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978-1-107-06715-8 - Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor, 1578–1637

Robert Bireley

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## Chapter 1

### Boyhood and youth, 1578–1598

The year 1578 marked the highwater mark for Protestantism in Inner Austria, the southernmost territory of the Austrian Habsburgs. In early February the combined estates of the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which taken together made up most of the territory, assembled at Bruck an der Mur in Styria because of an outbreak of the plague in Graz, the provincial capital. There in the Pacification of Bruck they extorted from the Habsburg Archduke Carl widespread concessions for the practice of Protestantism. Later that same year, on July 9, to be exact, at 3:15 a.m. there was born in the castle of Graz the future archduke and emperor, Ferdinand II.<sup>1</sup> In due time he would complete the restoration of Catholicism in Inner Austria that his father, Archduke Carl, initiated shortly after agreeing under great pressure to the Pacification of Bruck.

Archduke Carl, born in 1540, descended from a grand Habsburg line dating back to Emperor Rudolf I in the thirteenth century. He was the youngest son of Emperor Ferdinand I, brother of Emperor Charles V. Born in 1500, Charles had become ruler of the Netherlands in 1515 and the following year King of Spain and with it the Spanish territories in Italy – that is Milan, Naples, and Sicily – and in the New World, and he reigned over the vast Holy Roman Empire from his election in 1519 to his abdication in 1556. The Empire stretched over most of Central Europe from the North and Baltic Seas (in the north) to the north of Italy (in the south), and from the French border in the west to Poland and Hungary in the east. It was composed of nearly 300 political units of three main types: secular principalities, ecclesiastical principalities governed by a prince-bishop or archbishop, and city-states that often included an extensive hinterland, and it was held together by a complicated structure with the emperor

<sup>1</sup> Hurter 2: 216

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and a representative body, the diet (Reichstag) at the top. At his abdication, Charles divided his vast inheritance between his son Philip and his brother Ferdinand, thus initiating the two related lines of the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs. Ferdinand himself reigned as emperor from 1556 to 1564 after having governed the Austrian Habsburg lands in the Empire since 1521 and as king of Bohemia and of Hungary since 1526, both of which he claimed through his wife Anna. Bohemia belonged to the Empire; Hungary did not. So he brought together for the first time the three lands that would eventually constitute the heart of the Habsburg Monarchy: the Austrian lands, Bohemia, and Hungary.

Subsequently, Ferdinand I divided his territories among his three sons. Maximilian, the eldest, received Lower Austria with its capital in Vienna, Upper Austria with its capital at Linz, and the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and he followed his father as Holy Roman Emperor from 1564 to 1576. His son, in turn, Emperor Rudolf II (1576–1612) succeeded his father in all these lands. Emperor Ferdinand's second son, Archduke Ferdinand, received the Tyrol as well as Anterior Austria, the Habsburg lands along the Upper Rhine including Alsace, with his residence at Innsbruck. Inner Austria then fell to Carl, the third son. Inner Austria in addition to the three above-mentioned duchies also comprised to the south on the Adriatic Sea the county of Gorizia (Görz), Inner Istria, Fiume, Trieste, and parts of Friuli. Inner Austria counted as the largest territory of the Empire with 18,446 square miles and a population of roughly one million.<sup>2</sup> According to Ferdinand I's testament, the three lines were to be equal. None of his sons was to marry or give his children in marriage without the knowledge and counsel of the others. The two younger brothers were to seek the emperor's advice in all important matters and to be bound by it with respect to alliances.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise the Inner Austrian government enjoyed full sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> Carl established his residence and a central administration for Inner Austria at Graz in Styria. For the coming years from 1564 to 1619, when Ferdinand as newly-elected emperor left for Vienna, Graz enjoyed the high point of its history as the seat of a flourishing and influential European court, only to sink back into provincial status after 1619.

Ferdinand's mother was the formidable, deeply religious Wittelsbach Maria of Bavaria, daughter of Duke Albrecht V (1550–1579). Her marriage to Carl in 1571 in Vienna united the two sometimes rival Catholic dynasties, Wittelsbach and Habsburg, that stood in the forefront of the Catholic restoration in

<sup>2</sup> Winfried Schulze, *Landesdefension und Staatsbildung. Studien zum Kriegswesen des innerösterreichischen Territorialstaates (1564–1619)*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 60 (Vienna, 1973), 44–5. Bavaria's area in 1564 amounted to 10,579 square miles and Brandenburg's to 14,710. Carniola was awarded to the newly created Yugoslavia in 1919, and it now constitutes the Republic of Slovenia.

<sup>3</sup> *Graz als Residence. Innerösterreich 1564–1619. Katalog der Ausstellung*, Grazer Burg, 6. Mai bis 30. September 1964 (Graz, 1964), 56–7.

<sup>4</sup> Viktor Thiel, "Die innerösterreichische Zentralverwaltung 1564–1749, 1: Die Hof- und Zentralverwaltung Innerösterreichs, 1564–1625," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 105 (1916): 4.

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Germany. Altogether Maria presented her husband with fifteen children before his death in 1590, twelve of whom survived into adulthood, including three archdukes and among the daughters four queens, one grand duchess, and one princess.<sup>5</sup> Of these the future emperor was the sixth, preceded by the first child and first Ferdinand, who died shortly after birth, and then by four daughters.

Archduke Carl inherited two principal problems as he assumed rule of Inner Austria: the consistent advance into his lands of Protestantism in the form of the adherents of the Augsburg Confession or Lutherans, and the constant threat of invasion from the east by the Ottoman Turks who, starting in the late fourteenth century, had been moving up into southeastern Europe, nearly taking Vienna itself in 1529. A town of about 8,000 in 1582,<sup>6</sup> Graz with its formidable fortress stood as a bulwark to their advance. The two problems were linked. The Peace of Augsburg of 1555 legalized Christian practice in the Empire according to the Confession of Augsburg, and it conceded to the secular princes of the Empire the right to determine whether the established religion of their territory would be Catholicism or Lutheranism. In the Empire the Catholic Habsburg emperors depended upon financial support from Protestant states for defense against the Turkish threat from the southeast, and the Protestants exploited this dependence in order to secure concessions. Protestantism had spread into the Austrian lands, that is Upper and Lower as well as Inner Austria, long before the Peace of Augsburg, and Protestant nobles dominated the representative estates in all three by 1555. Anterior Austria and the Tyrol took a different path; after a brief experience of radical Protestantism in the 1520s and 1530s, it remained Catholic. In the Inner Austrian lands, the Catholic Archduke Carl required funds from estates largely Protestant in order to meet the Ottoman threat. Dependent upon them as he was, he made the religious concessions to them at Bruck in 1578. So the religious issue became intertwined with the struggle for superiority in the territory between the ruler and the representative estates who could exercise their power by withholding taxes. This contest between ruler and estates over ultimate authority or the upper hand was a feature of the growth of the state in the early modern period, and, generally,

<sup>5</sup> For a list of Maria's children, see Katrin Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria von Innerösterreich (1551–1608). Zwischen Habsburg und Wittelsbach* (Vienna, 2012), 294–7. The archdukes were Maximilian Ernst, Leopold who after serving as bishop of Passau and archbishop of Strasbourg, resigned his ecclesiastical dignities, assumed the rule of the Tyrol and Anterior Austria, and married Claudia de' Medici, and Carl who became bishop of Breslau and Brixen. The queens were Anna and Constance, both wives of King Sigismund of Poland, and two wives of Philip III, Gregoria Maximiliana who died in 1597 before her planned departure for Spain, and Margaret. Maria Christierna married Sigismund Bathory, Prince of Transylvania in 1598, but their marriage lasted only several months, and Maria Magdalena married Cosimo de' Medici, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1608.

<sup>6</sup> Franz Popelka, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz*, 2 (Graz, 1960): 289–90.

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as eventually in the Habsburg lands under Ferdinand II, the ruler emerged as the winner, though not as a fully absolute ruler.

Emperor Maximilian II, while remaining Catholic, sympathized with the Protestant movement and hoped eventually to reconcile Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist. In 1568, in exchange for a generous grant of taxes to support the campaign against the Turks, he made concessions to the estates of Lower and Upper Austria. Allowed was the practice of the Confession of Augsburg by the nobility and by their subjects, not however in the cities, until the hoped-for reconciliation of the confessions. The concessions were given on condition that the Catholic Church was not to be insulted or maligned and its institutions were to be left untouched. Furthermore, a church order was to be drawn up for the Protestants. Such an order was prepared for Lower Austria and accepted by the emperor in 1571, but it was not accepted for Upper Austria, and so in the latter the status of the Protestants remained without a formal guarantee. In Lower, and especially in Upper Austria, the estates interpreted these concessions broadly, often overlooking the conditions. In 1574 Maximilian agreed, orally, to permit Protestant services in the seat of the Lower Austrian estates in Vienna, and a Protestant culture flourished that has retained its attraction up to the present day. A prominent school was founded in Linz in Upper Austria, and the University of Vienna came to be dominated by Protestants. Yet, according to the best estimates, although the nobility had for the most part gone over to Protestantism, less so in Lower than in Upper Austria, overall the population remained roughly equally divided between Protestants and Catholics, and the Protestants had not succeeded in creating an institutional framework. In Vienna, the major city of the Austrian lands, a slight majority remained in the old faith.<sup>7</sup>

Protestantism had spread continually and persistently in Inner Austria. Commercial and intellectual contacts with the German cities and Protestant universities such as Wittenberg and especially Tübingen fostered the advance of Lutheranism, and it benefitted from the widespread clerical abuses and pastoral neglect that had been revealed by visitations conducted by joint commissions of princely and ecclesiastical officials in 1528 and again in 1544–1545.<sup>8</sup> The nobility above all went over to the new evangelical teaching, using its rights of patronage and administration of church property to introduce Protestant pastors. The papal nuncio, Germanico Malaspina, reported in 1580 that not more than five members of the nobility remained Catholic in Inner Austria.<sup>9</sup> The new evangelical teaching gained many followers also in the towns and market towns (*Städte und Märkte*); only seventeen of ninety-five of the latter were directly under the control of the ruler, the rest being subject to

<sup>7</sup> Walter Ziegler, “Nieder-und Oberösterreich,” *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation. Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, 2: *Der Südosten*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster, 1989): 124–7.

<sup>8</sup> Pörtner, 58–9.   <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

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nobility.<sup>10</sup> Protestants enjoyed relative peace in the 1550s, and the Protestant estates established schools in the provincial capitals Graz, Klagenfurt, and Ljubljana (Laibach), and in Judenburg. But the Protestants enjoyed no formal guarantee of toleration. In 1572, under pressure for funds to confront the Turks, Carl conceded to the Styrian nobility along with their subjects freedom of religion until a reconciliation of Protestants and Catholics took place. But this concession ignored the towns, and of course it did not apply to the domain lands of the ruler; nor was the concession fixed in written form.<sup>11</sup>

Six years later in 1578, Archduke Carl agreed to the Pacification of Bruck, which confirmed the earlier agreement of 1572 and then went beyond it, for the combined estates of Inner Austria. This document has remained controversial up to the present day. It has survived in two varying versions, one drawn up by the estates and one by the archducal chancery, neither of them signed by both parties. Once again it recognized the free exercise of religion for the nobility and their subjects, and it agreed that they could keep preachers in their residences, and since many nobles could not afford this, it also allowed for other preachers who would minister to a number of noble households and to their subjects. Protestant churches and schools were permitted in the same four cities – Graz, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Judenburg – and subjects might attend these schools and churches as well as services on the grounds of noble landowners. The archduke reserved to himself the regulation of religion in the other towns and market towns, but he promised not to burden the consciences of his subjects, a phrase which the Protestants interpreted to mean freedom of worship while the archducal party limited it to a freedom of conscience which did not permit public worship. The ducal version then made the important point that Carl granted these concessions only for himself and so did not bind his successor. And to reiterate, there existed no formal document with the signature of both parties. The Pacification remained essentially an oral agreement which was open to interpretation.<sup>12</sup>

Why did the two parties accept this unsatisfactory agreement? Archduchess Maria later claimed that it burdened her husband's conscience and indeed drove a nail into his coffin.<sup>13</sup> Carl was desperate for funds. The new Emperor Rudolf had in 1577 entrusted him with further responsibility for the defense against the Turks by making him the supreme military commander for the Croatian-Slavonian Military Border east of Styria and Carinthia, while he himself retained the command of the Hungarian

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–8.

<sup>11</sup> Karl Amon, "Innerösterreich," in *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, 2: *Der Südosten*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster, 1989): 106–10.

<sup>12</sup> Pörtner, 30–3; *Acten und Korrespondenzen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich unter Erzherzog Karl II. (1578–1590)*, ed. J. Loserth (Vienna, 1898), x–xi. *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, 50.

<sup>13</sup> *Graz als Residenz*, 196.

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frontier to the north.<sup>14</sup> The estates, for their part, recognized the legitimacy of Carl's argument for funds for defense. They also were moved by a passive or "suffering" obedience that derived from their Lutheran theology and did not allow for a more active resistance to legitimate authority. At the imperial diets throughout this whole period representatives of the Inner Austrian estates found themselves in the "awkward position" of joining with their Catholic counterparts in petitioning for funds for defense against the Turks while at the same time calling upon the Protestant princes of the Empire to intercede with Carl or later Ferdinand on the religious issue.<sup>15</sup>

The second main issue for Carl was defense against the Ottoman Turks, "the hereditary enemy of Christianity." In the reign of Emperor Ferdinand I, a Military Border zone had been created in Croatia and Slavonia as a buffer between the lands under Habsburg suzerainty and the areas controlled by the Ottomans, and in the course of the 1530s and 1540s a line of fortresses had been constructed across the border from Inner Austria. In 1564 at Carl's accession, he and the Inner Austrian estates had agreed to accept the major burden for the defense of the Croatian-Slavonian border as opposed to the Hungarian border further to the north for which the emperor was responsible. After the death of Suleiman the Magnificent in 1566, when the Turks were perceived to be vulnerable, Emperor Maximilian undertook a new offensive which turned out to be disastrous and resulted in a humiliating peace in 1568.<sup>16</sup> Subsequently, Maximilian aimed to keep the peace with the Turks, refusing to enter the alliance of the pope, Venice, and Spain against them that resulted in the resounding naval victory at Lepanto in 1571. But the Turks did not consider raids and skirmishes along the border to violate the peace, and these continued regularly. In 1574 they conducted a major raid into Croatia where they inflicted a severe defeat upon Austrian forces. By 1577 roughly 7,000 imperial troops were stationed in the lands of the Military Border.<sup>17</sup> Much of this territory had been abandoned by noble and ecclesiastical landholders because of the constant fighting. The Habsburg authorities had then encouraged the settlement of refugees from areas conquered by the Turks such as the Vlachs or Walachians and the Uskoks who supplemented the sparse native population.<sup>18</sup> These peasants of the area of the Military Border received special privileges such as land free from feudal overlordship, a degree of self government at the local level, and reduced taxes in exchange for military

<sup>14</sup> Gunther Erich Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522–1747* (Urbana, 1960), 46–50. Slavonia is here to be understood as a geographical rather than a political term designating eastern Croatia; see Ekkehard Völkl, "Militärgrenze und 'Statuta Valachorum,'" *Die österreichische Militärgrenze*, ed. Gerhard Ernst (Kallmünz, 1982), 1, n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Pörtner, 31–3; citation on p. 33.

<sup>16</sup> Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven, 2001), 125–34.

<sup>17</sup> Völkl, 10. <sup>18</sup> On the Uskoks see Chapter 3.

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obligations and other duties such as the maintenance of fortresses. Shortly after his accession in 1576, Emperor Rudolf placed Carl in charge of military operations along the Croatian-Slavonian border, as we have seen, and at the meeting at Bruck in 1578 the Inner Austrian estates consented as part of the arrangement to contribute nearly 550,000 florins annually for the defense of the border. In 1578, Carl established the war council (Hofkriegsrat) in Graz, which was partially under the control of the estates, and he began to reorganize the chain of border fortresses, constructing a new fortress at Karlovac (Karlstadt) which was to be the headquarters for the Military Border. But the emperor instructed him to remain on the defensive.<sup>19</sup>

The Pacification of Bruck sounded the alarm in Rome, partly because of fear that the concessions would lead to the advance of Protestantism into Gorizia, Trieste, and Fiume, and from there into Venice and down into Italy. The Dominican Felician Ninguarda, a diplomat experienced in German affairs, was dispatched to Graz to inform Carl that he had incurred the excommunication imposed on those who aided heretics, and to urge the revocation of the Pacification. He arrived in early May 1578.<sup>20</sup> Whether Carl initially tended toward a more tolerant view similar to that of his brother Emperor Maximilian and only took on a militantly Catholic attitude under the influence of his wife Maria and the Jesuits – nearly all his privy councillors were Protestants –,<sup>21</sup> or whether from the beginning he was determined to restore Catholicism as he felt entitled to do by the Peace of Augsburg, is difficult to determine. The latter seems more likely. Prior to any negotiations concerning his marriage with Maria, he had taken steps to secure the dispatch of a Jesuit preacher to Graz for Lent in 1570 and soon envisioned a Jesuit college in Graz. To the Jesuit superior general in Rome he wrote in 1571 that he intended the restoration of Catholicism in his territory. So Carl followed the lead of his father, Emperor Ferdinand I, who had first brought the Jesuits to Vienna and to Prague in the mid-1550s, to found colleges. The college in Graz opened its doors in 1573, and the archduke henceforth vigorously fostered the work of the fathers, now undoubtedly supported by his wife Maria. Even before they began instruction in the school, the Jesuits staged the Corpus Christi procession in Graz for the first time in twenty years.<sup>22</sup>

To soothe Ninguarda's fears, Carl expelled Protestants from Gorizia, a territory surprisingly of little concern to the estates who had secured

<sup>19</sup> Rothenburg, 27–51.      <sup>20</sup> Pörtner, 72.

<sup>21</sup> Johannes Andritsch, "Landesfürstliche Berater," in *Innerösterreich 1564–1619*, ed. Alexander Novotny and Berthold Sutter (Graz, 1969): 88–9.

<sup>22</sup> Maximilian Liebmann, "Die Gründung der Grazer Universität und die Jesuiten," in *Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich 1564–1628*, ed. Franz M. Dolinar (Klagenfurt, 1994): 77–84; Bernhard Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg, 1901): 23–5.



the Pacification.<sup>23</sup> Ninguarda traveled to Innsbruck and to Munich to discuss the situation in Inner Austria with Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. Both counseled against a direct revocation of the concessions of Bruck; such a drastic move might stir up a rebellion. From October 14 to 15, 1579 then, Archduke Carl, Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, and Duke William V of Bavaria – Maria’s brother who had succeeded Albrecht V – met in the Munich Conference to draw up a plan to undermine the Pacification of Bruck in Inner Austria. They laid out a series of measures that aimed at a gradual process, carried out in deeds rather than in words, and avoided head-on confrontation. Carl was to secure control of the printing presses in order to prevent the heretics from publishing their propaganda and polemics, and polemical and seditious sermons were to be outlawed. The Pacification was to be interpreted narrowly, and nothing was to be permitted that was not explicitly granted in the document. This would greatly limit the activity of the preachers in the towns and market towns, including the four cities Graz, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Judenburg. The construction of new Protestant churches was to be considered illegal. Eventually, all Protestant preachers would be expelled from the towns when they violated the aforementioned directives. In due course, then, Carl would exercise the right of reformation granted him by the Peace of Augsburg. The emperor, the rulers of the Tyrol and Bavaria, the king of Spain, and the pope could be expected to help the process along with counsel and with financial aid, especially in the case of a tax strike by the estates. Important for the implementation of this program was the introduction of Catholics into Carl’s privy council and other major offices, and the gradual elimination of the Protestants. Measures were to be taken toward the reform of clergy and laity, and Pope Gregory XIII was requested to call upon the bishops to carry out their obligations. Carl was also urged to seek absolution from the pope from his excommunication, so as to quiet his conscience and obtain divine assistance for the program of action.<sup>24</sup> The princes also recommended that the pope establish a permanent nunciature in Graz, and indeed the following year Germanico Malaspina arrived as the first nuncio. Graz remained, then, the seat of a nunciature until Ferdinand moved to Vienna as emperor in 1619.

Archduke Carl soon began to take action, and he generally proceeded along the lines outlined at the Munich Conference. Shortly after his concessions at Bruck, he assured the prelates who held seats in the estates that he was ready to offer up his life for the faith. Moreover, the archduke was well aware of the connection between his authority and his right to determine the religion of his lands according to the Peace of Augsburg. Already in 1580 he shut down Protestant printing presses so that Protestant writers had to publish their

<sup>23</sup> Pörtner, 73.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 81–3; “Beschluss der Konsultation,” 1579, October 14, Loserth, No. 11 (pp. 36–40).



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materials outside Inner Austria. This became more significant after 1586 when the Jesuit college was elevated to the status of a university, and the Jesuit faculty members began to issue a steady stream of Catholic publications. He proceeded against the preachers in the towns where in his interpretation of the agreement of Bruck, he possessed the authority to do so, and in 1580 he imposed silence on Jeremias Homberger, director of the Protestant school in Graz. Later that same year, on December 10, departing from the procedure recommended by the Munich Conference, Carl decreed that in the towns and in his domain lands, only Catholic worship would be permitted. But this caused such an uproar that the decree had to be revoked the following February.<sup>25</sup> Homberger was now exiled for exhorting to resistance. Gradually, Protestants were dismissed from office but not from all their positions, especially in the military, and in 1582 Carl directed that only Catholics be placed in the lesser positions at court.<sup>26</sup> In 1582 Carl virtually repeated the edict of 1580 that prohibited Protestant worship in the towns and cities, and in its enforcement he concentrated on Graz itself where he then forbade the city's magistrates to attend Protestant worship. A wedge began to develop between the Protestant nobles with their overwhelming majority in the estates and the townspeople, especially the artisans. The two groups frequently disagreed on issues, for example, on the apportionment of taxes, and now their consensus on the religious question began to break down. The estates were not willing to go to the barricades to support the townspeople in their struggle.<sup>27</sup>

An inner council began to form to deal with the religious issue that included the nuncio, the rector of the Jesuit college Heinrich Blysem, and two bishops, both brought over from Salzburg who were for years to serve as major figures in the Counter Reformation in Inner Austria: Martin Brenner, bishop of Seckau from 1585 to 1615; and Georg Stobäus von Palmburg, bishop of Lavant from 1584 to 1610. The Jesuit college was raised to the status of a university in 1586, a development that brought a much larger contingent of Jesuits to the city who, as we have seen, began to issue a flood of Catholic writings. In 1587 the archduke ordered that all the students from the cities and market towns should attend this university.<sup>28</sup> That same year the reformation commissions were introduced that were to serve an important function in the implementation of the Counter Reformation. These were commissions headed jointly by a prelate and a government official and accompanied by a squad of soldiers who moved from parish to parish restoring a Catholic pastor and pressuring parishioners to return to Catholic practice.<sup>29</sup> Reform measures were also underway as the nuncio Malaspina undertook visitations of monasteries and religious houses where he often found dreadful conditions.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Amon, 416; Pörtner, 85.    <sup>26</sup> Pörtner, 87.    <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 92–3.    <sup>28</sup> Hurter, 2: 184

<sup>29</sup> Amon, 417.    <sup>30</sup> Pörtner, 99.

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Tensions increased, especially in Graz itself. There in early June 1590, renewed efforts to counter the presence of citizens at Protestant services provoked the outbreak of urban riots. A Protestant mob threatened a St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Catholics. Yet the violence was contained.<sup>31</sup> Archduchess Maria experienced the unrest at first hand. Twelve-year-old Ferdinand had already departed for his studies at the Jesuit college in Ingolstadt. The unsettling events confirmed both in their association of Protestantism with violence and rebellion. At the time, Archduke Carl was staying at the Habsburg castle at Laxenburg outside Vienna, where he frequently found respite from attacks of the stone and of gout. He returned to Graz where he died unexpectedly on July 10, 1590, surrounded by his wife and children.<sup>32</sup> His death brought a respite in the campaign to restore Catholicism. In his testament, drawn up in 1584, Carl professed at length his own Catholic faith, called for the exclusion of any of his children from their inheritance should they ever go over to the Protestants, and imposed on his successor the obligation of maintaining his lands in the Catholic faith. Lest there be any doubt about this last point, he reiterated it forcefully in a codicil to the testament, and he declared clearly that his successor was not bound by the concessions made at Bruck.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, young Ferdinand was growing up in Graz. His mother Maria watched carefully over his education and over that of all her children, especially after the death of the archduke. Tradition ascribes piety to Ferdinand from his earliest years. Before he knew prayers by heart, he knelt at Mass and at the Angelus, the prayer recited three times daily commemorating the angel's Annunciation to Mary, and he showed an inner participation in the service. His first tutor, Hans Widmanns, was named when Ferdinand was four, and it is not clear who succeeded him.<sup>34</sup> At eight years of age, he was confirmed and also enrolled as the first student to matriculate at the new University of Graz. At eleven his own household was established and about the same time he was inducted into the Young Students of the Muses (*Alumnae musarum juventutis*) by the rector of the Jesuit college in Graz. This may indicate an early interest in music. As it was, music played a prominent role at the court of Graz under Archduke Carl where Venetian musicians often performed, and Ferdinand himself would maintain this tradition in Graz and later in Vienna.<sup>35</sup> Before he left to study at Ingolstadt, he addressed the assembled members, and afterwards he gave each of them a gold coin with the saying inscribed on it "To Those Who Fight Justly Goes the Crown" (*Legitime certantibus corona*). Taken from

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 94–5.     <sup>32</sup> Keller, 40–1.

<sup>33</sup> Archduke Carl's Testament, June 1, 1584, and Codicil, undated, Hurter 2: 522–35.

<sup>34</sup> Hurter 2: 216. Hurter suggests Carl Weinberger, a Franciscan Minim and well-known preacher, and Andreas Backes, holder of the benefice St. Anna in the castle of Graz.

<sup>35</sup> See Helmut Federhofer, *Musikpfleger und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erberzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)* (Mainz, 1967).