (ed.), 'Die Berichte...', pp. 140-142, p. 141. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII, fol. 189-191r.

Such a sentiment may well have been yet another of Eder's hyperboles designed to maximise his favour in Munich. Yet in openly supplying his practical needs, the Wittelsbachs were once again demonstrating themselves to be competent defenders of Catholicism in ways the Habsburgs were not. Their response to Eder's publishing quandary was, however, even more aggressive. As early as 19 December 1573, in the immediate aftermath of the issue of the Imperial decree of condemnation, Duke Albrecht of Bavaria pledged to help Eder over the term that banned his future writing on religious matters:

'Ebenmessig weren wir für unser person mit genaden wol genaigt, damit du bey irer mt. wider zu genaden gebracht und sonderlich das decret des verbots halben, in religionsachen nit mer zu schreiben, gemildert würde...'.²⁹

Aside from his financial backing of Eder's personal life while he worked on his new volumes, Duke Albrecht's action took two forms. One was that of direct intervention with the new Emperor, Rudolf II. Eder had already written to Rudolf himself at great length on 19 May 1578, in a letter that pointed out the continued abuse of the terms of the Religions-Konzession of 1568.³⁰ Albrecht's comments to Rudolf II were much more pointed. Writing from Gengen on 25 May 1578, the Wittelsbach Duke almost goads his Habsburg rival into permitting the publication

²⁹ Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrath*, pp. 68-69, p. 68.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-180, *passim*. It is interesting that Eder writes after the initial steps have been taken by Rudolf II to eradicate Lutheran worship in Vienna through the closure of the Lutheran church, bookshop and school: see chapter two, p. 58. It may be that Eder wanted to write as a means of strengthening the Emperor's resolve, or as a signal of his continued loyalty to the dynasty.

of Eder's new work.³¹ His language in places betrays a striking similarity to that employed on occasion by Eder himself: for example, in portraying Eder as a voice of Catholic orthodoxy, he contrasts him with the 'höllhund und reissende wölfe' of heresy.³² It is, however, the Emperor's responsibilities as temporal defender of Catholicism on which Albrecht lays greatest emphasis, the very responsibilities which his father appeared to have so dramatically forsaken in 1573. He presents Eder's work as needful for the defence of Catholicism, and the Emperor as the man whose duty it is to protect the passage of such a work:

'...Dr Eders so nutzliche und nothwendige arbeit, deren sy nur ain grosse her und gar kain spott oder gefahr haben, ze sperren, ja warumb wolte sy die, irem christlichen eifer nach, nit vil mer befürdern, schützen und schirmen?'³³

Rudolf II did not, it seems, interfere in the publication of Eder's Das guldene Fließ in the following year. Why he ignored the terms of his father's legislation is not known: Rudolf may merely have wanted to emphasise his own identity as Emperor; he may have accepted the advice of an older ruler who was, after all, also his uncle; or, as his efforts at otherwise stemming the Lutheran tide through legislation suggest, he was simply less open to confessional compromise than his father.³⁴

There may also have been a sense in which Rudolf II had begun to recognise, albeit

³¹ Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, pp. 182-202.

³² '...Also der christlichen kirchen schutz und ruehe dardurch zu schaffen, und die einfallende irthumben, trennungen und verfueringen, nit anderst als rechte höllhund und reissende wölfe...', Ibid., p. 184. On the use of 'wolf' imagery in Eder's writing, see chapter four, pp. 191-192, note 98.

³³ Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, p. 201.

³⁴ In this context it is worth remembering that Rudolf and his younger brother Ernst had spent their formative years at the ultra-Catholic court of their uncle Philip II in Spain, at the wishes of their Spanish mother and against the wishes of their father.

dimly, that it was Catholicism that gave the Habsburg dynasty the very authority which it was struggling to maintain in the Austrian lands.³⁵

Whatever the case, what is more significant is that the resulting work had the patronage of Bavaria stamped all over it, literally and figuratively. Dedicated to Duke Albrecht himself, Das guldene Fließ was published within the Bavarian sphere of influence at the press of David Sartorius in Ingolstadt.³⁶ As such, the publication of Das guldene Fließ and Eder's long-awaited return to the world of Catholic writing was a further outward sign of the Wittelsbach patronage of Eder and, by implication, their zeal for Catholicism. There still survives what appears to have been the very copy of the work presented to Duke Albrecht by Eder himself, but it is worth remembering at this stage that there was more to Eder's return to Catholic writing than political game-playing.³⁷ The Wittelsbachs may have used Eder to make a political statement, but he too had used them, the secular power, as a means of furthering his own ministry.

Just as Bavaria became a source of practical and political patronage for Georg Eder in the years after 1573, so too it increasingly became a place from whence spiritual

³⁵ This was, however, a position which neither political circumstance nor Rudolf II's increasingly unstable mind permitted him to put into consistent practice. On Rudolf II's reign, see R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1612 (Oxford University Press, 1973).

³⁶ Das guldene Fließ, 'Dem Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Albrechten, Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Obern unnd Nidern Bayrn...Meinem Gnädigen Fürsten unnd Herrn', fol.)(ii r.

³⁷ The copy in question is physically impressive, not only ornately-bound but with gilt edges to the pages. Furthermore, it bears the provenance 'Ex Electorali Bibliotheca Sereniss. Utriusque Bavariae Ducum', MüSB Res/4 Polem 1001. Duke Albrecht had founded this library in 1558.

direction emanated. The Duchy was, as the sixteenth century wore on, an increasingly potent stronghold of the Jesuits and their supporters. It was none other than Canisius himself, Eder's friend since adolescence, who had in 1555 personally agreed with Duke Albrecht the terms for the establishment one year later of a Jesuit college in Ingolstadt. The university itself soon became dominated by members of the Society of Jesus and their influential adherents. It has already been noted that Eder's other faithful associate, Martin Eisengrein, not only rose to prominence within the Wittelsbach administrative hierarchy, but also held high office at Ingolstadt University.³⁸ Though never a Jesuit himself, his attitudes and values rendered him almost indistinguishable from those who were.

Another Ingolstadt figure also easily mistaken for a Jesuit was Albrecht Hunger.³⁹ Hunger had studied for three years in Rome at the Collegium Germanicum, and became a Doctor of Theology in 1571 after he had been teaching at Ingolstadt University for four years. His domination of high office at the university was such that he was elected to the office of university rector no less than seven times between 1568 and 1595, but it was for the strength of his zeal for Catholic reform that he was particularly valued by the Wittelsbachs. When Eisengrein died prematurely in 1578, it was Hunger who effectively became his successor, with

³⁸ See chapter four, p. 179, and Franz Xaver Freninger, Das Matrikelbuch der Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München (Munich, 1872).

³⁹ On Hunger (1545-1604), see Laetitia Boehm, Winfried Müller, Wolfgang J. Smolka, and Helmut Zedelmaier (eds.), Biographisches Lexikon der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München Bd. I Ingolstadt-Landshut 1472-1826 (Berlin, 1998), p. 196. Hunger was rector in 1568, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1586, 1590 and 1595.

roles in the Wittelsbach Geistliche Rat as a member of the Visitations Commission and as General Inspector for a planned Bavarian seminary.

Eder's attraction to Bavaria did not just lie, therefore, in the potential for Wittelsbach patronage, attractive a prospect though that was. Ingolstadt in particular was a geographically close, politically powerful, and spiritually vigorous source of support for Eder's beleaguered piety, and the final 14 years of his life were ones in which the Catholicism of the Society of Jesus continued to act as Georg Eder's ultimate guide.

This guidance was, however, one that could easily work in tandem with Wittelsbach patronage. When Eder sent his work to Duke Albrecht for approval, both he and the Duke knew that it would be primarily the Jesuits at Ingolstadt who would peruse the contents. In two of his letters on the subject of the intended publication of Das guldene Fließ, Eder is quite specific about his wish to have the text examined not only by Jesuits, but Jesuits competent in the German language. As a result, in the letter of 12 June 1577, Eder tells Duke Albrecht that he has already sent a copy to the Jesuits in Vienna, but because they only have one German theologian in their ranks, he also wants to send a copy to Munich for forwarding to Ingolstadt.⁴⁰ Several months later, Eder even informs Albrecht that in

⁴⁰ 'Mit meiner arbeit bin ich allerdings fertig, habs ad Patres Societatis Jesu geben; weyl sie aber nur ainen teutschen theologum, trag ich fürsorg, sie werden mich etwas auffhalten, wäre schier bedacht, ich wolts wider zue mir nemen und E.f.g. schickhen, damit es hernach zue Ingolstadt ubersehen würde...', Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath, pp. 100-102, p. 102.

addition to having Eisengrein read the draft text, he also wants Canisius to do the same.⁴¹

Such a concern on Eder's part does not only reflect his wish for theological precision and the avoidance of any potential future recriminations on his initial return to writing on matters of religion. The forwarding of such drafts to others is something that Eder did on at least one other occasion, as the final image in Appendix II indicates. In this example taken from Eder's Bavarian correspondence, the title page of what would later be his 1580 publication, Malleus Haereticorum, has been enclosed with a report to Duke Albrecht.⁴² Perhaps more significant still, however, is the fact that within the Society of Jesus, it was compulsory for every Jesuit to place his writing before censors approved by the order's General or the local superior. A Jesuit Eder may not have been, but the way in which he deliberately courted the feedback of their theologians at Ingolstadt and beyond does suggest that he willingly operated according to their standards.⁴³

41 'Das E.F.G. de herrn Eysengrein abschrift meines buechs zuerkomen lassen, das ist mir nicht allain nicht widerig, sonder ich hab mich dessen zue erfreyen und wolt, das es der herr Canisius auch sehen solle', 12 October 1577, *ibid.*, pp. 122-123, p. 123.

42 Malleus Haereticorum, De Variis Falsorum Dogmatum Notis Atque Censuris Libri Duo. In quibus uniuersa penè hereses & cognoscendi & fugiendi ratio continetur Sive Methodus Contra Sectas Ad Arguendos Et Convincendos haereticos, hoc tempore omninò necessarai. Ex paucorum quidem, sed probatissimorum Patrum praefcriptionibus in unum velut Corpus congefta (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1580). Eder to Duke Albrecht, 20 December 1578, BHStA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv: Status Ecclesiasticus-Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich, 4241 fol. 63r. It is worth noting that the text clearly changed between draft form and publication, as even the original title 'Furores Haereticorum' became 'Malleus Haereticorum'. Whether the change was made for theological, political or cosmetic reasons is not clear.

43 It is telling that this was also a two-way trade. When the Vienna-based Jesuit, Georg Scherer, began work in 1583 on his Gründlicher Bericht ob es wahr sei, dass auf eine Zeit ein Pabst zu Rom schwanger gewesen und ein Kind geböhren habe (Nassinger, Vienna, 1584), Georg Eder was one of those to whom he sent an early draft. Such an exchange may be nothing more than a reflection of the two men's friendship, to be discussed below, but may well point to the high regard in which the

The continued influence of the Jesuits on Eder's work may also be seen in the content of his religious writing in the post-1573 period. Of the four works written by Eder after the Evangelische Inquisition, only one falls outside the category of being specifically pedagogical in purpose, and will be discussed below. The others all bear remarkable similarities to each other and to those works of Eder's published between 1568 and 1570.⁴⁴ As before, Eder had substantial works published in consecutive years: Das guldene Fließ in 1579, Malleus Haereticorum in 1580, and Mataeologia Haereticorum in 1581.⁴⁵ Every one was published at the press of Sartorius in Ingolstadt; every one bore the theological approval either of members of the Society of Jesus or the University of Ingolstadt; and every one was designed to inform and educate the reader in the ways of Catholic orthodoxy.

Das guldene Fließ has already been named as the potentially controversial work that announced Eder's return to writing on religious affairs. Aside from the political significance of its publication, the work itself is nothing more than a continuation

Jesuits held Eder, regardless of his lay status. On this exchange, see Theodor Wiedemann, 'Die kirchliche Bücher-Censur in der Erzdiöcese Wien. Nach den Acten des Fürsterzbischöflichen Consistorial-Archives in Wien', Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte 1 (1873) pp. 215-520, p. 279.

⁴⁴ See chapter three, pp. 129-132.

⁴⁵ Mataeologia Haereticorum Sive Summa Haereticarum Fabularum. In Qua Brevi Quodam veluti Compendio continentur nongentifere vanissimi errores. de ducentis propè religionis Catholicae capitibus. Quibus homines quidam reprobi, purum Dei verbum plerunq̄ corrumpere. Ecclesiae verò unitatem proscindere, ac fidei Chriftiane integritatem violare ausi sunt. Unde apparet etiam illa admodum horrenda. Babylonia Sive Confusio Haeresum quae à Christo nato in huncusq; diem exortae: nunc verò in Locos communes, per quasdam veluti Classes sic digestae, ac distributae sunt, ut primo statim intuitu constet, quae, a quibus, & quo tempore, de quouis Articulo controuerso, uel assertae fuerint, uel damnate. Per D. Georgium Ederum (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1581).

of the Evangelische Inquisition, this time Eder having apparently avoided passages of obvious offence to Protestants or Habsburg authority. Unlike its predecessor, which sought to set out the flaws in the evangelical position, Das guldene Fließ acted as a complementary volume that aimed rather to set out the truth of Catholicism. Bearing the official approval of the Vienna-based Jesuit and Doctor of Theology, Peter Busaeus, and Albert Hunger of Ingolstadt University, the format was also as user-friendly as that of the Evangelische Inquisition.⁴⁶ With points explained in question- and-answer style, the book as a whole was divided into four sections, including one offering a short history of the Catholic church and another providing a summary of Christian belief in eleven chapters.⁴⁷ That the work was intended primarily for a non-clerical or at least less-educated audience is suggested by its composition in the vernacular as well as its format, though lengthy Latin quotations in the margins suggest that Das guldene Fließ may also have been of some value to the more advanced reader.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ 'Petrus Busaeus S. Theologiae Doctor & Senior Facultatis...Et Ego Albertus Hungerus, S. Theologiae Doctor, & in alma Academia Ingolstadiana Professor ac Procancellarius...', Das guldene Fließ, fol. A1r-v.

⁴⁷ It is in this context that the meaning of the book's title becomes clear: 'Das guldene Fließ' refers to the passage of Christian truth: 'Welches, Inhalt der Allgemainen Bekandtnuß unsers H. Christlichen Glaubens, die wahre Kirch Gottes, und das recht guldene Fließ seye, darbey man sie aigentlich erkennen möge', *ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴⁸ It is also worth noting that it was the production of Das guldene Fließ that apparently provoked the only known published refutation of Eder and his arguments. 1581 saw the publication of the anonymously written and published Lehr, Glaubens, and Lebens Jesa und der Jesuwider, das ist, Christi un Antichristi. Gegensatz, Antithesis und Vergleichung. Sonderlich wider die Evangelische Inquisitio und das Gulden Fluss...G.Eders...und die Jesuitisch Cölnisch Censur, etc... Its author was one Georg Nigrinus, a Lutheran minister based in Echzell, whose work was framed as a direct response to Eder's Evangelische Inquisition and Das guldene Fließ, fol. B8 v. A blow-by-blow contradiction of every major point raised by Eder in these works, Nigrinus also took the opportunity to deliver some personal insults to his Catholic foe. His comments range from the sarcastic ('Ach, lieber Gott, was soll man sagen, der gut alt Pater Noster, D Eder... wölle der Römischen Kirchen ein starcker Schutz unnd Notheiffer werden, mit diesem seinem Compschendum, ey Compendium

Eder's two other works from this period almost certainly had a different readership in mind, as they were both written entirely in Eder's more usual publishing language of Latin. The first, 1580's Malleus Haereticorum, had the same orthodox credentials as that of the year before. Approved on this occasion by Gregorius de Valentia, another Ingolstadt Jesuit, and dedicated to none other than Pope Gregory XIII, the Malleus was a 510-page thematically arranged summary of every type of heresy that had ever attacked the true faith, with the Catholic response to such heresies also supplied.⁴⁹ The 296-page Mataeologia Haereticorum of the following year was similar in content but different in arrangement: this time, the 'heresies' were listed in alphabetical order for ease of reference in the educational establishments for which they were intended.⁵⁰ Numerous footnotes were again employed to provide the more scholarly reader with further material, and it is noteworthy that Eder always fully references the Catholic response to each heresy,

solte ich sagen...', fol. C iii v) to the more direct: 'Grosse Thorheit unnd Blindheit D Eders', fol. K vii v. It is telling that one of the counts on which he attacks Eder is for his dabbling in theological matters at all: 'Es hette ihm ja besser angestanden, er were bey seiner Profession blieben, so hette er nicht so mit ungewaschen Henden die Theologiam...', fol. C iii r. A second work by Nigrinus, published the year later and in a new edition in 1589, also mocked Eder's writing even its title: Papistische Inquisition und gulde Fliis der Römischen Kirchen. Das ist Historia und Ankunfft der Römischen Kirchen, und sonderlich vom Antichristischen wesen, ...nach anweisung der geheymen...zahl inn der Offenbarung Johannis, ...sonderlich wider Doctor G. Eders Evangelische Inquisition und gulden Flüss zugericht. etc. (anonymous, 1582). None of Nigrinus' works, however, appear to have been printed more than once, unlike those by the man whom he set out to challenge.

⁴⁹ 'Gregorius de Valentia Societatis Jesu in Academia Ingolstadiana Theologie Professor & eiusdem facultatis pro tempore Decanus', Malleus Haereticorum, back page. Dedication to Gregory XIII, *ibid.*, fol. 2*r ff. The second edition, published in 1581, was slightly extended and came to 543 pages.

⁵⁰ There survive two copies of the Mataeologia Haereticorum at the Munich Staatsbibliothek that were certainly used in Jesuit educational institutions. Signature 'Polem. 833' bears the provenance 'Collegii Societatis Jesu Monachii 1581' in the handwriting on the title page, while 'Polem. 834' is inscribed with 'Collegii Societatis Jesu Monachii ex hareditue D Adam Schiemot'.

but not the source of the heresy itself, no doubt for fear of aiding the propagators of false teaching. Once again, this work had attained approval before its publication, and once again, this had been issued by Albert Hunger of Ingolstadt University.⁵¹

It is, however, important to recognise that by the final fourteen years of his life, Eder's view of the role of the secular authority had somewhat changed. This was not a subject that Eder had ever broached directly in his writing, though his unblinking service to the Habsburgs in the years before 1573 suggests that up to then he had not only accepted the need for temporal defenders of the faith, but was resigned to the fact that those defenders might be deeply flawed and ineffective.⁵²

In the years after 1573, a different stance is discernible both in Eder's writing and his behaviour. Grateful as he was for Bavarian secular patronage, and aware as he was of their superiority as defenders of Catholic orthodoxy, the older Eder was a more circumspect man. Though willing to use temporal defenders to advance Catholic reform, for the first time Eder showed himself willing to, on occasion, challenge those secular patrons, and preferred to rely wholly on the support and guidance of the Society of Jesus.

⁵¹ Ibid., fol. T4v.

⁵² He had, however, hinted towards such a stance in *Das guldene Fließ* by drawing a distinction between 'äußerlichen Frieden' and 'innerlichen Frieden'. The former Eder uses to refer to external, political peace, desirable but also an inroad for heresy. The 'innerlichen Frieden' Eder describes as that concerning the soul, and thus of greater importance, p. 296ff.

The evidence of this change in Eder's mind may be seen in the only published writing of Eder's not yet discussed: the Christliche Gutherzige und Notwendige Warnungsschrift of 1580. A much shorter work than the others at only 34 pages in length, it has a short-term, and local, political aim rather than a long-term pedagogical one.⁵³ Rhetorically addressed to the members of the fourth estate of Upper and Lower Austria, the work attempts to demonstrate their fate if the current situation is allowed to continue. After creating a recent history of heretical teaching in the region, Eder chillingly foretells the future as one of 'Ungehorsam, Aufrühr, Krieg, Mord, Brant, Blütuergiessen und ewiges Verderben...'.⁵⁴ It is at this point that he introduces the mantra: 'Man müsse Gott in Religion unnd Glaubenssachen mehr gehorsam seyn, als den Menschen', suggesting that should the authority of the secular powers ever conflict with the law of God, then it is always the latter that should be obeyed.⁵⁵

⁵³ Ein Christliche Gutherzige und Notwendige Warnungsschrift An Den Vierten Stand der löblichen Statt und Märckt, ainer Ersamen Landschafft in Oesterreich under und ob der Enns: Daß man Gott in Religion und Glaubenssachen mehr gehorsamen solle, als den Menschen Und Was Innhalt diß Spruchs von dem Gehorsam der Augspurgerischen Confession zuhalten sene. Durch H. Georgen Eder D (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1580).

⁵⁴ Eder offers a list of men who have polluted the local religious purity of the area with their false teaching, including Michael Stifel '...Ersten falschen Aposteln des newen Evangelii in Oesterreich', and Martin Moßeder, 'welcher Anno 61. sein Bekandtnuß öffentlich an Tag geben', *ibid.*, fol. A iii r-v. *Ibid.*, fol. Bi r.

⁵⁵ Eder goes on to elaborate by commenting that the Christian church does have two heads, but that the spiritual authorities alone have power over church affairs: 'Derowegen auch zwey Häupter in der Christlichen Gemain gesetzt unnd verordnet hat, das ist, Gaistliche und Weltliche Obrigkaiten, welche gleichwol bede an statt Gottes seyn, doch mit der unterschied, daß die Gaistliche Obrigkait allain macht haben solle, die Kirch zuregieren, un[d] die Weltliche Obrigkait ir Aufsehen zuhaben, daß solches Regiment vor Tyrannen unnd Ketzern geschützt und in gutem friden erhalten werde', *ibid.*, fol. Bi v.

For Eder, such a view was not only to be prescribed for others; it was one to be practised in his own life. That Eder demonstrates such a belief in his dealings with the Habsburgs after 1573 is not altogether surprising in view of their treatment of him, though in view of his history of service it does mark a striking departure. For example, in the closing months of 1584 he rejected an offer to head the Imperial Klosterrat. His official reason was that he was too old; in private, he told Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria that he found its operation disorderly.⁵⁶

More striking still, however, is Eder's willingness to say no to his new Wittelsbach patrons when, on occasion, they too seemed to be acting against God's laws and the best interest of the church. 1580 saw a considerable clash between the Papacy and Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria.⁵⁷ The trouble had started in the reign of Albrecht, when the foundation of such bodies as the Bavarian Geistliche Rat of 1568 was regarded by Rome as an excessively invasive secular intrusion into ecclesiastical matters. Despite Wilhelm's assurances to Gregory XIII on his accession to the Dukedom in 1579 that he would not interfere in any ecclesiastical matters that did not pertain to him, the Duke and the Pope clearly retained different conceptions of what Wilhelm's jurisdictional boundaries actually were. When the Papal representative

⁵⁶ On Eder and his rejection of the Klosterrat presidency, see Johann Sattler, 'Der niederösterreich Klosterrat', (unpublished dissertation, University of Vienna, 1949), p. 123. Eder to Wilhelm, 31 December 1584, 'Es get so unordenlich mit diesem closterrath zue, das nicht davon zue sagen', Bibl (ed.). 'Die Berichte...', pp. 140-142, p. 141. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII, fol. 189-191r.

⁵⁷ It is worth reflecting that when a similar legal confrontation occurred between Ferdinand I and Paul IV in 1558, Eder had been quick to take the Emperor's side of the dispute. Indeed, it was Eder's action at this point that contributed to his rise at the Habsburg court: see chapter two, pp. 75-77.

in Munich, Ninguardia, was soon compelled to report to Rome that the old interferences were still continuing, it was to Eder that Wilhelm turned for advice.

Such a request was one loaded with significance for the relationship between Eder and the patrons who had done so much to help him in the past, and who could still do so much for him in the future. Despite his formal role as Reichshofrat, Wilhelm could reasonably have expected Eder to fight his corner no matter what the legal technicalities decreed the outcome should be. Eder, however, did no such thing, but rather took the side of Rome; in a declaration dated 26 October 1580, he concluded that custom could never justify an abuse of power, and as such advised Duke Wilhelm to return to the Pope to negotiate their differences. Tail between legs, Wilhelm reluctantly did so, and in the spring of 1581 sent his own court preacher, Martin Dum, to the Pope to ask for absolution for what had been done in the past, as well as for the Papal confirmation of the claims now put forward for the future.⁵⁸

Nor was this the first time Eder had acted against the wishes of the Wittelsbachs. When Eder turned down the offer of the bishopric of Gurk in 1574, he was acting expressly against the hopes of his new-found protector, Duke Albrecht, who had written to Eder personally with the specific instruction that he wished Eder to accept the post.⁵⁹ That Albrecht attempted to convince Eder to do so by suggesting

⁵⁸ On this episode see Ludwig von Pastor, (ed. Ralph Francis Kerr), The History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages, vol. 20 (London, 1930), p. 159ff, and C.M. Freiherr von Aretin, Geschichte des bayerischen Herzogs und Kurfürsten Maximilian des Ersten vol. I (Passau, 1842), pp. 292-296. The text of Eder's judgement still exists, though not written in his hand and wholly illegible: BHStA, Jesuitica (Signature 960), fol. 1-4.

⁵⁹ Albrecht V to Eder, Innsbruck, 20 February 1574, Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. 82-83.

that he would be better able to serve the church away from temporal distractions offers, however, a key to what the Duke himself plainly recognised as Eder's priority: the revival of Catholicism.⁶⁰

ii) 'As if I were a priest...'

It is with this point that it is most fitting to conclude this examination of Eder's life, for the last fourteen years of his life was a period in which it was service to the church that was his utmost priority, even at the possible expense of secular patronage.⁶¹ To return to the matter of Eder's rejection of the Gurk bishopric, for example, it seems that through the welter of changing, sometimes contradictory excuses Eder made for his declining of the post, his main fear was that as bishop he would be unable to serve the church as effectively as he could do in his existing state.

Eder's citing of his fears for his children's financial well-being have already been noted as one reason he gave for rejecting the see, even though the Pope and the Olmütz Jesuits had already demonstrated themselves willing to pay for the

⁶⁰ '... Von Gott dem almechtigen in sonderhait beruffen und vocirt, und dweil du ainmal die hand an den pflug gelegt und in dem weingarten des Herrn zu arbeiten angefangen, das du darin vortfaest, das talentum, so dir der Almechtig verliehen, zu erbauung und wolfart seiner catholischen kirchen mit schreiben und sonst anwendest, welches dan in gaistlichem stand mit merer rhu und fuglicher geschehen khan, als in der ehe, da doch die weltlichen gescheft und haussorgen nitwenig verhindern und von disem guet werch abhalten mochten', *ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

⁶¹ That both Wittelsbach Dukes maintained their patronage of Eder, despite his rejection of the Gurk bishopric in 1574 and his pro-Papal stance in 1580, may suggest the genuine respect in which Eder was held in Munich. Or, it could simply be that their patronage of him was such an embarrassment to the Habsburgs that they were willing to endure some insubordination to keep him on side.

education and welfare of two of his sons.⁶² Another reason given by Eder for turning down the offer is his concern that the dispensation necessary for a twice-married layman to become a bishop will be the cause of public scandal.⁶³ In the same letter to Duke Albrecht, dated 28 August 1574, Eder adds that the Archbishop of Salzburg and Archduke Karl of Styria have both warned him that the Emperor Maximilian did not want to see him in the bishopric.⁶⁴ It might be commented that neither the displeasure of Maximilian II nor the international scandal of the Evangelische Inquisition publication had prevented Eder from functioning to such an extent that he was able to negotiate the retrieval of most copies of the book as well as the survival of his own career.⁶⁵

It is, however, far more consistent with what else is known of Eder's life and character to accept at face value what else Eder has to say about his decision to

⁶² See above, p. 214.

⁶³ Eder to Albrecht, 28 August 1574, 'Dan erstlich haben sich an der dispensation super bigamia de gelehrten unsers tails fast alle daran zuem höchsten gestossen und vermaint, man mochte dardurch usach as publicum scandalum geben', Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrat, pp. 86-89, p. 87.

⁶⁴ 'Mitletweyl solie mein gnedigster herr von Saltzburg so wol von Grätz alls hie aus verwarnet sein, das die kays.mt. mich bey diesem bistum nicht gern sehen wurden...', *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶⁵ It could be added that high ecclesiastical posts had been offered to laymen before, and rejected, with no obvious recriminations or career implications. Hans Khevenhüller, the Imperial ambassador in Madrid between 1563 and 1603, was at one point asked by none other than Philip II of Spain to stand for nomination as Cardinal. According to Howard Louthan, 'Khevenhüller refused and remained in Spain as Rudolf's representative. He was the Emperor's primary source of foreign news, and through his office the Austrian diplomat sustained a conservative pressure on Imperial policy'. It seems that Khevenhüller felt, like Eder, that he could play a more significant part in the situation he was already in. The Quest For Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 131-132. Georg Gienger of the Geheimer Rat had also been asked by Ferdinand I to become Bishop of Vienna in 1562, after his wife Magdalena had died in the previous year. He too refused and continued to serve at the Vienna court until his death in 1577. On Gienger, see chapter two p. 64.

reject the bishopric. In the letter of 28 August 1574, Eder writes that he will be able to serve the church where he is, through writing and other means, just as well in his capacity as a layman.⁶⁶ Eder concludes with a vow that he would seek to fulfil throughout the remainder of his life:

‘Was ich aber der kirchen mit schreiben und sonst dienen kan, das will ich in kainen weg underlassen...Das wil ich noch thuen, sovil und mer, alls wäre ich priester....’⁶⁷

Realistically, to act as bishop of Gurk in a remote and neglected see most likely would have curtailed Eder’s work for Catholic reform. His plan to remain as he is, where he is, acts however as an unequivocal statement of the potential of the laity to enact religious change in the latter half of the sixteenth century. And this Eder did, in deed as well as in word, in the years up to his death in 1587.

It must be noted, however, that Eder’s service to the church in this period was more like that of a bishop than that of a priest.⁶⁸ Indeed, although a new bishop, Johann Kaspar Neuböck, had been successfully nominated to the see of Vienna in 1574, it would be another seven years before he actually based himself in the city. To compensate for his absence, Eder and another layman, Friedrich Hipp, were given

⁶⁶ ‘...Der kirchen an dem orth, da ich bin, mit schreiben und in ander weg mer zue dienen, alls da ich eben zuem geistlichen standt treten solle. Alls vill dann belangt, das ich mich beheyratet haben solle...das ist aber war, da ich also in coelibatu laicali pleiben...’, Schrauf (ed.), *Der Reichshofrat*, pp. 86-89, p. 88. It is noteworthy, however, that Eder pledges to remain celibate. Perhaps, though maintaining the legitimacy of the lay role in the church, Eder was also persuaded that family life would hinder his efforts.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁶⁸ This echoes Eder’s claim that while the bishopric of Vienna was vacant, he had done so much, it was as if a bishop were there: see chapter three, pp. 125-126.

the temporary administration of the Vienna diocese.⁶⁹ Perhaps as part of this function, Eder also appears to have resumed his earlier work of filling vacant ecclesiastical positions with suitable clerics. There survives a particularly well-documented example of this, from 1579, when Eder, Oedt and Hillinger went on Klosterrat business to fill the position of priest at the parish of St Michael, recently vacated by Martin Radwiger.⁷⁰ What is particularly interesting about the hunt for a new incumbent are the qualities that apparently most pleased Eder and his colleagues in the replacement they found, a 35-year-old priest by the name of Johann Harbort.

In their report of 6 September 1579, Eder, Oedt and Hillinger drew the Archduke Ernst's attention to three facets of Harbort's abilities: the depth of his learning, his competence at preaching, and the upstanding nature of his personal life, all of which, they said, qualified him for the task.⁷¹ That Eder and the Jesuits appear to

⁶⁹ Neuböck was Bishop of Vienna 1574-1594. Several items of correspondence survive between Neuböck and Eder, but most are in the form of Briefkonzept and are therefore impossible to read. The fuller versions appear to be no longer extant. DAW, Bischofsakten Johann Kaspar Neuböck (1574-1594): Kop. Reg. Nr 101-200 (1582-93), letters 133 and 138; Epistolare des Bischofs Neuböck (1578-1582) Signature: WP (Wiener Protokolle) 9, Standort I B 1. Numbers 55 (69), 57 (71), 77 (93), 92 (113), 97 (119).

⁷⁰ Eder himself had selected Radwiger only seven years earlier. Whether Eder had made a bad choice, or whether he had chosen a man of such high quality that his ministry was demanded elsewhere, is not known. On Radwiger, see chapter three, p. 127.

⁷¹ 'So befinden wir, dass er Harbortius ein mann so bei 35 jahre alt sein möcht und nicht allein in dem Predigtamt allbereit schon wohl geübt und erfahren sondern in der heiligen Schrift, welche eines Pfarrers oder Predigers Fundament und Grundveste ist, fast wohl belesen, erfahren und gelehrt, hat eine verständliche, laute, gute Promutation, so diesem Ort und der Pfarrgemeinde ohne Zweifel wohl angenehm sein mag... allbereit aus dieser Prob tantam expectationem gegen seiner Person und Geschicklichkeit vermutet...', Theodor Wiedemann (ed.), Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation im Lande unter der Enns vol. II, (Prague, 1880), p. 179, citing the Consistorial-Acten. Harbort was subsequently made priest of the parish of St Michael on 12 September 1579.

have had particular input into this decision may not only be inferred from Harbort's possession of the very qualities most prized by the Society of Jesus, but from a more concrete piece of evidence. According to the report sent to Archduke Ernst, Harbort had also been educated at the Jesuit college in Vienna, and as a result his qualities were beyond question.⁷²

Another career in which Eder was particularly instrumental was that of the young Melchior Khlesl, and in this instance the impact of Eder's patronage had a profound and long-term impact on Catholic reform in Vienna and further afield. It seems that Eder's initial patronage of Khlesl may well have been merely out of duty to his Catholic associates in Ingolstadt and Passau. Khlesl himself had, like Harbort, been educated at the Jesuit college in Vienna, and as a result could not graduate from Vienna University. In 1579 the 27-year-old travelled to Ingolstadt to receive his degrees from the Faculties of Philosophy and Theology, and on his return to Vienna was ordained priest in the parish of St Peter. In the meantime, Eder himself had been contacted by his own Ingolstadt associate, Albert Hunger, as well as Bishop Urban of Passau, both of whom urged his support for the younger man.⁷³

⁷² 'Und weil er vor vielen Jahren in dem Collegio Jesuitarum erwachsen, wie wir verstehen in philosophia et Theologia sonst mehr ansehnliche proben gethan, so ist kein Zweifel er sei seines Lebens und Exempels also gewiess in Administration der Sakramente, Ceremonien und aller nothwendigen Kirchen-Ordnung und daneben des stadtvokes Gewohnheiten dermassen erfahren, dass er dieser Pfarre für sich selbst und seine mitverwandte Personen ganz wohl vorstehen werde', *ibid.*, p. 179.

⁷³ DAW, Kop. Reg. Nr 1-100 (1555-1584), Nr. 33, recommendation for Khlesl from the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, Dr. Albert Hunger, to Eder, 20 June 1579; Nr. 34, Letter of Bishop Urban of Passau, to Eder, concerning the same, 17 July 1579. In a letter to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, dated 10 August 1579, Eder wrote of the petition from the Bishop of Passau: '...Der jung mann Melchior Klösl... So hat mein g. F. und herr von Passau mir geschriben, mit ime zu handeln, das er sich für den officialen in Österreich solle gebrauchen lassen, versehenlich, er werde

Khlesl subsequently became Dompropst of Stephansdom and, as part of that title, Kanzler of Vienna University. One year later, in 1580, he became Passau Offizial, and in Khlesl's energetic hands all offices became tools of Vienna-based Catholic reform with long-term implications. Khlesl's hold on offices continued to expand in the years after Eder's death: in 1588 he became Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt, and in 1602 he was installed as Bishop of Vienna. It was, however, in his work as 'Generalreformer' that Khlesl played the most active role in the stimulation of Catholic reform, with his efforts, similar to those of Eder, to secure competent preachers for the area and to work towards the foundation of a Tridentine Seminary for priests in Vienna.

Georg Eder may have had a different secular patron in the years after 1573, but his spiritual patrons had evidently remained the same, as had his concern for the dissemination of Catholic truth through the medium of print and, by implication, through the clerics who would read and preach from such material. It is therefore appropriate that it is with Eder's relationship with the Jesuits that this study of his life should close, as it was they who most clearly inspired such tenacious and multi-faceted activity in the world in the name of Catholic reform.

was guets oder doch mer nutz schaffen...', Bibl (ed.). 'Die Berichte...', pp. 90-93, p. 92. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. VII, fol. 156r-161r.

Throughout his life, the Jesuits had acted as Eder's greatest supporters and inspiration. It was they who had most influenced him as a young man at Cologne, it was they who provided the physical and metaphorical template for his pedagogical writing, and it was they who offered a model of Catholic ministry that eschewed traditional roles for a more dynamic force in society. It was also they who, as chapter three reveals, credited Eder even after his death for the work he had done.⁷⁴

From Eder's perspective, it was the Society of Jesus and their zeal for Catholicism that was the pivotal force around which his life was based. As late as 1583, at the age of 60, Eder could still report excitedly how that one of the better-known Jesuits in Vienna, Georg Scherer, had performed a remarkable exorcism on a Viennese girl, possessed by 12, 652 evil spirits. According to Eder, Scherer's banishment of the demons was so effective, that the girl, one Anna Schlutterpauerin, was well enough to visit a local shrine.⁷⁵ It is Scherer too who Eder credits with the winning of souls on a massive scale, reporting to Duke Wilhelm that the Jesuit had been responsible for the conversion of 200 people in a few days at nearby Waidhofen.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ See chapter three, p. 111.

⁷⁵ Eder to Wilhelm, 9 September 1583, 'So haben unser herr bischof und die herrn Jesuiten alhie von ainem besessenen mädl unlangst zuevor 12652 böser geister ausgetriben, also das mädl numer frisch und gesunt und selbs auch mit zue Zell gewest', Bibl (ed.). 'Die Berichte...', pp. 132-133, p. 133. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII fol. 170-172r.

⁷⁶ 20 December 1586, 'Herr pater Scherer hat hieher geschriben, das er bereit ainen gueten anfang in Waidhofen gemacht, also das er in wenig tagen in die 200 personen gewonnen, und gübt uns allen guete hoffnung, es wider in den alten standt des catholischn gehorsams zue bringen', Bibl (ed.). 'Die Berichte...', pp. 151-152, p. 151. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII fol. 228r-v.

The lifelong Jesuit impact on Georg Eder went, however, deeper than one-off events. Eder appears to have been genuinely and deeply inspired by the ethos of the Society of Jesus, as his unstinting praise from a letter of 7 September 1584 suggests:

‘Dann diss sein treflich gelerte leut, und haben ainmal den geist Gottes... Was man inen thuet, das thuet man gwislich Gott selbs, es sein ainmal frome gelerte und heylige leut, und ist das bey mir ain gross ding. Wer mit Jesuitem zue thuen hat, der befindt das in reden, in handlen, in geberden und in suma in allen dingen, ainer ist wie der ander, alls ob sie all ain person, und daher lauter abzuenemen, das sie alle den ainigen geist Gottes haben. Wer darauff merckht, wirt es erfahren, das bey inen die ware religion. Wer sie nit leiden und bey inen nicht beichten mag, der hat was auff der nadl, und ist ain kalter christ’.⁷⁷

Not only were the Jesuits apparently regarded by Eder as God’s only true servants on earth, but in the confessionally heated world of late-sixteenth-century Vienna they offered the only sure pathway to true Christianity. In a letter composed towards the end of his life, in January 1585, Eder went back to his favourite subject of lukewarm Catholicism, as that embodied by the Hofchristen. According to Eder, such persons would say that they were Catholic, but ‘nit jesuitisch catholicisch’. Eder’s response was simple, unequivocal, and a fitting epitaph to his entire life: ‘...So sag ich hinwider auch offenlich; wer nit jesuitisch, das der auch nit catholicisch’.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Eder to Duke Wilhelm, *ibid.*, pp. 136-139, pp. 138-139. Full version in BHSStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich, Tom. XII fol. 178-181r.

⁷⁸ Eder to Duke Wilhelm, 23 January 1585, ‘An dem von Harrach hengt die gantze landschafft... ways got, ob er kalt oder warm. Es ist selzam monstrum umb ainen hoffchristen; sy sagen offenlich, sie seien catholicisch, aber nit jesuitisch catholicisch ... So sag ich hinwider auch offenlich; wer nit jesuitisch, das der auch nit catholicisch’, *ibid.*, pp. 142-144, p. 143.

Conclusion

It is hard to quantify the legacy of Georg Eder's life and career. As the depressed tone of much of his private writing suggests, even Eder was not always entirely certain of the value of his contribution to Catholic reform.¹ His religious writing was, as has already been noted, frequently derivative of the works of others and of his own, earlier efforts. Although some of his books were reprinted as many as four times, this may well have been a result of his increasing political notoriety. Nor was a single one of Eder's works reprinted after 1585.² Aside from the public orations delivered in his memory by the Vienna-based Jesuits, after Eder's death in 1587, it was largely as if he had never existed.³

What then can the case of Georg Eder say to a thesis entitled 'Catholic Belief and Survival in Late Sixteenth-Century Vienna'? One of the benefits of having examined the realities of such a complex life, with all the contradictions and difficulties contained therein, is the subsequent potential to cast new light on the broader, equally complex environment in which that life was lived. For example, that openly Catholic Eder could survive and even thrive in the court, university and city of Vienna in the 1550s and 1560s, points to the strength of

¹ Chapter four, *passim*.

² Those reprinted four times were the Oeconomia Bibliorum and the Partitiones; see bibliography for details. In the seventeenth century a later rector of Vienna University, Paul de Sorbait, compiled two updated versions of the Catalogus Rectorum. Its early sections use exactly the material supplied by Eder in 1559, and he is acknowledged for his contribution to the writing of the history of Vienna University. The works were, however, substantially added to by Sorbait and published in his name: Catalogus Rectorum et illustrium virorum Archigymnasii Viennensis 1237-1669 (Vienna, 1669); Catalogus Rectorum et illustrium virorum Archigymnasii Viennensis 1237-1670 (Vienna, 1670).

residual Catholicism in those key areas, and in part explains the later success of Catholic reform in the Austrian lands. That Eder's promotion in this period was so heavily contingent on the display of an almost sacred regard for Habsburg authority, speaks volumes about the priorities and problems of Habsburg rule in a multi-confessional age. The speed with which Eder's star rose and later fell was in direct proportion to his reverence for the image of Imperial authority, while his subsequent involvement with the Dukes of Bavaria highlights the necessity of secular support for Catholic reform, particularly in the absence of adequate sanction from the local authority. The extent of Eder's service to the church, aided by this Bavarian backing but also inspired, influenced and informed by the Jesuits, raises another key issue: that of the role of the laity at every stage in the process of the implementation of Catholic reform and revival.

Such conclusions also have, however, some broader implications. Firstly, the vicissitudes of Eder's career reflect the extent to which the politics of Catholic leadership were still in a state of dramatic flux in the Europe of the latter half of the sixteenth century. The case of Eder draws attention to the three-way rivalry between Pope, Holy Roman Emperor, and Duke of Bavaria, all of whose behaviour over Eder's fate reveals their own agendas. In particular, Eder's career vividly illustrates the political tightrope act that was survival in the Austrian Habsburg lands, for ruler and courtier alike. Eder's changing fortunes show the fragility of a Habsburg authority denuded of its spiritual force when confronted with a potentially explosive local and international confessional situation. 'Aulic Catholicism' of the variety necessarily practised in the reigns

³ See chapter three, p. 111.

of Emperors Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II, proved a hard policy to maintain amidst the confessional extremes of Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. Eder's situation especially highlights the significance of the emerging threat of Bavaria as rivals for leadership of Catholic Europe, and it is telling that when the Austrian Habsburgs did finally regain control in their own lands as well as the Empire, in the seventeenth century, it was a form of freshly Catholic rule directly influenced by the Wittelsbachs themselves.

This key element in the revival of the Catholic Habsburg state- the restoration of an Emperor with the will and ability to impose an unequivocally Catholic confession on his inheritance- was personally and politically modelled on that of Wittelsbach Bavaria. Once again the Habsburgs were ultimately saved by the twin dynastic policies that had made them in the first place: strategic marriage agreements and the ability to capitalise on premature deaths. In 1571 the devoutly Catholic Duchess Maria of Bavaria (1551-1608), daughter of Duke Albrecht and Maximilian II's sister Anna, was married to her uncle, Archduke Karl of Styria.⁴ After his death in 1590, it was Maria who not only acted as regent between 1590 and 1595, but was her eldest and succeeding son Ferdinand's unofficial counsellor right up to her own death in 1608. That she ensured that Ferdinand, like all her children, had exclusively Jesuit confessors and went to Jesuit colleges, resulted in the formation of a personally devout

⁴ On the remarkable life of Maria of Bavaria, see Magdalena S. Sánchez, 'A Woman's Influence: Archduchess Maria of Bavaria and the Spanish Habsburgs', in Conrad Kent, Thomas Wolber and Cameron M. K. Hewitt (eds.), The Lion and the Eagle: Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries (New York and Oxford, 2000), pp. 91-197.

Catholic ruler who translated this into public policy not only as ruler of Styria but ultimately as Holy Roman Emperor.⁵

Georg Eder was not, however, in a position to foresee such a turn of events in the 1570s and 1580s, and his turn to the patronage of the Wittelsbachs was based simply on their ability to support his career as a servant of the Catholic church in a way that the Habsburgs dared not. In similar vein, Eder's boundary-crossing service to his faith also reflects the importance of creative adaptation to circumstances as a means of ensuring the survival of Catholicism in the second half of the sixteenth century. This is not to say that Eder's Catholicism was merely reactive: his was a piety of initiative that had as its ultimate goal the reform of the church.

Eder and his faith survived by taking opportunities as and when they arose. Eder laboured for the faith in his local area and, through his writing, for the Catholic community much further afield. He co-operated with what powers he could, when he could, and he sought to bring change in the short-term through influencing clerical appointments and in the long-term through education. Eder's case underlines, furthermore, the fluidity of roles within Catholicism in the period immediately after Trent, where the boundary between lay and

⁵ After the death of his two cousins, Emperor Rudolf II in 1612 and Emperor Matthias in 1619, neither of whom left any legitimate issue, Ferdinand became Emperor Ferdinand II and ruled as such until his death in 1637. As Regina Pörtner argues in her recent monograph, in his own territory the 'outcome of the confessional struggle was above all determined by Ferdinand II's energetic and ultimately successful attempt to realize the political potential of his constitutional position...', by preventing co-ordinated opposition: Pörtner, The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria 1580-1630 (Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 2. See too Robert Bireley's article, 'Confessional Absolutism in the Habsburg lands in the Seventeenth Century', in C. Ingrao, (ed.), State and Society in Early Modern Austria, (Purdue University Press, 1994), pp. 36-53.

clerical, secular and spiritual were, as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, far from rigidly defined.⁶

Eder's is also a story whose emotional verisimilitude adds the frailty of human nature to the broader processes and movements so beloved of historians. Georg Eder was a very human being, who had to square the demands of his faith and conscience with the need to eke out a career and living of his own. That his writings or name do not appear to have successfully survived the test of time, suggests that Eder was above all a man of his own day. The problems faced by Eder were problems peculiar to a man living in his particular situation, Vienna, at a particular time, when the Catholic religious and political hierarchy itself was still coming to terms with the practicalities of confessional division.

This is not to say, however, that Eder only made an impact in his own lifetime. On the contrary, the fruits of Eder's work could be seen in the generations that followed him, both in Vienna and across Europe. Eder's self-proclaimed priority throughout his life was that of the welfare of the Catholic church, and on this he had a significant impact, directly and indirectly.⁷ His support of the

⁶ Analysis of the role of laymen in the work of Catholic reform may well offer some fruitful further investigation. In the researching of this thesis, it has for example been noticed that at least two other laymen served the Catholic church in ways and situations strikingly similar to those of Eder in this period. Pörtner's study of Styria, cited above, makes mention of Wolfgang Schranz von Schranzenegg, a lawyer, councillor and Vizekanzler at the court of Archduke Karl. Schranz acted as advisor to Maria of Bavaria and was also a go-between for the courts of Munich and Graz from the 1570s. Also like Eder, Schranz too had close Jesuit connections: Pörtner, *Counter-Reformation in Central Europe*, p. 210. A study by Maria Barbara Rößner, *Konrad Braun (ca. 1495-1563)- ein katholischer Jurist, Politiker, Kontroverstheologe und Kirchenreformer im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Münster, 1991), offers some parallels between the careers of Eder and another layman active in the Catholic church in the same period, Konrad Braun.

⁷ This may be seen throughout Eder's life as discussed in the pages of this thesis. However, Eder himself summed up his own position very succinctly in a letter to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, dated 30 May 1579: 'Das mir der catholischen religion wolstand mer alls mein aigne wolfart

young Melchior Khlesl, for example, ensured his legacy would continue into the next generation; that Khlesl himself did much to stimulate the revival of Catholicism in the city and university of Vienna may be seen as an echo of Eder's work, carried out under less constricted circumstances.⁸ For Eder himself, the priority was the pedagogical writing that dominated so much of his career. As Eder characterised his own war on heresy, he was a 'lateinischer kriegsman', and his writings helped lay the foundations for the re-education of the very generation of clergy who would lead the revival of Catholicism into the next century, and beyond.⁹

angelegen', in Victor Bibl (ed.), 'Die Berichte des Reichshofrates Dr Georg Eder an die Herzoge Albrecht und Wilhelm von Bayern über die Religionskrise in Niederösterreich (1579-1587)', *Jb.f.Lk.v.NÖ*, Neue Folge 8 (1909), pp. 80-87, p. 80.

⁸ Khlesl certainly did not have a blank cheque to institute reform, and the reign of the Emperor Matthias in particular led to some reverses. It was, however, under Khlesl's episcopacy that Ferdinand II's Pragmatischen Sanktion of 13 October 1623 saw the full incorporation of the local Jesuit college into Vienna University, with the Jesuits given substantial control. This had been an event long desired by Eder. In a letter to Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria dated 15 September 1584, Eder had commented: 'Ich sehe gern, das ain unio zwischen der schuel und der herrn Jesuiten möchte getroffen werden, die haben doch recht gelerte frume und treuhertzige leut...', *ibid.*, pp. 139-140, p. 140. Full version in BHistA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. XII fol. 182-184v.

⁹ The full, dryly humorous quotation, reflects Eder's emphasis on correct education over force and coercion: 'Ich zwar alls ain lateinischer kriegsman hab in meinem haus kain aintzig wer alls etliche protmesser...' Eder to Duke Albrecht, 30 May 1579, *ibid.*, pp. 80-87, p. 83.

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gütiger Hinlegung und Vergleichung gegenwärtiges Religionstreits für Weg und Mittel gesucht und gebraucht worden, Woran auch dieselben bis daher entstanden, Und welches entgegen die rechten Mittel senen. Durch H. Georgen Eder D. (David Sartorius, Ingolstadt, 1579 and reprint, 1580).

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Appendix I:

Illustrations

- i) Two woodcuts depicting Eder, dated 1558 and 1559
- ii) The title page of Eder's Evangelische Inquisition of 1573
- iii) A copper engraving from 1574, depicting Eder
- iv) A page from an early draft of Eder's Malleus Haereticorum, sent to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria 20 December 1578 and written in Eder's own hand

Collegij Societatis IESU Monachij, ex hereditate G. Adami Schreindl.
1591.

Evangelische
INQUISITION
Wahrer vnd falscher Religion.

Wider

Das gemain vnchristliche Claggeschray / Daß schier niemands mehr wissen künde / wie oder was er glauben solle:
In Forma aines

Christlichen Rathschlags /

Wie ein jeder Christen Mensch seines Glaubens halben gänzlich vergwift vnd gesichert sein möge: Dermassen / daß er leichtlich mit Lünde betrogen noch verfürt werden.

Durch

Röm. Kay. Mayest. Reichs Hofrath

H. Georgen Eder D.

Sam. M. Adami heredit. Schreindl. 79

PSAL. 4.

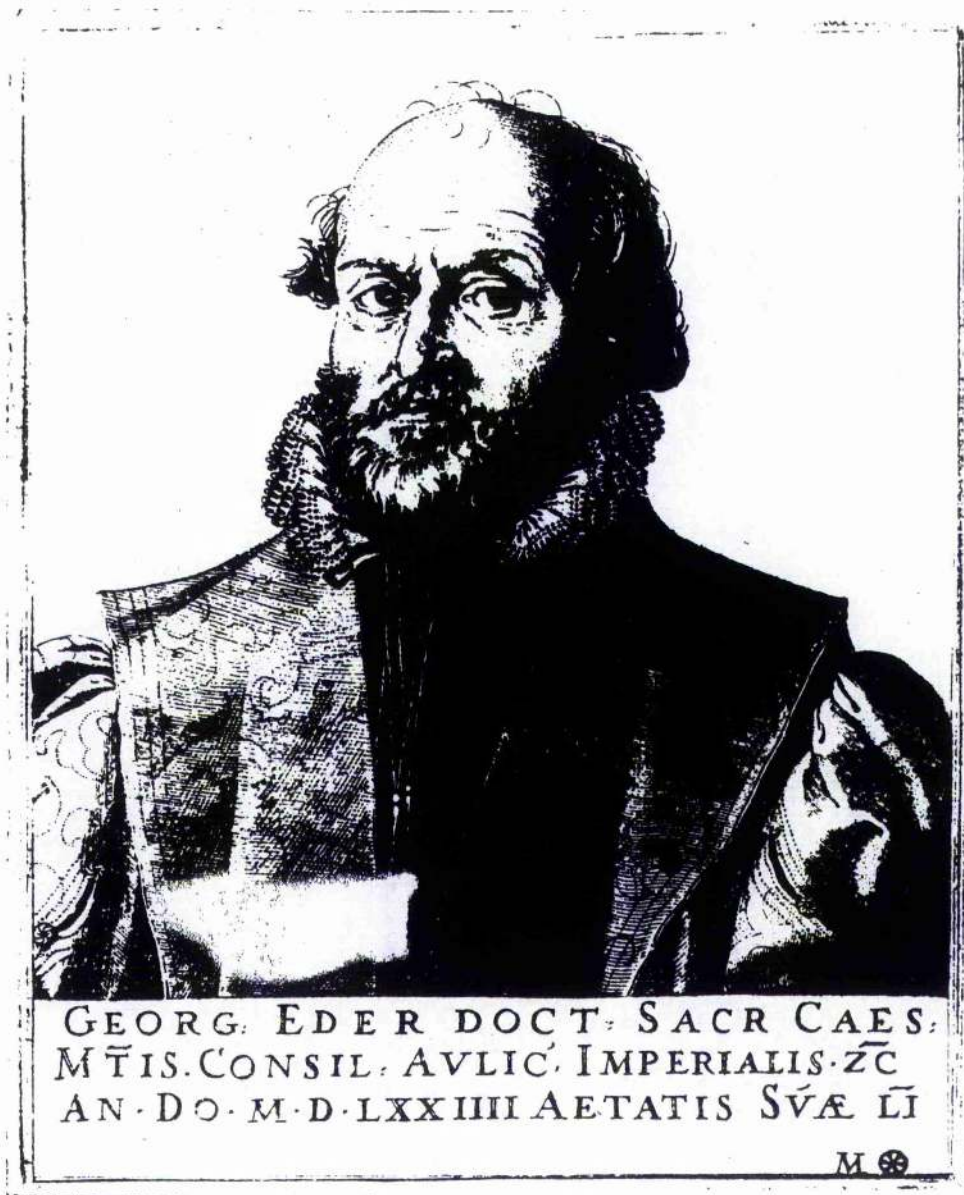
Filij hominum vsq; quo graui corde? vt quid diligitis vanitatem, & quaritis mendacium?

Mit Röm. Kay. May. Freyheit / vnd Geislicher Oberkeit bewilligung /

Getruckt zu Dillingen / durch
Sebaldum Mayer.

M. D. LXXIIL

The title page from the 1573 edition of Eder's Evangelische Inquisition, complete with the offending claim of 'Rom. Kay. May. freyheit'. Note too that this particular example, from the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek in Munich (sig. 4 Polem. 1004 a), also happens to bear a Jesuit provenance.



This is the second of only two known portraits of Eder. A copper engraving from 1574, it appears in Vienna university's Hauptmatrikel V, UAW, M4 1518 II-1594 I, Microfilm 017, fol. 2b, immediately after the entry for 13 October 1579. It is reprinted opposite the title page of Karl Schrauf, (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung. Als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich vol. 1, 1573-1578 (Vienna, 1904).

This copy has been taken from the latter.

Furores Haereticorum

Non genti fere Vanissimi Erroris, de
ducentis Religionis Catholicae Capitibus, quibus
haeretici quidam homines, quasi furis agitati,
Christiana Reip. concordiam, ab exordia nas
centis Ecclesiae in hunc usque diem sumose
impetere, ac si fieri posuisset, pem-
tus evertere conati sunt.

Ad monitio hoc tempore omnino necessaria.
In qua praeter haeresum omnium, tum causa,
tum remedia, ita lucide proponuntur,
ut eas facile quisvis et discernere et
vitare queat. Ex paucorum quidem
sed probatissimorum authorum
scriptis. in Vno veluti Cor-
poris congesta.

PER

D. GEORGIVM EDERVM

et thesaur.

Ideo mittet illis deus operatione erroris,
ut credant mendacium, et indicetur omnes,
non crediderunt ventati, sed consenserunt migtati.

Irenaeus

Non est mendacium arguere,
et vniuersim evertere eos

ANNO

M D LXXIX

A page from an early draft of Eder's Malleus Haereticorum, sent to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria on 20 December 1578 and written in Eder's own hand. BHStA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv: Status Ecclesiasticus-Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich, 4241 fol. 63r, reproduced with permission.

Appendix II:

All known correspondence written to, by, or directly concerning Georg Eder,
between 1573 and 1587

1573

- Imperial decree against **EDER**, Vienna, 2 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 1-4. Also in B. Raupach, Evangelisches Oesterreich, das ist, Historische Nachricht von den vornehmsten Schicksalen der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirchen in dem Ertz-Hertzogthum Oesterreich (Hamburg, 1736), pp. 147-149 (in German); (Hamburg, 1742), pp. 31-33 (in Latin).

- Maximilian II to Johann Egolf, Bishop of Augsburg, Vienna, 3 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 4-6. Full version in BHSStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. X fol. 25r-28r and another copy, Tom. X fol. 63r-64v.

- Maggio to Mercurian regarding **EDER**'s son, Vienna, 4 October 1573
ARSI, Epistolae Germaniae 153, fol. 235 r-v.

- **EDER** to Maximilian II, Vienna, 6 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 6-17.

- **EDER** to Hanns Freiherrn von Trautson, Vienna, 6 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 17-18.

- Haberstock to Albrecht V, Vienna, 8 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 19-20.

- Albrecht V to **EDER**, Polling, 9 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 20-21.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 10 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 196-202.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 10 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 202-204.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 10 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), p. 204.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 13 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 205-207.
- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 15 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 207-211.
- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 15 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 211-212.
- Johann Egolf, Bishop of Augsburg, to Albrecht V, Dillingen, 16 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 21-22. Full version in BHSStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. X fol. 23r-23v.
- Count of Monteaugudo to Philip II, Vienna, 18 October 1573
Martin Fernandez de Navarrete (ed.), Por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle (Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de Espanya), vol. 111 (Madrid, 1842), pp. 332-339.
- Imperial decree against **EDER**, Vienna, 19 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 22-23.
- **EDER** to Martin Eisengrein, Vienna, 20 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 23-26.
- Albrecht V to Johann Hegenmüller, Bavaria, 21 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 27-28.
- Haberstock to Albrecht V, Vienna, 22 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 28-30.
- Albrecht V to Johann Egolf, Bishop of Augsburg, Munich, 22 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 30-33. Full version in BHSStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. X, fol. 38r-41v.
- Johann Egolf to Maximilian II, Dillingen, 22 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 33-36.

- **EDER** to Eisengrein, Vienna, 23 October 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 36-38.
- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 24 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 221-224.
- **EDER** to Mercurian, Vienna, 28 October 1573
ARSI, Epistolae Germaniae 153 fol. 293r-294r.
- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 30 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 225-228.
- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 30 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 228-229.
- Gallio to Dolfin, Rome, 31 October 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), p. 229.
- Johann Hegenmüller to Albrecht V, Vienna, 7 November 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 39-42. Full version in BHSStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. X fol. 70r-72v.
- Gallio to Dolfin, Rome, 7 November 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 236-237.
- Gallio to Dolfin, Rome, 15 November 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 244-246.
- Gallio to Dolfin, Rome, 15 November 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 246-247.
- Maximilian II to Egolf, Vienna, 15 November 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 43-44.
- Gallio to Portia, Rome, 15 November 1573
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3 vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 222-229.

- Gallio to Portia, Rome, 15 November 1573
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3 vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 229-231.
- Dolfín to Gallio, Vienna, 20 November 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 247-250.
- Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius to **EDER**, Rome, 21 November 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 44-45. Also in Stanislaus Hosius, Opera Omnia, Tom. II. (Cologne, 1584), pp. 368-369.
- Gallio to Dolfín, Rome, 22 November 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 251-253.
- Dolfín to Gallio, Vienna, 27 November 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 258-259.
- Gallio to Dolfín, Rome, 28 November 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 259-260.
- Eisengrein to Albrecht V, Ingolstadt, 30 November 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 45-53.
- Egolf to Albrecht V, Dillingen, 30 November 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., p. 54. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. X fol. 94r-95v.
- Albrecht V to Egolf, Hohenkirchen, 2 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., p. 54. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich Tom. X fol. 98r-102v.
- Portia to Gallio, Innsbruck, 2 December 1573
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3, vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 251-257.
- Dolfín to Gallio, Vienna, 3 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 263-266.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 4 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 267-270.

- Egolf to Albrecht V, Dillingen, 7 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., p. 55. Full version in BHStA, Religionsacta des Erzhauses Österreich, Tom. X fol. 114r-116r.

- Portia to Gallio, Innsbruck, 9 December 1573
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3, vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 267-276.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 9 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 275-279.

- Egolf to Albrecht V, Dillingen, 10 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 55-56.

- Maximilian II, decree to the city of Augsburg, Vienna, 10 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 56-57.

- **EDER** to Albrecht V, Vienna, 11 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 57-63.

- Portia to Gallio, Innsbruck, 16 December 1573
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3 vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 280-290.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 18 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 281-285.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 18 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 285-288.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 18 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 288-290.

- Dolfín to Gallio, Vienna, 18 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 290-291.
- Albrecht V to Eisengrein, Munich, 19 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 53-64.
- Albrecht V to Egolf, Bavaria, 19 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 64-68.
- Albrecht V to **EDER**, Munich, 19 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 68-69.
- Portia to Gallio, Innsbruck, 23 December 1573
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3 vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 293-301.
- Imperial decree concerning the visitation of Viennese book shops, Vienna, 24 December 1573
Karl Schrauf (ed.), Der Reichshofrath Dr Georg Eder. Eine Briefsammlung..., pp. 69-70.
- Maximilian II to Gregory XIII, 24 December 1573
Augustus Theiner (ed.), Augustinus Annales Ecclesiastici vol. 1, (Rome, 1856), pp. 126-127.
- Count of Montegudo to Philip II, Vienna, 25 December 1573
Martin Fernandez de Navarrete (ed.), Por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle (Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Espanya), vol. 111, (Madrid, 1842), pp. 346-350.
- Dolfín to Gallio, Vienna, 26 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 298-303.
- Gallio to Dolfín, Rome, 26 December 1573
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 303-305.

1574

- Portia to Gallio, Innsbruck, 6 January 1574
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3, vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 301-306.

- Gallio to Portia, Rome, 9 January 1574
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3, vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 307-310.

- Gallio to Dolfin, Rome, 9 January 1574
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 329-331.

- Portia to Gallio, Innsbruck, 13 January 1574
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3, vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 313-317.

- Dolfin to Gallio, Vienna, 15 January 1574
Almut Bues (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585 part 3 vol. 7 (Tübingen, 1990), p. 335.

- Portia to Gallio, Innsbruck, 20 January 1574
Karl Schellhass (ed.), Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1572-1585, part 3, vol. 3, Die süddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartholomäus von Portia, erstes Jahr 1573/74 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 317-319.

- **EDER** to Albrecht V, Vienna, 21 January 1574
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