

Brethren in Christ

This groundbreaking book explores the migration of Calvinist refugees in Europe during the Reformation, across a century of persecution, exile and minority existence. Ole Peter Grell follows the fortunes of some of the earliest Reformed merchant families, forced to flee from the Tuscan city of Lucca during the 1560s, through their journey to France during the Wars of Religion to the St Bartholomew Day Massacre and their search for refuge in Sedan. He traces the lives of these interconnected families over three generations as they settled in European cities from Geneva to London, marrying into the diaspora of Reformed merchants. Based on a potent combination of religion, commerce and family networks, these often wealthy merchants and highly skilled craftsmen were amongst the most successful of early modern capitalists. *Brethren in Christ* shows how this interconnected network, reinforced through marriage and enterprise, forged the backbone of international Calvinism in Reformation Europe.

OLE PETER GRELL is Reader in History at the Open University. His previous publications include *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (as co-author, Cambridge, 2000), and *The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People* (as co-editor, 2008).

Brethren in Christ

A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe

Ole Peter Grell



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-107-00881-6 — Brethren in Christ
 Ole Peter Grell
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India
 103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107008816

© Ole Peter Grell 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Grell, Ole Peter.

Brethren in Christ : a Calvinist network in Reformation Europe /
 Ole Peter Grell.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-00881-6 (hardback)

1. Calvinism—History. 2. Calvinists—Europe—History.

3. Europe—Church history—17th century. I. Title.

BX9415.G74 2011

284'.2408691409031—dc22

2011014908

ISBN 978-1-107-00881-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00881-6 — Brethren in Christ
Ole Peter Grell
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

For Helen

Contents

<i>List of maps</i>	page viii
<i>List of figures</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Members of the Calandrini, Burlamachi and Diodati families</i>	xv
Introduction	1
1 The start of the Calvinist network: the journey from Lucca, via Lyon, to Paris	19
2 A European network takes shape: the continuation of the Calvinist diaspora in Germany, the Netherlands and England	65
3 The Calvinist network and the Thirty Years War	127
4 The collections for Calvinist exiles in England, Scotland and Ireland	178
5 The collections for Calvinist exiles in the Dutch Republic, Switzerland and France	229
6 The benevolence of wealthy, individual ‘Brethren in Christ’	274
Epilogue	300
<i>Index</i>	308

Maps

1 Emigration patterns for the Lucchese refugees	<i>page</i> 120
2 Central Europe 1618	129

Figures

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 1.1. Plan of Lucca (1585) from Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, <i>Civitates Orbis Terrarum</i> , 1572–1618.
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | <i>page</i> 23 |
| 1.2. Peter Martyr Vermigli (1500–62), oil by unknown artist (1560). Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London. | 26 |
| 1.3. View of Lyon. From G. Gurérout, <i>Epitome de la corographie</i> (1553). Courtesy of the Archives Municipales, Lyon. | 39 |
| 1.4. Detail of plan of Lyon (c. 1560). Courtesy of the Archives Municipales, Lyon. | 43 |
| 1.5. Pierre Viret (1511–71). Print by H. Hondius (1599).
Courtesy of the Centre de Recherches Pierre Viret. | 47 |
| 1.6. View of Paris. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 51 |
| 1.7. View of Geneva. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 62 |
| 2.1. View of Frankfurt am Main. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 69 |
| 2.2. Francesco Turrettini (1547–1628), oil by unknown artist, seventeenth century, Turrettini Collection, Geneva.
Photograph courtesy of Romano Citti. | 71 |
| 2.3. Barbara Perez Micheli (1556–1637), wife of Orazio Micheli, oil by unknown artist, late sixteenth century, Micheli de Landecy Collection, Geneva. Photograph courtesy of Romano Citti. | 73 |
| 2.4. Orazio Micheli (1553–1626), oil by unknown artist, late sixteenth century, Micheli de Landecy Collection, Geneva.
Photograph courtesy of Romano Citti. | 74 |
| 2.5. View of Antwerp. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 76 |
| 2.6. View of Stade. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 79 |

x List of figures

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 2.7. | View of Amsterdam. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 82 |
| 2.8. | View of London. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 87 |
| 2.9. | David Papillon (1581–1659), oil by unknown artist (1654).
Private collection, whereabouts unknown. Copy of
photograph of portrait in A. F. W. Papillon, <i>Memoirs of
Thomas Papillon of London, merchant</i> , Reading, 1887. | 89 |
| 2.10. | Anne Marie Calandrini (1591–1675), wife of Davis
Papillon, oil by unknown artist (1654). Private collection,
whereabouts unknown. Copy of photograph of portrait in
A. F. W. Papillon, <i>Memoirs of Thomas Papillon of London,
merchant</i> , Reading, 1887. | 90 |
| 3.1. | View of Heidelberg. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 133 |
| 3.2. | View of Nuremberg. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 141 |
| 3.3. | View of Hanau. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630). | 165 |
| 4.1. | William Gouge (1578–1653). Print by W. Faithorne
(1653). Courtesy of the British Museum. | 185 |
| 4.2. | Margaret Courten, wife of John de Moncy. Oil
attributed to Salomon Mesdach (1625). Courtesy of
the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. | 193 |
| 4.3. | John La Motte (1577–1655). Print by W. Faithorne
(1655). © The Trustees of the British Museum. | 204 |
| 4.4. | Dirick Hoste (1588–1663). Portrait by Cornelius Jonson
(1628). Private collection (stolen 1992 – present location
unknown). Courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art,
London. | 206 |
| 4.5. | Jane Desmaistres, wife of Dirick Hoste. Portrait by
Cornelius Jonson (1628). Private collection (stolen
1992 – present location unknown). Courtesy of the
Courtauld Institute of Art, London. | 207 |
| 5.1. | Jacob Trigland (1583–1654). Print (1636). | 234 |
| 5.2. | Giovanni/Jean Diodati (1576–1649), oil by unknown
artist, early seventeenth century. Courtesy of the Art
and History Museum, Geneva. | 252 |
| 5.3. | Benedict Turrettini (1588–1631), oil by unknown artist,
early seventeenth century. Courtesy of the Art and
History Museum, Geneva. | 253 |
| 5.4. | View of Zurich. Print by Matthaeus Merian (1630).
Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. | 257 |

List of figures	xi
5.5. Johannes Breitingen (1575–1645), portrait by Samuel Hofmann (1635). Courtesy of the Historical Museum Thurgau, Frauenfeld.	259
5.6. Charles Drelincourt (1583–1654). Print by Pieter Holsteijn (1660). Courtesy of Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.	267
6.1. Louis de Geer (1587–1652). Portrait by David Beck (c.1650). Courtesy of the National Museum, Stockholm.	275
6.2. William Courten (1540–1603). Oil by unknown artist (1575). Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.	286
6.3. Margaret Cassier, wife of William Courten, oil by unknown artist (1616). Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.	287
6.4. Sir Peter Courten (1581–1630). Portrait attributed to Salomon Mesdach (1625). Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.	289

Preface

This book has been a slow project starting life a couple of decades ago, only to be slowed down by other projects, and more than once held up by the need to visit yet another archive before the writing could be completed. I am immensely grateful to the many archivists and librarians in major and minor archives and libraries across Europe who assisted me in my enquiries over the years. Without their help this book would never have been written. If nothing else their importance is evident from my footnotes. In particular I should like to thank the staff in the Manuscript Room of the Guildhall Library in London where my research began and the staff at the Gemeente Stadsarchief Amsterdam in the Netherlands where I spent considerable time after that, and who recently proved incredibly efficient in responding to some of my many queries saving me time-consuming trips to Amsterdam. I should also like to express my deep gratitude to St Martha Reformed Church in Nuremberg in Germany where a couple of decades ago I arrived out of the blue asking to be shown the archive they did not realise they possessed. Eventually someone remembered that some ‘old’ documents had been stored away in boxes in a cupboard. I was then given access to what is, indeed, a splendid and nearly complete collection of hundreds of documents relating to the charity for the Calvinist refugees from the Upper Palatinate during the Thirty Years War. The enthusiasm which this discovery engendered and the friendliness with which I was received in Nuremberg will always stay with me, while for once in my life I realised that a historian’s work can be dirty, especially when working with documents which have gathered dust for over a generation. Finally I should like to express my gratitude to the ever helpful staff in the Rare Books Room in Cambridge University Library where I spent much of my time dedicated to this project.

Being slow has its advantages in that it gave me plenty of opportunity to discuss the major themes of this book with colleagues and friends and to benefit from their interest and criticism. Likewise it afforded me the time to present aspects of my research at conferences at home and

abroad where I was able to profit from the response of interested participants. I am indebted to a number of colleagues, especially Professor Mark Greengrass, University of Sheffield, Professor Michael Müller, Martin-Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany, Professor Bruce Gordon, Yale University, USA, and Professor Howard Hodson, University of Oxford for information, assistance and encouragement given. I should also like to thank my friend and collaborator over many years, Dr Andrew Cunningham, University of Cambridge, for reading through the manuscript and offering helpful suggestions for improvement of the text. Likewise I should thank three anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press for their constructive comments. I should also acknowledge the assistance I received from Dr Stefano Villani, University of Pisa, and Dr Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi in tracing some of the portraits in private collections reproduced in this book.

Finally I should thank my colleagues in the History Department of the Open University for their interest in this project, especially Professors Rosemary O'Day and Anne Laurence for their encouragement to get this book finished and published. The responsibility for the final product remains, of course, mine.

I should also take this opportunity to warmly thank the Carlsberg Foundation in Copenhagen for supplying me with the research fellowship which made it possible to start the research for this book. It is only later in life when one has acquired a so-called 'career' with all the paperwork that entails, that one fully appreciates the scholarly luxury which such research fellowships offer, allowing one to engross oneself in research without other demands being made on one's time. There is, in other words, more than one good reason for enjoying some of the produce from the Carlsberg breweries. Likewise I should like to thank the St Martha Reformed Church in Nuremberg for providing me with a travel grant to help me finance my visits to Nuremberg.

Finally, I should like to dedicate this book to my wife, Dr Helen A. Brown, who had her doubts about this project which kept dragging on, and probably thought that it would never result in a book, even if she was far too diplomatic to say so. For someone who runs large-scale projects in 'the real world' she was entitled to her scepticism, but I am glad that with some delay I have been able to prove her wrong.

Members of the Calandrini, Burlamachi and Diodati families

1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Members of the Calandrini family		
Giuliano Calandrini B Lucca 1514 D Sedan 1573 M (1) Caterina Balbani 1540 (D 1554) M (2) Elisabeta Arnolfini widow of Nicolao Diodati 1566 (D 14/12/1582)	Giovanni Calandrini B Lucca 1544 D London 4/4/1623 M (1) Marie de Maistres 1581 (D 8/10/1605) M (2) Catherina de Pietraviva widow of Assuerus Regemorter 1607 (D 12/7/1618)	Elizabeth Calandrini B Antwerp 1582 D London 1628/29 M Philip Burlamachi 1608 Giovan Ludovico Calandrini B Frankfurt 1585 D Geneva 9/2/1656 M (1) Catherine Turretini 1612 (D 12/11/1640) M (2) Esther Madeleina Gentilis 1642 Philip Calandrini B Frankfurt 1587 D Batavia 1649 M Margaretha van der Meulen 1613(D 1651) Marco Calandrini B Stade 1589 D at sea Hamburg/London 1663?

xvi Members of the Calandrini, Burlamachi and Diodati families

1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
	<p>Chiara Calandrini B Lucca 1545 D Muret 11/9/1580 M (1) Michele Burlamachi 1565/66 offspring under Burlamachi</p> <p>Laura Calandrini B Lucca 1547 D Geneva 24/8/1580 M Pompeo Diodati 1566 offspring under Diodati</p> <p>Filippo Calandrini B Lucca 1548 D La Rochelle 1586 married, no offspring</p> <p>Cesare Calandrini B Lucca 1550 D Nuremberg 1611? M Esther de Maistres 1584 (D 24/8/1625)</p>	<p>Anne Marie Calandrini B Stade 1591 D London 1675 M 1615 David Papillon</p> <p>Giuliano Calandrini B Stade 1593 D London 10/1/1641 Unmarried</p> <p>Cesare Calandrini B Stade 1595 D London 26/9/1665 M Elizabeth Harderet widow of Edward Waldegrave 1621</p> <p>Pompeo Calandrini B Stade 1597 D London? Unmarried</p> <p>Orazio Calandrini B Stade 1598 D Brazil 1630 Married?</p> <p>Esther Calandrini B Nuremberg 1586 D Nuremberg 1586</p>

Members of the Calandrini, Burlamachi and Diodati families xvii

1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
<p>Benedetto Calandrini B Lucca 1518 D Geneva 30/5/1587 M Maddalena Arnolfini 1551 (D 7/3/1601) No offspring</p>	<p>Camilla Calandrini B Lucca 1552 D Lucca 1566</p>	<p>Anna Maria Calandrini B Nuremberg 1587 D Nuremberg 1587 Benedetto Calandrini B Nuremberg 1588 D Nuremberg 1590 Benedetto Calandrini B Nuremberg 1590 D? Cesare Calandrini B Nuremberg 1591 D Nuremberg 1592 Maddalena Calandrini B Nuremberg 1593 D Geneva 1667 M (1) Scipion Gentilis 1593 M (2) Philip Ehim 1643 Giovanni Calandrini B Nuremberg 1596 D? Jeremia Calandrini B Nuremberg 1598 D Nuremberg? Maria Calandrini B Nuremberg 1600 D Nuremberg 1606 Esther Calandrini B Nuremberg 1602 D? M Dr Conrad Georg-Conrad Willes Susanna Calandrini B Nuremberg 1603 D Geneva 1653 M Antoine d'Angers 1626</p>

xviii Members of the Calandrini, Burlamachi and Diodati families

1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Members of the Burlamachi family		
	<p>Michele Burlamachi B Lucca 1532 D St Denis/Paris 1590</p> <p>M Chiara Calandrini 1565/66 (D Muret 1580)</p>	<p>Renée Burlamachi B 1568 Montargis D Geneva 6/9/1641</p> <p>M (1) César Balbani 1586 (D 1521) M (2) Théodore-Agrippa D'Aubigné</p> <p>Camilla Burlamachi B 1569 Paris D Geneva 12/11/1640</p> <p>M François Turrettini 1587</p> <p>Jacques Burlamachi B Luzarches 1570 D Geneva 28/4/1630</p> <p>M Anne Diodati 1599</p> <p>Susanne Burlamachi B 1572 Paris D Geneva 25/6/1633</p> <p>M Vincenzo Minutoli 1596</p> <p>Elie Burlamachi B 1573 Paris D Paris in infancy</p> <p>Philip Burlamachi B 1575 Sedan D London</p> <p>M Elizabeth Calandrini 1608 (D 1628/29)</p> <p>Madelaine Burlamachi B 1579 Muret D Geneva 3/7/1663</p> <p>M Jean Diodati, Professor of Theology 1600</p> <p>Chiara Burlamachi B 1580 Muret D Muret in infancy</p>
Members of the Diodati family		
<p>Nicolao Diodati B Lucca 1511 D Lucca 1544</p> <p>M Elisabeta Arnolfini 1540 who married Giuliano Calandrini 1566</p>	<p>Pompeo Diodati B Lucca 1542 D Geneva 31/10/1602</p> <p>M (1) Laura Calandrini (D Geneva 24/8/1580) M (2) Sara Balbani 1591</p>	<p>Juditta Diodati B Sedan 1570 D Geneva 1/10/1602</p> <p>M Fabrice Burlamachi 1592</p>

1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
		<p>Susanna Diodati B Sedan 1573 D Geneva 14/8/1624 M Jean Baptiste de Saussure de Dompmartin?</p> <p>Eli Diodati B Geneva 1576 D Paris 1661</p> <p>Diodato Diodati B Geneva 1579 D Geneva 5/4/1642 M (1) Maria Micheli 1611 (D 18/5/1618) M (2) Jaqueline Budé 1628 (D 30/5/1641)</p> <p>Teodoro Diodati B Geneva 1569 D Geneva before 1573</p> <p>Theodore Diodati B Geneva 1573 D London 1651</p> <p>Samuello Diodati B Geneva 1574 D?</p> <p>Jean (Giovanni) Diodati B Geneva 1576 D 3/10/1649 M Madelaine Diodati 1600</p> <p>Anna Diodati B Geneva 1578 D Geneva 19/1/1634 M Jaques Burlamachi 1599</p> <p>Giuseppe Diodati B Geneva 1579 D?</p> <p>Stefano Diodati B Geneva 1583 D?</p> <p>Maria Diodati B Geneva 1586 D 1615 M Dr Paolo Offredi 1608</p>
	<p>Carlo Diodati B Lucca 1541 D Geneva 3/3/1625 M (1) Flamina Balbani M (2) Maria Mei 1572</p>	

xx Members of the Calandrini, Burlamachi and Diodati families

1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
		Renea Diodati B Geneva 1588 D? Paolo Diodati B Geneva 1590 D? Madalena Diodati B Geneva 1592 D 15/11/1655 M Dr Jean-Antoine Pelliari 1604

Only members of the Calandrini, Burlamachi and Diodati families relevant to this book have been included in the family trees. For more comprehensive lists, see D. C. Dorian, *The English Diodatis*, New York, 1969, Appendix 1. Apart from Dorian, I have relied on S. Adorni-Braccesi (ed.), *Vincenzio Burlamachi, Libro di Ricordi degnissimi delle nostre famiglie*, Rome, 1993.