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Confessional and Political Affiliations
during the Revolt of the Netherlands:
the Shifting Loyalties of Jean Haren
(c.1545-c.1613)¹

The metamorphosis of Antwerp from a bastion of the Revolt to a Catholic bulwark² began immediately after the city surrendered to Alexander Farnese in August 1585. As part of that process, the Jesuits established in December that year a prestigious lay sodality dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which organised 'conversion sessions'.³ At one such gathering, held on Sunday 9 March 1586,⁴ the sodalists together with many magistrates heard Jean Haren, a Reformed minister of some standing, solemnly abjure his Calvinist faith and announce his return to the bosom of the Catholic Church.⁵ Haren was then in his early forties, and he went on

- 1 Deze bijdrage wordt opgedragen aan de nagedachtenis van mijn te jong gestorven promovendus, de hartstochtelijke West-Vlaming en historicus, Marcel Backhouse (1948-1995). This contribution will also shortly appear in a slightly modified version in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, a collection of my essays. I am obliged to the publisher Ashgate for agreeing to its publication here. Because Jean Haren led such an itinerant life, I have relied on the expertise of an unusually large number of scholars. My chief debt is to Ludo Vandamme, 'wetenschappelijk medewerker Historische Collecties' of the Openbare Bibliotheek Brugge, who furnished large numbers of photocopies and information about Haren's ministry at Bruges. Mireille François of the Bibliothèque Municipale Nancy kindly arranged for me to consult the unique copies of the works Haren published at Nancy. As usual, I am grateful to the librarians of the Hartley Library, University of Southampton, especially to the staff of the indispensable Inter-Library Loan service. I also wish to thank Andrew Spicer of Oxford Brookes, Judith Pollmann of the Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden and Jean Tsushima, the Honorary Archivist of the Honourable Artillery Company for chasing leads on my behalf.
- 2 The antithesis comes from the title of the study of A.K.L. THIJIS, *Van geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk. Maatschappelijke betekenis van de Kerk in contrareformatorische Antwerpen*, S.l., 1990.
- 3 On these Marian sodalities, see J. ANDRIESEN, *De Jezuïeten en het samenhorigheidsbesef der Nederlanden 1585-1648*, Antwerp, 1957, p. 178-180.
- 4 Haren's abjuration in March 1586 is variously dated. The *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*, J.P. DE BIE and J. LOOSJES (eds.), 5 vols., The Hague, 1919-49, III, p. 516 has 3 March, yet, according to the title of his apologia published at the time, Haren made his declaration on 9 March.
- 5 G. MARNEF, 'Protestant Conversion in an Age of Catholic Reformation: the Case of Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in: *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitu-*

to become a Catholic polemicist. Yet, he did not die in that faith, for on Sunday 7 March 1610, precisely twenty-four years after his recantation in Antwerp, a repentant Haren appeared before the Walloon congregation in Wesel, asking to be reconciled with the Reformed Church.

Jean Haren was not, of course, unusual in changing his religion. With the gradual confessionalisation of Europe, Christians whose faith conflicted with the Church established by law had a choice. Some decided for conscience' sake to go into exile, others to profess their faith behind closed doors in defiance of the state, but the great majority were obliged, more or less willingly, to conform with the form of Christianity which the ruler prescribed. In the century or so following the Religious Peace of Augsburg, European politics were confessionalised and the respective Catholic and Protestant powers lived, at best, in a state of 'cold war'. In this confessional tug-of-war, high profile converts from one faith to another became trophies or scalps, to be paraded for the edification of their new co-religionists and exploited to demoralise the 'enemy'.

This battle for souls generated a huge volume of polemical literature, one subspecies of which was the 'recits de conversion'. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, conversion accounts enjoyed a certain vogue. According to one count, some 259 Catholic and 85 Protestant conversion narratives appeared in French between 1598 and 1628.⁶ Their popularity is not hard to ex-

tion of Religious Identities 1400-1750, E. ANDOR and I.G. TÓTH (eds.), Budapest, 2001, p. 258-259. I am indebted to Guido Marnef for furnishing a transcription of the conversion account in Th. VAN LERIUS, 'Antwerpsche Chronykje. Uit den "Boeck van de Sodaliteyt der Getrouwde, onder den titel van O.-L.-V. Boodschap der Soc. Jesu te Antwerpen"', in: *De Vlaemsche School*, 8 (1862), p. 125.

- 6 L. DESGRAVES, 'Un aspect des controverses entre catholiques et protestants: les Recits de Conversion (1598-1628)', in: *La Conversion au XVII^e siècle. Actes du XII^e Colloque de Marseille*, Marseille, 1983, p. 101-102. All were printed in France, except for two Catholic texts published in the southern Netherlands and ten Protestant accounts that appeared abroad, especially Geneva. On the relationship between confessionalisation and conversion, see the thoughtful observations of T. WANEGFFELEN, 'Se convertir ou abjurer? Indices de la construction confessionnelle dans les cérémonies d'adhésion aux Églises réformées et catholiques en France au XVI^e siècle', in: *Actes du VIII^e Colloque Jean Boisset. Catéchismes et Confessions de foi*, M.M. FRAGONARD and M.M. PERRONET (eds.), Montpellier, 1995, p. 70-79.

plain. News of the conversion of Huguenot grandees and pastors allowed French Catholics to anticipate the day when the kingdom would no longer be polluted by heresy. Likewise, the abjurations of monks from the Spanish Netherlands served to lift the morale of northern Dutch Protestants in the early seventeenth century.⁷

Such conversions whet our curiosity, the more so when the individuals concerned changed their faith more than once. We want to know what prompted such changes of heart. Were they sincere or opportunistic? Did they occur in a blinding flash or were they the fruit of anguished years of quiet doubting? Did they bring the convert peace of mind? Unfortunately, these were not usually personal 'kiss and tell' confessions of the sort beloved by today's press. They served primarily to demonstrate the doctrinal rectitude of the convert's new faith, and emphasise the grave errors of his previous beliefs. Personal information about how the convert came to his decision was only of incidental significance. And, at any rate, the lens through which the convert looked back on his former religious state would be so badly distorted by his new spiritual perspective as to be an unreliable guide. Sometimes the journey from one side of the religious divide to the other was gradual and, seemingly, painless. This seems to have been the experience of the Utrecht antiquarian Arnoldus Buchelius, who drifted from a conventional Catholicism into Calvinist orthodoxy, without feeling any need to sever relations with either Catholics or Mennonite acquaintances.⁸ For others, the transition was traumatic, and did not necessarily bring the contentment (or perhaps the material rewards) for which the proselytes might have hoped. A case in point is Marcantonio de Dominis. In 1616, he sensationally exchanged his Catholic archbishopric of Spaleto for the Anglican

7 Apart from Jean Haren's repentance, at least four conversion accounts appeared in Dutch between 1580-1616, see W.P.C. KNUITTEL, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 9 vols., The Hague, 1899-1920, nos. 1175, 1240, 1346, 1919. Several editions of the collected recantations of French, German and Dutch Roman Catholics were translated and published in English between 1601-1602.

8 J. POLLMANN, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic. The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641)*, Manchester, 1999.

deanship of Windsor, only to return to his former religious allegiance six years later.⁹

One defector from the Reformed Church who quickly came to regret his apostasy was the French minister Hugues Sureau du Rosier. After having championed the Calvinist cause in debate with eminent Catholic theologians, he abjured his Protestant faith following the massacre of 1572.¹⁰ In his despair, he interpreted the slaughter as proof that God, far from favouring the Reformed religion, in fact desired its extinction. As a foremost Calvinist, his change of heart was sensational news and his recantation was immediately published, while he was put to work to secure the conversion of several leading Huguenots, including Henry of Navarre. Du Rosier himself, however, remained in a state of spiritual turmoil and his anguish increased when the Catholic Duc de Montpensier charged him with bringing his Calvinist daughter back to the Roman fold. On his way to Sedan to fulfil that mission, du Rosier fled to Protestant Basel, where in 1574 he issued a remorseful retraction. Though the Reformed Church forgave him, he was a broken man and he never resumed his ministry.

We know as much about Du Rosier thanks to the unusually candid nature of the apology he addressed to his Reformed colleagues. Haren's accounts provide fewer clues as to why he changed his faith. His Catholic profession is a systematic refutation of Protestant, and in particular Reformed, doctrine, while his later Calvinist apologia is a mixture of self-pity and self-loathing. Even the few seemingly autobiographical passages are difficult to interpret because of their chronological vagueness. To confuse

9 D. MACCULLOCH, *Reformation. Europe's House Divided 1490-1700*, London, 2003, p. 409-410. Pierre Caroli changed sides four times between c. 1534 and his death around 1550, see s.v. 'Caroli, Pierre' in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, H.J. HILLERBRAND (ed.), 4 vols., New York, 1996, I, p. 265-266.

10 See P. BEUZART, 'H. Sureau du Rosier (1530?-1575?)', in: *Bulletin de la Société du Protestantisme français*, 88 (1939), p. 249-268 and R.M. KINGDON, 'Genève et les Reformés français: le cas d'Hugues Sureau, dit du Rosier (1565-1574)', in: *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, 12 (1961), p. 77-87. See also B.B. DIFENDORF, *Beneath the Cross. Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, Oxford, 1991, p. 142-143, 225.

matters further, Haren was in the habit of making boastful claims, which while they cannot be categorically refuted, seem distinctly implausible. He was also inclined, when under pressure, to be evasive or to make mendacious statements.

Yet, by looking at the shifting religious and political loyalties – for the two were often inseparable – of a minor figure like Jean Haren, we can gain an insight into the predicament confronting the demoralised, divided and increasingly desperate Calvinist regimes in the southern Low Countries in the early 1580s. The Calvinist regimes which negotiated the surrender of their towns to Farnese not only tasted the bitterness of defeat; they also had to endure accusations of treason from rebel ‘hawks’ who were not in the firing line. Some like Petrus Dathenus seem not to have recovered from the psychological traumas. For more than thirty years, Dathenus had been one of the foremost Calvinist preachers in the Low Countries and the Palatinate, yet in 1584 he was detained in Holland, suspected of being a *vijand des vaderlands* because he had been party to the reconciliation of Ghent.¹¹ The experience seems to have left him broken-hearted for he withdrew to North Germany, changed his name, abandoned the ministry and even toyed for a time with Jorist opinions. After negotiating the surrender of Antwerp, Marnix, whose devotion both to the cause of the Revolt and to the Reformed faith was beyond reproach, also found himself the target of recriminations and was more or less ostracised after 1585.¹² The radical Calvinist Jan van Hembyze fell victim to the vicious anti-Catholic forces he had earlier incited. When in March 1584, his conspiracy to deliver Dendermonde to the Spanish miscarried, he was arrested in Ghent and executed as a traitor barely two months before the city finally surrendered to Farnese. After the reconciliation of Bruges, Haren too was the subject of

11 T. RUIJS, *Petrus Dathenus*, Utrecht, 1919, p. 193-194; P.C. BOR, *Oorspronck, begin en vervolgh der Nederlandsche oorlogen*, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1679-84, II, p. 518-519. For a transcript of Dathenus' examination entitled 'Puncten ende Articulen', see s.v. 'Dathenus' in J. KOK, *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek*, 2nd ed., 35 vols., Amsterdam, 1785-96, XI, p. 54-71.

12 *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 17 vols., Brussels, 1964-, V, p. 601-602. In particular, Marnix' letter of 24 October 1585 to Adolf van Meetkerke, *Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde. Godsdiensstige en kerkelijke geschriften ... Verscheidenheden uit- en over de nalatenschap*, J. J. VAN TOORENENBERGEN (ed.), The Hague, 1878, p. 61-74.

criminal proceedings, and in September 1584 he was formally declared unfit to hold any charge. Shortly afterwards, Haren turned his back on the Revolt and on his Calvinist past, and in February 1585 offered his services to Farnese, though his public abjuration was delayed for another year.

Such individuals operated in a bewildering politico-religious context. The act dismissing Philip's authority in 1581 formally discharged his subjects from their obligations to the King and required them instead to be loyal to the *geunieerde Nederlanden*.¹³ Yet when put to the test, quite a few 'rebels' found loyalty to the *natuerlycke prince* still came more naturally than allegiance to an abstract state of dubious legitimacy, whose very survival seemed questionable. Few rebels were ideological republicans; they took for granted that their constitution, that fuzzy amalgam of provincial and urban privileges, required some princely figurehead.¹⁴ There were not, however, many suitors for this unrewarding vacancy. As we shall see, the radicals in Flanders flatly rejected the Duke of Anjou. Some therefore turned to Queen Elizabeth and others to the Count Palatine Johann Casimir, but when these alternative rulers proved either unwilling or unable to restrain Spanish military might, their proponents faced a stark choice. They could either go into exile (and probably into political oblivion) or negotiate a settlement with Philip II, which might even bring them financial and political rewards.¹⁵ After years of conflict and misery, reconciliation with their lawful prince seemed to some southern Calvinists the least worst outcome. Some of those who saw the conflict primarily in religious terms may have had a particular motive for coming to terms with the King. These hoped against hope

13 For the text of the oath, see P.C. BOR, *Oorspronck, begin en vervolgh*, II, p. 280.

14 E. H. KOSSMANN, 'Popular Sovereignty at the Beginning of the Dutch Ancien Regime', in: *The Low Countries History Yearbook 1981/Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, 14 (1981), p. 11.

15 For pacifist and defeatist opinions in rebel ranks, see P. A. M. GEURTS, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten 1566-1584*, Nijmegen, 1956 [repr. 1978], p. 122-123 and W. BERGSMAN, *Aggaeus van Albada (c. 1525-1587), schwenckfeldiaan, staatsman en strijder voor verdraagzaamheid*, Meppel, 1983, p. 134-136. In 1588 the corporation of Gouda proposed a plan for peace which would have recognised Philip II as the King, though he would have been shorn of much of his political authority, C. C. HIBBEN, *Gouda in Revolt. Particularism and Pacifism in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1572-1588*, Utrecht, 1983, p. 232-239.

that in return for their obedience and a comprehensive peace in the Netherlands, Philip would grant the Reformed a measure of religious freedom, as the Valois monarchs had granted their Huguenot subjects.¹⁶ We should remember that while many Catholics proved stalwart 'patriots', not every Calvinist was *ipso facto* a die-hard rebel.¹⁷ Haren may have shared the misguided optimism of some Calvinists about Philip II. That does not rule out the possibility that he acted opportunistically. For those fearful of losing their livelihoods, and even their lives, it might be necessary, as a contemporary put it, *den deuvell eyn kersse ahnstecken*¹⁸ or as the French said, *nager entre deux eaux*. Whether Haren's willingness to become a Catholic or his readiness to serve Farnese made him a religious hypocrite or a traitor to a fatherland still in its infancy must remain a moot point.

For obvious reasons, neither his contemporaries nor posterity have judged Jean Haren kindly. To those patriots who regarded Philip as a tyrant prince, the conduct of those Reformed ministers involved in the surrender of Bruges in 1584 was inexcusable. For that reason, the States General and later the States of Holland refused to allow ministers from Bruges and Ghent to serve elsewhere until they had cleared themselves.¹⁹ As we shall see, Haren had not been popular with his ministerial colleagues even before his apostasy and thereafter their mistrust turned to disgust. On

16 Dathenus told his interrogators in Utrecht that the loyalist governor of Oudenaarde, Nicholas d'Aubremont, who had acted as intermediary in the negotiations between Ghent and Farnese, had promised that in return for a peace with all the provinces, the Calvinists would be given complete satisfaction in the matter of religion, DATHENUS, 'Puncten ende Articulen', p. 69.

17 For stalwart Catholic supporters of the Revolt, see the observation of the Reformed minister Arent Cornelisz., A.A. VAN SCHELVEN, 'Emden in niederländischer Beleuchtung aus dem Jahre 1573', in: *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden*, 20 (1920), p. 182. Abel Eppens tho Equart, a well-informed Calvinist farmer from the Ommelanden, claimed that beside *Konisschen Papisschen*, one also found *Evangelischen Konichschen*, who opposed the Revolt, see *De kroniek van Abel Eppens tho Equart*, J. H. FEITH (ed.), 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1911, I, p. 259 and F. U. ROS, *Rennerbergen en de Groningse Malcontenten*, Assen, 1964, p. 209.

18 A. P. VAN SCHILFGAARDE, *Het Huis Bergh*, Maastricht, 1950, p. 110.

19 *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*. IV: 1583-1584, N. JAPIKSE (ed.), The Hague, 1919, p. 696; H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming te Brugge*, 2 vols. in one, Rotterdam, 1856, I, p. 242, II, p. 190.

the other hand, Haren's return to his father's Calvinist faith destroyed his credit among Catholics, without, it would seem, altogether restoring his reputation with the Reformed. Until recently, historians have dealt harshly with those who made their peace with the King in the 1580s. Their apparently unheroic conduct did not fit the mould of a Dutch historiography that was patriotic and predominantly Protestant, and could only be explained as the pursuit of naked self-interest.²⁰

There are too many lacunae in Haren's erratic career for us to reconstruct it fully. Yet, we can perhaps find out enough about his ministry in Bruges and its immediate aftermath to appreciate why this Calvinist rebel became a Catholic and sought reconciliation with the King. Unfortunately, the dearth of sources make it harder to throw much new light on the reasons that persuaded him, in his old age, to return to the creed in which he had been a minister for almost twenty years. Nonetheless, by following the twists and turns in Haren's life as best we can, we may remind ourselves of the dangers of passing black and white judgements on those for whom the future remained a closed book.

- 20 For the so-called 'treason' of Willem van den Bergh, Orange's brother-in-law, see J. ZAAIJER, 'Het "verraad" van stadhouder Willem van den Bergh', in: *Rechtshistorische opstellen aangeboden aan A.S. de Blécourt*, Groningen, 1939, p. 128-154 and for George de Lalaine, F.U. ROS, *Rennenberg en de Groningse Malcontenten*. When the nineteenth-century Belgian scholar J. B. BLAES edited Montigny's apologia for abandoning the States General, he described him as *ce transfuge de la cause patriotique*, see the *Recit des causes qu'ont meu le seigneur de Montigny a se retirer de l'Union des Estats Généraux*, Brussels, 1862, p. lviii.
- 21 There are entries on Jean Haren in various biographical dictionaries, though the information is not reliable, V. ANDREAS, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Louvain, 1643, p. 511; V. FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica ... usque ad an. 1680*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1739, II, p. 653; *Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, A. J. VAN DER AA et al. (eds.), 21 vols., Haarlem, 1852-78, VIII, p. 180-183; *Biographie Nationale ... de Belgique*, 28 vols., 1866-1944, VIII, col. 723-727; *La France Protestante, ou vies des Protestants français*, Eugène and Emile HAAG (eds.), 1st ed., 10 vols., Paris, 1846-54, V, p. 429-430; *Biographisch Woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden*, III, p. 515-518; *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, A. VACANT, E. MANGENOT and É. AMANN (eds.), 15 vols., Paris, 1903-50, VI, col. 2046.

I THE EDUCATION AND MINISTRY OF JEAN HAREN C. 1544-84

Jean Haren²¹ was born around 1544-45 in the town of Valenciennes in Hainaut, then part of the Habsburg Low Countries.²² His birth coincided with the short-lived ministry of the Calvinist Pierre Brully, whom the Strassburg reformer Martin Bucer had sent to the region to counter the siren voices of local libertines then sowing dissension among the evangelicals.²³ Haren tells us that he grew up in a family with strong Protestant sympathies,²⁴ and indeed, he later boasted that his father had died a 'martyr' to his faith.²⁵

According to what he told the Catholic authorities in Alsace, when he was under investigation there as a suspected Calvinist, he studied abroad at some stage. In the circumstances, his reticence about where he had been is understandable.²⁶ In his Catholic apology *Les Causes justes*, however, Haren resolves the issue. When explaining to Catholic readers why, despite all his misgivings about

22 In a letter to Jean Taffin of 4 January 1575, he spoke of his ministry in *notre ville de Valenciennes*, W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere ... (1545-1602). Sein Leben und Wirken, seine Schriften und Briefe*, Amsterdam, 1891, p. 104. His approximate date of birth is established by a letter of Alexander Farnese to Philip II on 12 February 1585 in *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas 1577-1598*, J. LEFÈVRE (ed.), 4 vols., Brussels, 1940-60, III, p. 12. I am deeply indebted to Mia Rodríguez-Salgado for not only tracing, but also transcribing and translating this remarkable letter in SIMANCAS, *Archivo General de Simancas*, Estado, 589, fol. 96. J.M.B.C. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *Les Huguenots et Les Gueux. Étude historique sur vingt-cinq années du XVI^e siècle (1560-1585)*, 6 vols., Bruges, 1883-85, VI, p. 572 mentioned this letter, though characteristically he gave no source.

23 G. MOREAU, *Histoire du protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la Révolution*, Paris, 1962, ch. 2.

24 *Les Causes justes et equitables, qui ont meues Jean Haren, jadis ministre, de quitter la Religion pretendue Reformée, pour se renger au giron de l'Eglise Catholique*, Antwerp, 1586, A3; *La Repentance de Jean Haren et son retour en l'église de Dieu, publiquement par lui récitée en l'église Wallonne de Wesel*, Hanau, 1610, p. 3.

25 *Livre des Actes des Eglises Wallonnes aux Pays-Bas, 1601-1697*, G. H. M. POSTHUMUS MEYJES and H. BOTS (eds.), The Hague, 2005 (RGP Kleine Serie, CI), p. 66; *La Repentance de Jean Haren*, p. 3. His father may have been the 'Jean Heren' who was executed on 18 January 1569 for having attended Calvinist services in 1566 and supported the rebellion in Valenciennes. Unlike most of those executed then, he did not recant, P. J. LE BOUCQ, *Histoire des Troubles advenues à Valenciennes à cause des hérésies*, Brussels, 1864, p. 54; C. MULLER, *La Réforme à Valenciennes pendant la Révolution des Pays-Bas (1567-1573)*, unpub. licentiate thesis, Université de Liège, 1973-74, p. 335. Jean Heren the Elder was a serge merchant, not a minister as has sometimes been suggested.

26 C. ROUGET, *Une église calviniste au XVI^{ème} siècle. Histoire de la communauté réformée de Sainte Marie-aux-Mines* (avec notes par E. MUHLENBECK), Paris, 1881, p. 411-412.

the Reformed Church, he had for so long clung to that faith, he drew attention to his having been indoctrinated in the *pernicieuse escolle de Geneve*.²⁷ His Protestant apologia is rather vaguer: he simply says he had been taught *aux escolles les plus salutaires de toute la chrestieneté*. Although, his name does not appear in either the matriculation list of the Genevan Academy or in the town's *Livre des habitants*, his presence at the Academy is confirmed by Franciscus Junius, his exact contemporary, who studied theology in Geneva between 1562 and 1565.²⁸ Years later, Junius recalled meeting Haren in Geneva, when they were both students. The youthful Haren did not make a very flattering impression on his fellow student, though since Junius was at that time engaged in writing against the Catholic convert, his recollections may have been *parti-pris*. Junius remembered Haren as a rather shallow person, lacking in spiritual maturity.²⁹ Another pointer to his having been a student at the Academy comes from letters of Beza, no longer extant, to which Haren replied in 1576, thanking Calvin's successor for his *affection paternelle*.³⁰

Haren may well then have been in Geneva in May 1564 when Calvin died. In *Les Causes justes*, he alleged that not only Calvin had died in despair but that he personally had witnessed the reformer's tragic end. The claim is preposterous – an otherwise unknown student would scarcely have gained access to the sickbed of the dying reformer – but the fabrication served to bolster the allegations which Jérôme Bolsec had propounded in his scurrilous life of Calvin published in 1577, that the heresiarch had died a fittingly miserable death, haunted by the devil.³¹ Presumably,

27 *Les Causes justes*, C1^r.

28 Junius' name is also missing from the matriculation register, but his attendance at the Academy is well attested from other sources. The *Liure du Recteur* went missing late in 1561, B.A. VENEMANS, *Franciscus Junius en zijn Eirenicum de pace ecclesiae catholicae*, Leiden, 1977, p. 12.

29 See E. DOUMERGUE, *Jean Calvin. Les hommes et les choses de son temps*, 7 vols., Lausanne, 1899-1927, VII, p. 472; also, W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 109.

30 *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, A. DUFOUR et al. (eds.), 28 vols., Geneva, 1960-, XVII, p. 195.

31 For the various Catholic stories about Calvin's death, see E. DOUMERGUE, *Jean Calvin*, VII, p. 471-475. Curiously, whereas the passage describing Calvin's death in *Les Causes justes*, H2 and in *Profession Catholique de Jean Haren a laquelle sont adioustees certaines*

Haren's presence in Geneva at this time provided an opportunity to authenticate, as it were, Bolsec's tale.

Haren would have been nineteen or twenty when Calvin died and he may have remained in Geneva during the *Wonderjaar* of 1566-1567, when Valenciennes became the epicentre of a short-lived Calvinist rebellion, in which his father was involved. Certainly, Jean Haren's name is missing from the exhaustive investigations of the Council of Troubles into events in Valenciennes.³² Alba's arrival in the Low Countries in 1567 heralded a wave of prosecutions against those involved in the recent Troubles. As the son of a Calvinist and a rebel, Jean Haren had no future in the Low Countries, but his immediate movements are hard to trace. According to a statement made in 1584, he saw William of Orange at Bacharach in the Lower Rhine, where from late July 1568 the Prince was making ready for his campaign against Alba. Around that time, Haren carried out an obscure errand for the Luxemburger nobleman, Bernard de Malberg, to the Huguenot captain Mouvans, who died in October 1568.³³ At some point Haren was also in the employ of Louis of Nassau.³⁴ When he was in his mid-twenties, he married,³⁵ and began his Calvinist ministry.³⁶ For the

demandes Chrestiennes, proposées ..., Nancy, 1599, p. 45 used the first person, the Dutch translation of 1586 employed the third person, *Wettighe ende treffelycke redenen*, D7.

32 He had some knowledge of events in 1566, though this may have been acquired at second hand. In 1586 he claimed that the Calvinists had intended to use the three million guilders they were collecting in 1566 as a war chest. He could also name several ministers prominent at the time, see *Profession Catholique*, p. 56-56'. In 1610 he claimed his property had been seized, *Liure des Actes des Eglises Wallonnes*, p. 66.

33 Paul de Richie, seigneur de Mouvans (or Mauvans).

34 When Haren was interrogated in June 1584, he volunteered this information, see H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, 2 vols. in one, Arnhem, 1868, II, p. 251. On 24 July 1568 Bernard de Malberg wrote from Strassburg to his compatriot Jacques de Solliguren to say he had received news about Mouvans' troops. In the light of Haren's later statement, that information may have come from him, see *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau*, G. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER (ed.), 1^{ère} Série, 8 vols., Leiden, 1835-47, III, p. 267-272.

35 See *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XVII, p. 196.

36 See *Les Causes justes*, B2'. This tallies with his statement in *La Repentance de Jean Haren*, p. 5 that he had preached the Gospel for between seventeen and eighteen years. In 1584 he claimed to have faithfully served *Princes Chrestiens* for nineteen or twenty years and to have been a *esclave* to the cause of the Revolt for eighteen years, H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 249, 251.

next eight or nine years, Haren was, apart from a visit to Valenciennes, probably in 1574, abroad.

For much of that time he was in Alsace. It was probably as the Protestant chaplain of Elisabeth de Mérode, the widow of Bernard de Malberg, that Haren found his way to Strassburg.³⁷ Not for the last time, Jean Haren found a niche in the service of the nobility: in a very uncertain world, their patronage offered a measure of protection. From Strassburg, Haren next moved to the southern Vosges, preaching to the mining community in and around Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines. At the end of 1571, the Protestant villagers of Bonhomme in the neighbouring Val de Liepvre petitioned the seigneur of Ribeaupierre for the services of a minister, and he responded by sending Haren. The Habsburg authorities at Enisheim, to the north of Mulhouse, however, distrusted the new minister. They questioned the propriety of Haren's calling, though he insisted he had been legally called in Strassburg with the approval of the authorities, who officially subscribed to the Augsburg Confession. They also suspected him of being a Calvinist and therefore of having violated the Religious Peace of Augsburg, which recognised only the Roman Catholic and Lutheran confessions. Haren did not give a straight answer, insisting simply that he preached the pure Word of God. Some evidently also suspected that he was on the run from the Low Countries, an allegation he naturally also rejected. He did, however, admit to having gone abroad in order to study.³⁸ Though the seigneur of Ribeaupierre was prepared to defend Haren, the investigation may have hastened his departure from the Val de Liepvre late in 1572, probably for Strassburg, where he was certainly active two years later.³⁹

37 C. ROUGET, *Une église calviniste*, p. 199. Bernard de Malberg had died of injuries sustained during William of Orange's invasion of the Low Countries.

38 C. ROUGET, *Une église calviniste*, p. 199-200; 409-414. For the politico-religious situation in the Val de Liepvre, see P. DENIS, *Les Églises d'Étrangers en Pays Rhénans*, Paris, 1984, ch. 5.

39 Haren was mentioned in the letter of a Strassburg minister written in late June 1574, G. KOCH, 'Pasteurs dans la région de Phalsbourg vers la fin du XVI^e siècle', in: *Horizons européens de la Réforme en Alsace. Mélanges offerts à Jean Rott pour son 65^e anniversaire*, M. DE KROON and M. LIENHARD (eds.), Strassburg, 1980, p. 157.

When Junius refuted Haren's Catholic profession in 1586, he recalled that his erstwhile colleague had been guilty of unbecoming conduct on an earlier occasion.⁴⁰ Though the French pastor was not explicit, it would seem that Haren had taken advantage of the amnesty Philip II had granted in June 1574. Those availing themselves of this Pardon had, however, first to make their peace with the Catholic Church and receive absolution.⁴¹ Like other 'Pardonisten', as they were derided, Haren presumably followed these procedures in order to recover his father's confiscated estate. To die-hard rebels⁴² and committed Reformed Protestants, Haren had behaved dishonourably, and, according to Van Meteren, he was suspended from his ministry, and only restored after showing remorse. The decision to reinstate him was taken despite the misgivings of many, who regarded him as a rogue.⁴³ It was for this reason that Haren is often said to have forsaken his Calvinist faith twice – in 1574 and again in 1586. Formally, this may be correct, though if so, the Catholic authorities either did not know (or conveniently forgot) that he was technically a relapsed heretic.

Haren certainly showed no inclination at this stage to revert to Catholicism. When he wrote to the respected Walloon minister Jean Taffin in January 1575, he told him he had spent several months, presumably in the autumn of 1574, ministering to *l'Eglise de Dieu tant et tant affligée en nostre ville de Valencenes*.⁴⁴ Yet, Haren must have been aware that he was, as it were, on probation. Perhaps that

40 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 107. According to Emanuel VAN METEREN, Haren took advantage of the Pardon published by Alba in July 1570, but as he was then in Alsace, the Pardon of 1574 seems more likely, especially as Haren was apparently active that year in the Low Countries, *Commentarien Ofte Memorien Van-den Nederlandtschen Staet/ Handel/ Oorloghen ende Gheschiedenissen van onsen tyden ... Oock soo verre ghebrocht totten af-standt van Wapenen ende Vrede in't Jaer 1608*, 2 vols. in one, [Amsterdam], 1610, I, fol. 226.

41 P. C. BOR, *Oorspronck, begin en vervolgh*, I, p. 512.

42 In a Beggar song of 1571 those who had taken advantage of an earlier Pardon were despised as *Pardonisten*, who had bowed the knee to Mammon, *Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken*, P. LEENDERTZ (ed.), 2 vols., Zutphen, 1924, I, p. 95-97.

43 E. VAN METEREN, *Commentarien ofte Memorien*, fol. 226.

44 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 104. Unfortunately, Cuno omitted to say where he found this letter of which he published an excerpt. It may also be at this time that Haren converted a leading Anabaptist, who resided in Antwerp, See *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XVII, p. 196.

is why, in this letter, he declared he had only ever wanted to be a servant in *la maison de Dieu* and he went on to give an unfortunate hostage to fortune by insisting that he would *vivre et mourir en sa maison sans jamais rien quitter de sa verité connue*.⁴⁵ Haren was prone to this extravagant rhetoric, which probably did not allay the nagging doubts of the sceptics. After this fall from grace, Haren was, by the spring of 1575, back in Strassburg, where he found himself at odds with his Calvinist colleagues.

The cause of Haren's continuing difficulties was an allegation, which he strenuously denied, that he had denounced a clandestine Calvinist colloquy of francophone pastors, held in Strassburg in April that year, to the Lutheran clergy. Officially, only the Augsburg Confession was recognised in Strassburg, for the Reformed Church, once so powerful, had been since 1563 partly driven underground. To make matters worse, a fierce controversy raged on the nature of the real presence in the Eucharist between the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Calvinists. In Strassburg, relations were so bad that the Calvinist ministers urged the faithful to take Communion at Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines rather than attend the Lutheran town churches.⁴⁶ If Haren did delate the colloquy, his motivation is unclear. He certainly had no sympathy for the Lutheran teaching about the real presence, for on one occasion he preached a sermon denouncing what he called *ceste nouvelle doctrine et dangereuse de [Johannes] Brentius* on the ubiquity of Christ's body. If the report is correct, Haren might have taken exception to the illegality of the Calvinist colloquy. It may be significant that in the summer of 1576 Haren travelled from Strassburg to Heidelberg in the Palatinate, where he could legitimately attend the Lord's Supper according to the Reformed rite.⁴⁷ As a Catholic, Haren certainly accused the Calvinist churches of plotting the overthrow of their princes and

45 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 104.

46 *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XVII, p. 200 n. 13; see also J. ROTT, 'L'Église des réfugiés de langue française à Strasbourg au XVI^e siècle: aperçu de son histoire, en particulier de ses crises à partir de 1541', in: J. ROTT, *Investigationes historicae. Églises et Société au XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols., Strassburg, 1986, II, p. 538.

47 *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XVII, p. 196, 200 n. 11. Haren's name does not, however, appear in *Das Kirchenbuch der französischen reformierten Gemeinde zu Heidelberg 1569-1577 und Frankenthal in der Pfalz 1577-1596*, A. VON VELDEN (ed.), Weimar, 1908.

lords,⁴⁸ – that was only to be expected – but even before his conversion, he may have felt uneasy about open defiance of the civil powers.

In September 1575, the Huguenot leader Henri Condé concluded a treaty with Duke Johann Casimir, who promised substantial military aid for the Huguenots and in December the army mustered in Lorraine.⁴⁹ Haren, perhaps persuaded by his unhappy relations with his colleagues in Strassburg, took service as a military chaplain with a Walloon contingent. On Easter Sunday 1576 he preached at a Communion service attended by the Duke and his household somewhere to the north east of Orléans. This was the occasion on which Haren attacked both the Catholic and Lutheran doctrines of the real presence.⁵⁰ Casimir's campaign ended in May 1576 when the Huguenots secured major religious concessions from the French Crown. Seven years hence Haren hoped that this happy outcome might be repeated when the Calvinists in Flanders invited Casimir to intervene in Flanders. By the summer of 1576, Haren was back in Strassburg, but his troubles were not over. Not only was he seriously ill, but he faced fresh allegations, this time to the effect that he had spoken approvingly of Anabaptists. Somehow, this accusation reached the ears of Beza, who wrote to Haren. In October 1576, Haren responded to the Genevan reformer's letters. Far from being *gens de bien*, he told Beza he considered the Anabaptists to be deceitful wretches, whose doctrines he deplored. After all, his own three children had been baptised and he himself had borne arms. He did admit to having had doubts about the real presence two years earlier, but no longer and he appended a statement of his beliefs on infant baptism, the Communion and double predestination (to which he subscribed).⁵¹

48 *Les Causes justes*, B3.

49 B. VOGLER, 'Le rôle des électeurs palatins dans les guerres de religion en France (1559-1592)', in: *Cahiers d'histoire*, 10 (1965), p. 51-85. For a contemporary eye-witness account of the campaign see *Eigenliche Beschreibung des Jüngst-ergangene Zugs in Frankreich von ... Johan Casimir Pfalzgrafen ... vollpracht*, S.l., 1576.

50 *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XVII, p. 196, 200 n. 10 & 11.

51 *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XVII, p. 195-201.

In February 1577, the Strassburg authorities closed down the French refugee congregation at the instance of the Lutheran preachers. This might explain why Haren briefly became a Walloon minister in Holland. The first firm evidence of his presence there came in the summer of 1578, when he attended the national synod of the Reformed Churches at Dordrecht, as the minister of the newly-formed Walloon congregation in that town.⁵² In all likelihood, he had been called to serve in that capacity since the formation of that congregation in mid-October 1577.⁵³ Because the structure of the Reformed Churches in France and the Low Countries, especially outside the larger towns, was still embryonic, many first-generation ministers led an itinerant existence. In that respect, Haren's experience was typical. In September 1578, however, his future looked more assured. The Walloon synod then decided that, when he had finished ministering in the field to some French soldiers, he should serve the French-speaking congregation in Bruges, until such time as the Calvinists in Valenciennes were granted freedom of worship.⁵⁴ In the event, no such opening occurred there, and in mid-October he took up his post at Bruges,⁵⁵ where he remained for almost six years.

By the autumn of 1578, the Calvinist churches in Flanders, having virtually disintegrated under Alba, were, to the consternation of Catholics there and in the Walloon provinces, making a startling comeback. At first sight, this seems surprising since the Pacifica-

52 *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden der zestiende eeuw*, F.F. RUTGERS (ed.), Utrecht, 1889 (Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, ser. II, III), p. 316.

53 The magistrates of Dordrecht had been on the lookout for a French-speaking minister since March 1577, see *Brieven uit onderscheidene kerkelijke archieven*, J. J. VAN TOORENENBERGEN (ed.), Utrecht, 1884 (Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, ser. III, V), p. 177. For the Walloon congregation see *Uw Rijk Kome. Acta van de kerkeraad van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Dordrecht 1573-1579*, T.W. JENSMA (ed.), Dordrecht, 1981, p. 73, 88, 132. Though the Walloon minister is not mentioned by name in these records, the fact that Walloon services at Dordrecht ceased in mid-September 1578 when the Walloon synod decided to send Haren elsewhere, lends weight to the supposition that he had been the Walloon minister during 1577-78.

54 *Livre synodal, contenant les articles résolus dans les Synodes des églises wallonnes des Pays-Bas. 1563-1685*. 2 vols., The Hague, 1896-1904, I, p. 66.

55 L. VANDAMME, 'De calvinistische kerkorganisatie in Brugge, 1581-1584,' in: *Opstand en verval. Aspecten van het dagelijkse leven in het Brugse tijdens de laatste decennia van de 16de eeuw*, A. BAUWENS et al. (eds.), Bruges, 1987, p. 41.

tion of Ghent categorically upheld the monopoly of the Catholic Church everywhere, except in Holland and Zeeland, and punished anti-Catholic acts as violations of the common peace. Yet, the articles allowing southern Calvinist exiles to return home and even recover their property, and more importantly, suspending the draconian anti-heresy legislation, undercut this robust defence of Catholicism. Consequently, when Flemish Protestants re-emerged from hiding to practise their religion openly in defiance of the Pacification, the magistrates had no effective remedy. The Calvinists in Flanders could act the more brazenly because Ghent, where a revolutionary committee of XVIII had seized power at the beginning of November 1577, championed their cause. The XVIII set out to re-assert Ghent's hegemony over the county, and win political independence vis-à-vis Spain.⁵⁶ Because in the eyes of the XVIII the Catholic Church was so closely identified with the odious Spanish regime, it had to be dismantled. Catholic magistrates and officers were therefore systematically replaced by Calvinists, who could be trusted to support the policies of the XVIII in Ghent. This explains the astonishing resurgence of the Reformed Church in Flanders after 1578. Within Ghent's sphere of influence, the mass had often been driven from the parish churches by the end of August 1578, and by December that year no fewer than fifty ministers were at work in the county.⁵⁷ The symbiotic relationship between revolutionary Ghent and Flemish Reformed Protestantism was, however, ultimately fatal because the Calvinists were widely seen as the henchmen of the aggressive, and increasingly unpopular policies of the XVIII.

One of the outcomes of these developments was Ghent's imposition of its will on Bruges in 1578. In March, a committee of XVIII

56 J. DECAVELE, 'De mislukking van Oranjes "democratische" politiek in Vlaanderen', in: *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 99 (1984), p. 635-638. Jan van Hembyze spoke vaguely of wanting to make Ghent a *coopstadt* ... *ghelyc Genève, eene onwinnelycke stad ten voordele vanden ghemeente*.

57 J. DECAVELE, 'Het herstel van het Calvinisme in Vlaanderen in de eerste jaren na de pacificatie van Gent (1577-1578)', in: *Brugge in de Geuzentijd. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de hervorming te Brugge en in het Brugse Vrije tijdens de 16de eeuw*, D. VAN DER BAUWHEDE and M. GOETINCK (eds.), S.l., 1982, p. 25-26.

was also set up there and magistrates considered hostile to the States General and William of Orange were purged, though their replacements were not by means all Calvinists. Indeed, the authorities at Bruges tried to prevent Protestant services for several more months. Rumours of *zeker secrete [Calvinist] vermanynghen ende predicatien* led in the summer to protests from the deans of the guilds and from the canons of St. Donatian.⁵⁸ Catholic morale suffered a blow in May and June with the sensational trial of several Franciscans on charges of sodomy. Eventually two brothers were burnt at the stake and the order as a whole expelled from the town.⁵⁹ At the end of July, a request from the local Calvinists for an *overdedte platse* in which to hold their services plainly embarrassed the magistrates, who temporised by allowing them, for the time being, to meet in the former count's residence, the *Prinzenhof*, rather than in a church.⁶⁰ Soon after Bruges recognised the notion of a 'religious peace' which guaranteed freedom of worship for Reformed Protestants and Catholics. Though this *religievrede* clearly violated the Pacification, William of Orange had introduced the measure as a desperate antidote to the virulent anti-Catholicism emanating from the Calvinist militants in Ghent, who wanted to outlaw the mass. In effect, Ghent and Bruges, though more hesitantly, were now turning into Calvinist republics.

Throughout the next six years, religious opinion in Bruges remained very volatile. The artless record of these years kept by the devout Catholic tailor Willem Weydts reveals how his hopes for the restoration of the mass fluctuated wildly.⁶¹ By the late summer

58 A.C. DE SCHREVEL, *Recueil de Documents relatifs aux Troubles religieux en Flandre 1577-1584*, 3 vols., Bruges, 1923-28 (Société d'émulation de Bruges, IX, X, XI), I, p. 369, 373, 489-492.

59 Franciscans at both Bruges and Ghent were accused of homosexual practices. The most recent examination of this case has concluded that the charges were not necessarily trumped up, though the timing certainly served the Calvinists very well, see J. DECAVELE, 'Brugse en Gentse mendicanten op de brandstapel in 1578', in: *Beleid en Bestuur in de Oude Nederlanden. Liber amicorum Prof. Dr. M. Baelde*, H. SOLY and R. VERMEIR (eds.), Ghent, 1993, p. 73-93.

60 A.C. DE SCHREVEL, *Recueil de Documents*, I, p. 573-578.

61 *Chronique flamande de Guillaume Weydts (1571-1584)*, É. VARENBERGH (ed.), Ghent, 1869.

of 1578, the Calvinists in the town had begun to exercise influence out of proportion to their numbers. According to one contemporary estimate, fewer than 3000 of the 25000 inhabitants subscribed to the 'new religion'. Though, as the same source observed, *en waren dan wel vele [inhabitants] noch d'een noch d'ander toegedaen*,⁶² the Bruges magistrates could never forget the existence of a very substantial body of zealous, vocal and politicised Catholics. Whenever the magistrates strengthened their commitment to the Revolt, for example, when they proposed to forswear Philip II's sovereignty, militant Catholics could be counted on to mount a rearguard action. In the summer of 1579, a Catholic faction almost succeeded in ousting the XVIII. At the end of June, the magistrates decided Bruges should join the Union of Utrecht. This was anathema to many Catholics. Instead, they demanded that the magistrates should make peace with the King, and follow the lead of Artois and Hainaut, which had recently been reconciled with Philip II at the Treaty of Arras, and undo the anti-Catholic measures. On this occasion, only the timely arrival in the town of a contingent of Scottish troops in the pay of the States thwarted the Catholics. For some reason, Jean Haren seems to have been singled out by a Catholic lynch mob, which attacked the Carmelite house where he and his family lodged. Not finding him at home, they vented their frustration on Haren's wife.⁶³ Haren wasted no time in retaliating. As soon as the putsch had collapsed, he went armed with other Walloons to pillage the residence of the Catholic ringleader, an intemperate act, which contemporaries thought ill became a minister of religion.⁶⁴

62 E. VAN METEREN, *Commentarien Ofte Memorien*, I, fol. 226'. Van Meteren's information agrees quite well with the better known estimate of Charles Custis, the eighteenth-century Bruges antiquarian, who claimed *dat alsdan binnen Stad nog wel vijf-en-twintig duy-sent Catholijcke Borgers waren; en van den anderen kant het getal der Nieuwgesinde ofte verkeerde Bruggelingen niet boven de vierduysent en konde begroot worden*. [C. CUSTIS], *Jaertboecken der stad Brugge, behelsende de gedenckweerdigste geschiedenissen ...*, 2 vols., Bruges, 1738, II, p. 342. Custis' source was apparently the sixteenth-century Bruges burgomaster Nicholas Despars. I am indebted to Ludo VANDAMME for this information; see also his 'De calvinistische kerkorganisatie', p. 50.

63 For this Catholic counter coup see A.C. DE SCHREVEL, *Recueil de Documents*, III, p. 697-699.

64 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 251-252 n. 1.

This was, however, the only occasion before 1583 when Haren was in the limelight. For the rest, his activities have left only the faintest archival footprint, being limited to the payments made to him as the minister of the Walloon congregation. The terse records of the Walloon synod suggest that he still commanded the respect of his fellow ministers for he was twice chosen to act as the synodal secretary and on another occasion, he presided.⁶⁵ Haren also preached on occasion in Antwerp, delivering sermons in both the Franciscan church and in the church attached to the citadel.⁶⁶ As time went on, however, he appears to have distanced himself from his Flemish colleagues: his attendance at the meetings of the *classis* of Bruges was sporadic and in July 1582 his continued absenteeism was tabled for discussion.⁶⁷ They, in their turn, viewed his association with Charles de Croy, the Prince of Chimay, with mounting concern.

Little is known about the Walloon congregation in Bruges. Initially, they held their services in the Carmelite monastery, before taking over St. Donatian.⁶⁸ There may have been social, and possibly ideological differences between the Walloons and the six Dutch-speaking congregations in the town. Whereas the latter included a sprinkling from among the Bruges elite,⁶⁹ the Walloon church drew its support from poor craftsmen, many of whom had come to Bruges in search of work in the 'new draperies'.⁷⁰ Indeed,

65 *Livre synodal*, I, p. 67, 71, 99.

66 Th. VAN LERIJUS, 'Antwerpsche Chronykje', p. 125. After 1581 the Calvinists at Antwerp disposed over nine churches, including the Franciscan and the 'castle' church, F. PRIMIS, *De Groote Cultuurstrijd*, 2 vols., Antwerp, 1942-43, II, p. 46-47.

67 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 193.

68 L. VANDAMME, 'De calvinistische kerkorganisatie', p. 37, 42.

69 L. VANDAMME, 'De calvinistische kerkorganisatie', p. 46.

70 *Bescheiden aangaande de kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, H. Q. JANSSEN (ed.), Utrecht, 1877 (Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, ser. III, II), p. 24. This congregation claimed in 1582 that it was too poor to pay the 7 £ Flemish levied by previous synods, *Livre synodal*, I, p. 97. See also L. VANDAMME, 'Het Calvinisme te Brugge in beweging (1560-1566)', in: *Brugge in de Geuzentijd*, p. 113 and n. 100. The Walloon congregation in Leiden, which was initially made up of émigrés from Bruges, was also impoverished, C. KOOL, *Liberty and Religion. Church and State in Leiden's Reformation 1572-1620*, Leiden, 2000, p. 164. Occasionally, there were distinguished visitors. In July 1582, William of Orange went to the Lord's Table in the Walloon Church, *Chronique flamande de Guillaume Weydts*, p. 63. Presumably Chimay also took Communion in the Walloon Church when he was governor.

it had been just such immigrants who, a generation earlier, had first disseminated Calvinist ideas in Bruges.⁷¹ In the autumn of 1583 Haren was, for reasons which will become clear, much pre-occupied by political matters and sometimes absent from Bruges for long periods and, as a result, the Walloon synod agreed to the appointment of a second minister, Jacques de la Drève.⁷² Perhaps the congregation's poverty and hence dependence on the authorities for help made the Walloons wary of controversy. In 1583, the ministers of the Flemish churches wanted to go on the offensive against the appointment of the Duke of Anjou because he was a Catholic prince. The Walloon ministers, so we are told, objected that the consistory had no business to interfere in such political matters, but were apparently overruled.⁷³ While this may well represent the standpoint of De la Drève, it certainly does not square with Haren's political stance. Relations between the two Walloon ministers were far from cordial. When the Bruges Calvinist Republic was in its death throes, De la Drève rebuked his colleague for behaving in a way more fitting to a soldier than a minister. Haren replied in kind, casting aspersions on the character of his former colleague, of which charges the Walloon synod formally exonerated De la Drève in October 1584.⁷⁴

71 J. DECAVELE, *De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1975, I, p. 339-340.

72 *Livre synodal*, I, p. 104.

73 H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 289. When the Bruges Walloons migrated en masse after 1584, they also seem to have shunned controversy, C. KOOL, *Liberty and Religion*, p. 164.

74 See the testimony of De la Drève in June 1584, H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 266-273 and *Livre synodal*, I, p. 109; also H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming te Brugge*, I, p. 267-268.

II THE CAPITULATION OF BRUGES AND HAREN'S CONVERSION TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH 1583-86

Jean Haren was sucked into the politico-religious maelstrom that afflicted Bruges between the autumn of 1583 and May 1584, when the city was reconciled with Philip II, through his relationship with the governor of Bruges, the Prince of Chimay. The two men apparently first met in the spring of 1583. Chimay had petitioned the Walloon synod on behalf of his private chaplain, Firmin Morel and the synod deputed Haren to inform the Prince of their decision.⁷⁵ As the only son of the Duke of Aarschot, the premier nobleman in Flanders, Chimay was a person of note and his decision in the summer of 1582 to take the side of the States General against Philip II and, furthermore, to embrace the Reformed faith caused a considerable stir. His father, who though fiercely anti-Spanish had remained loyal to the King, was so furious that he threatened to disinherit his son. He also exhorted him to abandon his Calvinist wife, though the Duke had instigated his marriage to Marie de Brimeu.⁷⁶ For the moment, however, Chimay stood his ground, even if he were disappointed by his less than rapturous reception by the States. After the French Fury in Antwerp, he retired to his estate at Beveren in northern Flanders. From here he was called in the summer of 1583, at the age of only twenty-three, to act first as governor of Bruges and later of Flanders on behalf of the States. If we are to believe Haren, it was he who had been instrumental in persuading Bruges and the States of Flanders to make that appointment.⁷⁷

For our knowledge of events in Bruges in this turbulent period, we are dependent on three sources.⁷⁸ The first is provided by Emanuel van Meteren. When he composed his detailed account of these months, he used the now vanished memoirs of the Orang-

75 *Livre synodal*, I, p. 103. Contrary to what is sometimes said, Haren was never Chimay's private chaplain.

76 L.P. GACHARD, *Notice des archives de M. le duc de Caraman précédée de recherches historiques sur les princes de Chimay et les comtes de Beaumont*, Brussels, 1845, p. 130-131.

77 H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervoorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 252, 312.

78 Chimay's governorship has been relatively neglected, but H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervoorming te Brugge*, II, p. 1-50 provides a detailed if dated account.

ist high bailiff Jacob de Grijse.⁷⁹ Our second source, the *Histoire véritable*, is an anonymous narrative, published in 1588 and written to rehabilitate Chimay in the eyes of the King after his defection.⁸⁰ Finally, we have the depositions made in June 1584, when the authorities in Holland launched a judicial investigation into the activities of the Reformed ministers in Bruges.⁸¹ None of these is without its problems. All of them were written after the capitulation, so that issues that appeared to contemporaries in many shades of grey came in hindsight to be presented starkly in black and white. There is a particular difficulty about the *Histoire véritable*. This apologia for Chimay presents the one time governor of Bruges as a wily political operator, who skilfully shepherded Bruges back into the loyalists' fold and who indeed facilitated Farnese's recovery of Flanders. According to the *Histoire véritable*, Chimay's sights were always set on a reconciliation with the King. Though this impression only confirmed Chimay's reputation among the rebels as a devious hypocrite and a renegade, it suggests a constancy of purpose belied by some of his policies. Though Chimay bulks large in the first two sources, they tell us little about Haren. In the case of the criminal proceedings, however, he was one of the two chief

79 E. VAN METEREN, *Commentarien Ofte Memorien*, I, fol. 225^v-228.

80 *Histoire véritable des choses les signalés ... qui se sont passées en la ville de Bruges ... sous le gouvernement de tresillustre prince Charles de Croy*, Dusseldorf, 1588, reprinted in: *Annales de la Société d'Émulation pour l'étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre*, 2^e Série, 2 (1844), p. 119-179. Van Meteren attributes this 'true history' to Chimay's steward Louis d'Ennetières. This 'history' was then incorporated, with some additions and subtractions, into Chimay's 'autobiography', and subsequently published as *Une existence de grand seigneur au 16^e siècle. Mémoires autographes de Duc Charles de Croy*, F.A.F. THOMAS DE REIFFENBERG (ed.), Brussels, 1845. No sooner was the *Histoire véritable* published than Chimay's enemies tried to destroy his reputation among the royalists. In their *Ampliation du discours intitulé histoire véritable des choses passées, soubz le gouvernement du ... prince Charles de Croy* they mocked his boastful claims to have delivered Flanders into the hands of Farnese and reminded him that a traitor such as he deserved the scaffold rather than rewards for his alleged 'services' to the Crown. To embarrass Chimay further, they appended an *Apologie contenant les raisons qui ont meu le prince de Chimay de répondre à ses calumnieurs. Faict à Sedan le xx. d'Aoust 1582*. Chimay had written this 'apology' in 1582, after he sided with the States General and converted to the Reformed faith, and it circulated in manuscript. Chimay had wanted to publish it then, but Orange and others had objected. They thought its abusive attacks on the King disproportionate to the imagined hurt suffered by Chimay while its patriotism sounded rather shrill, coming from so recent a convert to the cause of the Revolt.

81 H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 242-315.

suspects. This affected the nature of his testimony, for he sought to disassociate himself from Chimay and went out of his way to emphasise his respect for William of Orange. It is, however, clear from the statements made by other witnesses that Haren cannot always be taken at his word.

Though Chimay had taken the side of the States party, he was no friend of Orange. The humiliating arrest of the Duke of Aarschot in Brussels in September 1576, apparently with the foreknowledge of William of Orange, and then his detention a year later at Ghent, did nothing to allay the ancient rivalry between the houses of Croy and Nassau.⁸² Chimay also became a fervent, and possibly sincere, opponent of William of Orange's advocacy of a close alliance with France, and in particular of Anjou. After the failure of the peace talks at Cologne, when the rebels had been in a relatively strong position, Orange realised that the King would never cede much of his authority to the States General and accept freedom of religion except under military duress.⁸³ That would only be possible, if the States had powerful foreign allies. That became still more imperative in the 1580s, when the Army of Flanders could muster, in total, some 60,000 men. Yet, where could the States find such an effective ally? As far as Orange was concerned, there was no choice. Since Queen Elizabeth declined to be drawn into the wars in the Low Countries and since nothing much was to be expected from the German Protestant princes, Orange reckoned that Anjou, for all his faults, was the only foreign prince capable of putting a significant army into the field.

The French alliance was, however, deeply unpopular, and Chimay was certainly not alone in his distrust of the Valois Prince. France

82 For Orange's foreknowledge, see G. JANSSENS, 'Brabant in het verweer.' *Loyale oppositie tegen Spanje's bewind in de Nederlanden van Alva tot Farnese (1567-1578)*, Courtrai, 1989, p. 297, 356. One minister spoke of Chimay's hatred for William of Orange after the latter had admonished him for opposing the French in Antwerp, H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 297. At one stage Chimay was to have married Orange's eldest daughter Maria, but his devoutly Catholic mother had vetoed the match on religious grounds, E. VAN METEREN, *Commentarien ofte Memorien*, fol. 225^v.

83 In April 1584 the States General reminded Bruges that even when the Generality had been in a strong position at Cologne, the King would not grant the Reformed *een enckel huus ofte kercke*, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 390.

had been the archenemy of the Burgundian Netherlands ever since the 1460s, and nowhere were the French more hated than in the southernmost provinces, which had suffered at their hands in the latter stages of the Habsburg-Valois wars. After Anjou's abortive *coup de main* in January 1583, when the Duke had tried to seize Antwerp and several Flemish towns, the French alliance seemed even less attractive. Nevertheless, as far as Orange could see, it was still the only game in town, and in March 1583 he cajoled the States General into reaching a new treaty with Anjou.⁸⁴ Orange argued that Protestants stood a better chance of obtaining freedom of religion under the Duke than Philip II.⁸⁵ Yet, to his irritation, Calvinists, both in the Low Countries and abroad, persisted in condemning the French alliance.

This antipathy to Anjou was shared by most of the Calvinist ministers in Bruges, including Haren, though after the abjuration in 1581, he had dutifully substituted the Duke for the King in his public prayers.⁸⁶ His scruples about Anjou were strengthened when he and other delegates from the Reformed Churches in the Low Countries attended the French Calvinist synod at Vitré in Brittany in May 1583.⁸⁷ On that occasion, the French not only warned the delegation from the Low Countries against dealing with Anjou; they also put their opinions in writing to the Bruges consistory. When Haren returned, he communicated these opinions to his colleagues.⁸⁸ Yet, if Anjou were excluded, to whom could the hard-pressed rebels in Flanders turn for help? The military situation was desperate. By the end of August 1583, Farnese was already master of southern Flanders, and tightening his grip on Ypres, the third

84 K. W. SWART, *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1572-84*, Aldershot, 2003, p. 214-238.

85 Orange trenchantly put the case for Anjou in two long letters to his brother Count Johann on 18 March 1584, *Archives ou correspondance*, VIII, p. 339-363.

86 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 268.

87 J. QUICK, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 2 vols., London, 1692, I, p. 143. Haren appears there as 'John Charan'. For Haren's hostility to Anjou, see H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 252.

88 See 'Stukken, rakende de predikanten van Brugge' in H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 261, 282, 289-290, 301.

town in the county.⁸⁹ Within Bruges, devastated by disease and crippled by the cost of paying mercenaries, the Calvinist regime faced demands for peace at almost any price. To Willem Weydts, conditions in the town had become so grim that he thought they presaged the end of the world.⁹⁰

The hopes Orange placed on the French alliance were fading by August 1583. By then, the only southern Netherlands town still in French, rather than Spanish, hands was Cambrai and, to make matters worse, Biron, Anjou's general, had decided to return home. With the surrender of Ypres in prospect, the States of Flanders cast about for an alternative to Orange's much hated and seemingly ineffectual alliance with the French. In the summer of 1583, after the States of Flanders had repudiated Anjou, the notion of a grand Protestant alliance was revived. These hopes rested on Duke Johann Casimir, the Count Palatine.⁹¹ At least, this Calvinist knight errant had the right confessional credentials. Casimir was, however, at that time preoccupied fighting on behalf of Gebhardt Truchseß von Walburg, the archbishop of Cologne, who had recently turned Protestant.⁹² As Haren later explained, the hope was that military pressure from Casimir would oblige Philip II to make peace and grant freedom of religion. This was not quite as far-fetched as it might seem. Casimir's intervention in France had been a factor in forcing the Crown there to make major concessions to the Huguenots with the Edict of Beaulieu in 1576.⁹³

Haren certainly quickly gained the confidence of the inexperienced new governor, and he accompanied Chimay to Ghent, where the Prince attended a meeting of the States in August. Per-

89 L. VAN DER ESSEN, *Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme gouverneur général des Pays-Bas (1545-1592)*, 5 vols., Brussels, 1933-37, III, p. 150.

90 *Chronique flamande de Guillaume Weydts*, p. 91-103. In early November, an agent of Henry of Navarre reported that plague was rife in the town, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign 1583-1584*, p. 169.

91 *Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Johann Casimir, (1576-92)*, F. VON BEZOLD (ed.), 3 vols., Munich, 1882-1903, II, p. 155-156.

92 R. GLAWISCHNIG, *Niederlande, Kalvinismus und Reichsgrafenstand 1559-1584. Nassau-Dillenburg unter Graf Johann VI*, Marburg, 1973, ch. 10.

93 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 252.

haps because Haren had known Casimir in France, Chimay and the States included him in the deputation to sound out the Duke and other German Protestant princes.⁹⁴ For the next few weeks, the Walloon minister reconnoitred the feasibility of a Protestant alliance under Casimir's leadership. From Ghent, Haren went to Middelburg, where the States General was about to meet, to solicit support for the Flemish mission to Casimir.⁹⁵ Orange and the States General were unimpressed, judging the Flemish venture ill-conceived, unfit for the purpose and potentially counter-productive.⁹⁶ Orange must also have known that the authors of this policy were ill-disposed towards him. Nor had the Prince any fondness for Casimir, whose reckless intervention in Ghent in support of the Calvinist radicals had precipitated a Catholic backlash in the Walloon provinces in 1578. Moreover, Orange knew that his bitterest enemies among the Ghent Calvinists, Jan van Hembyze and Dathenus, had found sanctuary in the Palatinate. Orange judged, correctly as it turned out, that Casimir lacked sufficient support among the German princes to succeed in reinstating Truchseß in Cologne, let alone raise Farnese's siege of Ypres.⁹⁷

To limit the damage this diplomatic initiative might cause to the last-ditch negotiations between Anjou and the States General, Orange tried to ensure that the latter, rather than the States of Flanders, took control. He therefore tried to delay the departure of the Flemish embassy for a few days until the States General had discussed the matter and had appointed delegates with powers to negotiate an effective alliance with Truchseß and Casimir.⁹⁸

94 *Recueil des lettres missives escriptes à Monseigneur le Prince de Chimay, ensemble des réponses données sur icelles concernant les affaires de son gouvernement du pays et comté de Flandre commencement le 24^e jour du mois d'aoust 1583*, Princesse P. DE CARAMAN CHIMAY (ed.), Brussels, 1913, p. 4; H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervoorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 285.

95 *Archives ou correspondance*, VIII, p. 238-240. Orange to the States of Flanders, 28 August 1583.

96 G. MALENGREAU, *L'esprit particulariste et la Révolution des Pays-Bas au XVI^e siècle (1578-1584)*, Louvain, 1936, p. 193-194; *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 105-108.

97 K. W. SWART, *William of Orange*, p. 240.

98 *Archives ou correspondance*, VIII, p. 238-240; 243-249. Orange to the States of Flanders, 28 August and 3 September 1583; *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, L. P. GA-CHARD (ed.), 6 vols., Brussels, 1850-57, V, 188-189. Orange to Chimay, 16 September 1583.

To that end, Orange and the States General duly instructed their deputies at the beginning of September.⁹⁹ The States of Flanders, however refused to delay their mission, on the pretext that the Spanish threat to Ypres brooked no delay.

Haren therefore left, having apparently gained Orange's grudging backing, at least so he claimed in his correspondence with Count Johann and as he later told the Bruges consistory.¹⁰⁰ At first, Haren was sanguine, for on 6 September he reported to Chimay from Cologne with *bonnes nouvelles* about Casimir, adding that the Duke's arrival in the Low Countries would be beneficial.¹⁰¹ Yet, when he wrote to Count Johann two weeks later, his optimism had evaporated. He could only hope, he said, that in laying the foundations *de la milieure oeuvre du monde*, presumably this alliance of Protestant powers, during the past four years, he had not laboured in vain. Pernicious instruments of Satan, whom Haren expected God would one day surely punish, had spread wicked rumours. He was, therefore, going home, he told William's brother, in a less happy frame of mind than he would have hoped. The only crumb of comfort was that the Elector of Cologne had promised to send agents to Orange who, as Haren admitted, had correctly predicted that nothing much would come of the mission.¹⁰² This did not, however, stop Flemish Calvinists from continuing to dream about Casimir riding to their rescue. In early November, an En-

99 *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, VI, 167-170; *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 105-108.

100 *Archives ou correspondance*, VIII, p. 242-243. Orange to his brother Count Johann von Nassau, 2 September 1583. See also H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 264. Writing to Johann von Nassau on 20 September, Haren said Orange had asked that he tell him and the Elector of Cologne what financial help the States General were prepared to offer Casimir, *Archives ou correspondance*, VIII, p. 255-256. Haren told one minister he had gone to Germany with Orange's support and to another as a delegate of States, H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 264, 278. On 3 September the States General signalled its grudging approval of Haren's mission, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 108.

101 *Recueil des lettres missives*, p. 11.

102 *Archives ou correspondance*, VIII, p. 256. Haren to Count Johann von Nassau, 20 September 1583. Next day an agent of Wilhelm von Hesse confirmed that the envoys of Orange and the States General had failed to reach an agreement with Casimir, *Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Johann Casimir*, II, p. 166-168. 'Satan' in this case may be Orange, who had forewarned his brother about Haren on 2 September, *Archives ou correspondance*, VIII, p. 241-243.

glish agent in Cologne reported plans for a grand pan-Protestant alliance to establish the Reformed religion throughout the Low Countries and for Casimir to march down the Rhine and relieve Ypres. It was, however, as the agent commented, *a godly wishe, but an impossible acte*.¹⁰³

Any doubts about the anti-Orangist agenda of Chimay and the States of Flanders are dispelled by Michel de la Huguerye. This Huguenot agent reported that Haren had also gone to Frankenthal in the Palatinate to persuade Jan van Hembyze to return to Ghent, where with Chimay, he would perform some *grande service* against Orange.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, De la Huguerye does not divulge the precise nature of the 'service', but presumably, it was connected with the scheme to bring Casimir to Flanders. Meanwhile within Ghent, the anti-Orangist faction was regaining ground. When the magistracy was renewed in mid-August, Jan van Hembyze and several of his followers were chosen, and when Van Hembyze himself returned from Frankenthal on 24 October, he received a hero's welcome. A month later Petrus Dathenus began again to preach in Ghent. Orange's opponents also dominated the colleges of both the town of Bruges and the Vrije,¹⁰⁵ and the ministers as a body vehemently rejected the alliance with Anjou. From his pulpit, Johannes Capito inveighed against negotiations with such *onchristelijcken potentaten* and blamed Anjou for the ruination of Flanders.¹⁰⁶ Others came out strongly in favour of Casimir, including of course Haren, who abused one Orangist burgomaster, when

103 *Archives ou correspondance*, VIII, p. 274. In October the Vrije was still discussing an agreement with Casimir, J. GELDHOF, 'De politieke en religieuze situatie in het Brugse Vrije 1578-1584', in: *Brugge in de Geuzentijd*, p. 60.

104 *Mémoires inédits de Michel de la Huguerye*, A. DE RUBLE (ed.), 3 vols., Paris, 1877-80, II, p. 260-262. If, as seems likely, this meeting occurred in September, then it took place after the election of Van Hembyze as 'voorschepen' of Ghent. According to J. M. B. C. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *Les Huguenots et Les Gueux*, VI, p. 461-462 others, including a Ghent minister Jan Spieghele, were also sent to recall Van Hembyze.

105 An English agent resident in Bruges reported to the English Secretary of State Francis Walsingham that 'not above 5 or 6 amongst the magistrates in both colleges, I mean Bruges and the Free' supported Orange, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign 1583-1584*, p. 42-43, 361.

106 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 261, 306.

he questioned the German Duke's ability to deliver Flanders, as a *filz de perdition et Atheiste*.¹⁰⁷

By late 1583, however, the military situation for the rebels in Flanders looked even bleaker. Without money up front to pay Casimir's soldiers, the Duke could do nothing for Flanders. Even had Anjou been acceptable, he was by now a spent force, while the States General seemed unwilling or unable to come to their aid. Meanwhile Farnese and his allies were extending their control into northern Flanders, so threatening to cut Bruges and Ghent off from Antwerp and from one another. When the minister Capito was later asked why Bruges decided to negotiate with the Spanish, he blamed this on the feeling that the town had been abandoned.¹⁰⁸ With defeat staring the Calvinist regimes in the face, some argued that they should reach a negotiated settlement with Farnese while they still had some bargaining power.

Early in 1584, Van Hembyze or his supporters, possibly Dathenus, published a remarkable pamphlet in Ghent.¹⁰⁹ This argued that the inhabitants of the Netherlands could, with a clear conscience, make an agreement with the King. They should, however, acknowledge that the act of abjuration had been a failure; the attempt to replace Philip II with Anjou had not brought peace to the fatherland. The *sware vrage*, as the author admitted, was whether an agreement could be concluded while also retaining *onse privilegien, vryheden en exercitie van de reine Gereformeerde Religie*. He hoped, however, that the King would realise that if a settlement were reached in the Low Countries, Spain could concentrate its resources against the Turk, and for that reason the King might be prepared to grant religious toleration. Unsurprisingly,

107 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 252-253.

108 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 285-286; DATHENUS also blamed the loss of Ghent on the circumstance that the town had been deprived of any sort of help or relief, 'Puncten ende Articulen', p. 70.

109 The full title of this pamphlet was *Middelen en conditien door de welcke d'Inghesenten der gheunineerde Provincien, met der Majesteit vanden Coninck van Spaignen, haren naturuerlicken Heere, met goeder conscientie, mits behoorlicke versekertheit zouden mogen accorderen*, Ghent, 1584. The argument is summarised in P.C. BOR, *Oorspronck, begin en vervolg*, II, p. 407-409.

the States General dismissed the pamphlet as a pipe dream, but it served to prepare the ground for direct negotiations with Farnese.¹¹⁰

Quite when Chimay decided to work for reconciliation with the King is uncertain. After Bruges had returned to its former allegiance, he claimed he had worked tirelessly for *une bonne et sainte reconciliation* from the moment he became governor of Bruges in July 1583. This may be true insofar as few rebels envisaged the Revolt as leading to political independence. Yet, we should be wary of accepting Chimay's version of events as entirely accurate. Chimay *retrospectively* presented the invitation to Casimir as a device to thwart the deployment of French troops in Flanders. In this way, he could congratulate himself on having paved the way for Farnese's recovery of the Land van Waas.¹¹¹ Yet, this explanation seems a tad too glib. After all, Chimay had spurned overtures from an agent of Farnese in July 1583.¹¹² Moreover, who could say what would have happened if Casimir had indeed intervened to some effect in Flanders?

Probably, Chimay was, like many in his position, hedging his bets and only finally decided on direct negotiations with Farnese late in 1583, once it had become clear that the attempt to put pressure on Spain by invoking aid from the German Protestants had come to naught. Orangists in Bruges became suspicious of Chimay's intentions in early November 1583, when the high bailiff Jacob de Grijse and the burgomaster Nicolas Casembroot warned William of Orange not to trust Chimay, and plans were laid to abduct him to Zeeland.¹¹³ Jean Haren, however, got wind of these, and it was he who, late in the evening of 9 January 1584, alerted Chimay,

110 *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 389-392.

111 *Mémoires autographes*, p. 36 cf. *Histoire véritable*, p. 131.

112 S. SLOS, 'Karel van Croÿ en de reconciliatie van Brugge, 1583-1584', in: *Handelingen van het genootschap voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de benaming "Société d'Émulation" te Brugge*, 134 (1997), p. 150.

113 E. VAN METEREN, *Commentariën ofte Memorien*, fol. 226^v. Chimay knew he was under suspicion for he complained about malicious spirits trying to drive a wedge between Orange and himself, *Recueil des lettres missives*, p. 57, 91-93; see also *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 373.

so allowing the latter to arrest the conspirators.¹¹⁴ Shortly after Chimay wrote to an unidentified 'Monsieur' asking that he keep him always in the King's grace.¹¹⁵ When Chimay's steward fell into the hands of the loyalists in early March in what some suspected was a put-up job, the latter informed his captors that his master was eager to perform *un très-grand et singalé service* for his Majesty.¹¹⁶

Supporters of Hembyze came to Bruges during February 1584 to rally support for a peace with the loyalist Walloon provinces.¹¹⁷ Haren, who was evidently recognised as the confidant of Chimay, was asked by the magistrates to ascertain discreetly the prince's opinion on the matter.¹¹⁸ Apart from an elder from the Walloon Church, Haren was the only member of the Calvinist consistory on Chimay's council – indeed he was described as his chief councillor.¹¹⁹ Chimay used the minister as his spokesman in various situations. For example, Haren appeared before the States General on 10 February on behalf of Chimay to seek help for Ypres.¹²⁰ The Prince also used Haren to do his dirty work, sending him on one occasion to sabotage an agreement by which an Orangist burgomaster had quashed a mutiny.¹²¹ On another occasion, Haren, having insinuated himself into the confidence of the Orangist high bailiff, tricked the latter into making threats against the life of the Prince, which he then reported to his master.¹²² Haren also

114 E. VAN METEREN, *Commentarien ofte Memorien*, fol. 226^v; *Histoire véritable*, p. 134 and *Mémoires autographes*, p. 38.

115 *Recueil des lettres missives*, p. 98.

116 L. P. GACHARD, 'Documents concernant la réconciliation du prince de Chimay, ainsi que de la ville de Bruges et du Franc de Bruges, avec Philippe II: 2 mars-12 juin 1584', in: *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 3^{ème} série, 4 (1862), p. 502; H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 256.

117 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 262, 295, 309. The pamphlet *Mid-delen en conditien* may have been among the *boucckens* from Ghent distributed in Bruges in support of peace negotiations, see H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 302.

118 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 247.

119 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 252. When questioned about this, Haren claimed that the prince did not heed his advice, *op. cit.*, II, p. 248. The only other member of the consistory on Chimay's council was the elder Jacques van Houtvelde.

120 *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 375-376.

121 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 256.

122 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 253-254.

frequently commended Chimay's religious zeal to his sceptical colleagues in the consistory.¹²³

On 10 March 1584, the council at Bruges decided to join Ghent in negotiating a peace, despite the objections of delegates from the States General. Contemporaries were, however, confused about the sort of peace under discussion. Was this to be a local peace between, say, Bruges or Flanders and the Walloon provinces or a more general peace, affecting all the provinces? And given that these provinces stood under the King of Spain, could such a peace be achieved without negotiating with Philip II? The Calvinists were above all concerned that any peace should adequately safeguard their religious freedom.¹²⁴ Because of this uncertainty and the overwhelming desire for an end to the conflict, the Bruges ministers initially hesitated to oppose the peace initiative: one minister even wrote to William of Orange, urging him to join in the peace negotiations.¹²⁵ They soon, however, changed their mind. A week later, Chimay summoned the ministers to complain that he was being vilified as a *verrader* because he wanted to make peace with Artois and Hainaut.¹²⁶ He told them bluntly that a peace that kept *de [Reformed] religie als sy is*, upheld the privileges and removed the foreign mercenaries should satisfy anyone; the ministers agreed, but doubted whether peace was possible on these terms. Though the ministers had not hidden their irritation with William of Orange,¹²⁷ they had, with the exception of Haren, little confidence in Chimay. His *schielijcke bekeeringhe* to the Reformed faith made them uneasy, especially when he consorted with notorious Catholics.¹²⁸ For his part, the Prince tried to manipulate

123 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 255.

124 For the various forms of peace see H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 296-297, 309-310; for the confusion, see F. LE PETIT, *La Grande Chronique ... de Hollande, Zelande, West-Frise, Utrecht, Frise, Overijssel & Groeningen jusques à la fin de l'an 1600*, 2 vols., Dordrecht, 1601, II, p. 482.

125 A. M. KOLDWEIJ, 'Joannes Capito "Dienaer des woorts tot Brugghe"', in: *Brugge in de Geuzentijd*, p. 82.

126 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 308, 310.

127 Johannes Capito was also accused of attacking Orange's lukewarm support for the Reformed faith. In a sermon delivered around Christmas 1583, Capito referred to him as the *hinkende Prince*, H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 261.

128 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 304. In early May 1584, an English

them,¹²⁹ while he grumbled that the Flemish ministers expected him to make unreasonable personal sacrifices.¹³⁰ The ministers also suspected that Chimay used Haren to spy on them.¹³¹

During March Chimay was in touch with Farnese and various loyalists, including Robert Bienaymé, better known as the prior of Renty, and François Richardot, the bishop of Arras. At the end of that month, just before Easter, Chimay abruptly removed the few Orangist magistrates from the Bruges colleges, and warned the ministers not to meddle in politics.¹³² The tide was clearly turning. When the new council was sworn in, its members took an oath to the King, Chimay and the Catholic faith and at Easter the mass was again celebrated in the religious houses. Though the Reformed still had possession of the parish churches, prominent Calvinists now began to leave Bruges.¹³³ Chimay informed the States General and the States of Holland that he and the Four Members had decided to draft a treaty to end *ceste malheureuse guerre* and inviting them to send deputies to join them. He assured them there would be no treaty unless the Reformed were free to worship, the privileges were maintained and the foreign mercenaries removed, these being the *drie poincten daeromme dat wy de oorloghe dur [sic dus?] zo lancx hebben aengenomen*.¹³⁴ In mid-April, an official delegation from Bruges and Ghent went to Tournai to present their terms. These were both detailed and remarkably bold. Chimay was to remain provincial governor of Flanders, while the Reformed were to continue to exercise their religion and their ministers to enjoy the fruits of ecclesiastical property as they had done hitherto.¹³⁵ Farnese's Council of State rejected these out of hand as impertinent.

agent reported that Chimay *continueth to profess a Protestant's faith, and yet doubted he is no other than a dissembler and the Pope's instrument*, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign* 1583-1584, p. 482.

129 For example, Chimay pressed Joannes Capito to go to Ghent to discuss peace terms, but the consistory objected, H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 292, 307-308.

130 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 265, 304.

131 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 263, 270-271.

132 L. P. GACHARD, 'Documents concernant la réconciliation', p. 510.

133 *Chronique flamande de Guillaume Weydts*, p. 129-139.

134 *Recueil des lettres missives*, p. 120, 137.

135 L. P. GACHARD, 'Documents concernant la réconciliation', p. 509-514. This may have

Possibly, these draft articles were, as the States General warned Bruges on 4 April, simply a feint, designed to lull Calvinist fears about the peace process, for they were certainly unrealistic, especially following the capitulation of Ypres a few days earlier.¹³⁶ The counter-proposals from Farnese, which formed the basis of the treaty of reconciliation published on 24 May, fell far short of Reformed expectations. The religious status quo before 1578 was to be restored in full and Reformed religious services forbidden. Some concessions were made to those who did not wish to live as Catholics, partly to induce Ghent, that had broken off negotiations with Farnese, to reach an accommodation. Non-conformists who stayed would not be molested provided they caused no scandal, and those who wanted to leave Bruges were at liberty to do so provided they did not join the rebels; they were also free to sell their property.¹³⁷ In reality, the Reformed Church disappeared from public sight.¹³⁸

The Reformed ministers, all of whom except Haren, had been deeply sceptical about the peace negotiations, were aghast. They denounced the peace and openly accused Chimay of acting dishonourably.¹³⁹ Even before negotiations began, Haren had been isolated within the consistory, and he became more so in the months preceding the reconciliation. On the eve of the removal of the Orangist magistrates, Haren was seen late at night in the Prince's lodgings dressed like a halberdier. When he then proceeded to do sentry duty with the new magistrates appointed by Chimay, a fellow minister remarked that Haren looked more like a captain of the guard than a minister, to which the latter replied

been the draft which the consistory rejected when Haren showed it to the ministers on 28 March, H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 302.

136 *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 389-392.

137 L. P. GACHARD, 'Documents concernant la réconciliation', p. 516-519; 527-539. An English Protestant agent in Bruges described the conditions as *very hard and bables [bubbles] to feed fools' humours*, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign 1583-1584*, p. 482.

138 For the clandestine Reformed congregation after 1584, see L. VANDAMME, 'De calvinistische kerkorganisatie', p. 50.

139 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 280. Until the treaty of reconciliation was concluded, Chimay continued to pose as a fervent Calvinist, even obtaining from Haren an attestation to his Reformed faith, F. LE PETIT, *La Grande Chronique*, II, p. 485.

sarcastically that he should not fret.¹⁴⁰ Because he now blatantly acted as Chimay's agent, some of his colleagues urged Haren to give up his ministry.¹⁴¹ One minister, Jacobus Baselius, even called Haren a *proditeur* to the Reformed religion to his face.¹⁴²

Haren must have been uncertain how to secure his future. He might have hoped to be included in any deal Farnese made with Chimay, whom he had served so loyally for the past nine months. At the end of April, an agent of Farnese went to Bruges to sound out public opinion about the peace terms offered by the captain-general. In the course of his visit, he met Haren. Thinking mistakenly that the minister was a loyal Orangist and would therefore be hostile to the peace, he was surprised to discover that Haren not only supported the treaty, but even alleged that he had persuaded Chimay to negotiate it in the first place!¹⁴³ In support of this claim, the minister went on to say that while on a recent visit to Zeeland, Marnix had threatened his life because he held him responsible for having talked Chimay into pursuing the reconciliation. According to this agent, Haren now intended to withdraw from the country.

If Haren had been hoping to shelter under Chimay's patronage, he miscalculated, for the Prince's own standing with Farnese and the loyalists was not that strong. Only a few days before Farnese's agent had visited Bruges, the captain-general had reprimanded Chimay sharply for trying to bargain with him.¹⁴⁴ Haren had, of course, another string to his bow. He was still a minister in the Walloon church and though there was no future for him in that capacity in Bruges, he might have hoped that he, like many of his

140 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 271-272.

141 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 272, 279.

142 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 312. In *Des marques des enfans de Dieu et des consolations en leurs afflictions*, Leiden, 1586, Jean TAFFIN recalled that when he had been a minister in Antwerp, he had written to Haren accusing him of cowardice and bad faith, C. RAHLENBECK, 'Jean Taffin. Un réformateur belge du XVI^e siècle', in: *Bulletin de la Commission pour l'histoire des Églises Wallonnes*, 1^{ère} sér., 2 (1886), p. 171-172.

143 *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle (1565-1586)*, E. POULLET and Ch. PIOT (eds.), 12 vols., Brussels, 1877-96, XI, p. 578-579. In 1586 Junius claimed that he could, had he so wished, have named people who had seen Haren taking letters from Casimir to Farnese, W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Aeltere*, p. 110.

144 L. P. GACHARD, 'Documents concernant la réconciliation', p. 520.

colleagues, would be called to a congregation in Holland. In that case, he could perhaps reckon on the support of Chimay's devoutly Calvinist wife, by now thoroughly estranged from her husband.

Haren left Bruges around the middle of May, before the treaty was published and ahead of most of the other ministers.¹⁴⁵ He may have gone to Zeeland where, by his own account, he agreed reluctantly to a request from the States of Zeeland to return to Bruges in a last minute attempt to dissuade Chimay from concluding the peace.¹⁴⁶ After completing this mission, on the dangers of which Haren expatiated, he was in Sluis on 27 May, where he met Capito.¹⁴⁷ Though Haren knew he had enemies, he might not then have known that his close association with Chimay was about to become the subject of a criminal investigation in Holland. A few days later, this enquiry into events in Bruges was convened in the townhall of Delft,¹⁴⁸ and on 4 June William of Orange instructed the magistrates at Veere to detain both Capito and Haren, and from there they were taken to Delft for questioning along with five other Bruges ministers.¹⁴⁹

At his examination before a mixed commission made up of advisors to William of Orange, members of the Court of Holland, and magistrates and ministers of Delft, Haren gave a very different version of his relations with Chimay than he had to Farnese's agent at the end of April. Asked to give an account of the events leading up to the reconciliation of Bruges, he stated that far from urging Chimay to negotiate, he had warned him to stay loyal to Orange and the States General. Rather than bring dishonour on himself by breaking his word, Chimay should resign his governorship. He went on to say that he had rebuked the Prince for the peace, which he now called *inique*. This had provoked a row between the two

145 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 251, 281; De la Drève's ministry at Bruges ended on 4 May 1584, *ibid.*, p. 266.

146 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 249-250. This could also have been the visit to Zeeland made in late April when Marnix allegedly threatened his life.

147 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 300.

148 H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 305. The first Bruges minister to be questioned was Christiaen Merlijn.

149 A.M. KOLDWEIJ, 'Joannes Capito', p. 83.

men, during which Haren told Chimay that he rued the day he had ever set foot in his house.¹⁵⁰ For good measure, he ended his statement by declaring how much he had admired William since first meeting him in 1568.¹⁵¹ Yet, the testimony of his ministerial colleagues was far too damaging to be so glibly refuted.

On 27 June the Bruges ministers were set free, except Capito and Haren, who were bailed to appear in court when summonsed by the authorities. Meanwhile, they were forbidden to preach or hold any official position.¹⁵² The verdict only came in September, doubtless delayed by Orange's assassination. The sentence was devastating: both ministers were stripped of their office, declared unfit to hold any other post and condemned to internal exile. We only know this because Dathenus, then in hiding in Middelburg after the capitulation of Ghent, reported it.¹⁵³ The news shocked him for he must have realised what lay in store for him. At this point, Capito disappeared without trace from the scene.

Not so Jean Haren. At the end of October 1584, the Walloon synod meeting in Leiden publicly exonerated Jacques de la Drève from a serious slur which his former ministerial colleague in Bruges had cast on his character. At the same time, the synod expressed surprise that Haren had absented himself from the synod without informing any church. Accordingly, it ordered him to appear at the next synod to explain his conduct and to say whether he had any other allegations to make against De la Drève.¹⁵⁴ Haren paid no heed to this summons for in the meantime he had made his way to Cologne.

There, as we now know from a letter written by Farnese to the King in February 1585, he abjured his Calvinist beliefs. Having for-

150 H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 247-251.

151 H.Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, II, p. 251.

152 *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, IV, p. 695-696.

153 A.M. KOLDWEIJ, 'Joannes Capito', p. 84-85; H.Q. JANSSEN, *Petrus Dathenus. Een blik op zijne laatste levensjaren*, Delft, 1872, p. 70-72; 135-136. We know Dathenus was in Middelburg because he wrote another letter that day, which mentioned from where he was writing, T. RUYSS, *Petrus Dathenus*, p. 190-191.

154 *Livre synodal*, I, p. 109. Seemingly, the synod still treated Haren as a Walloon minister. Did they not recognise the validity of the sentence depriving him of his office a month or so earlier?

feited the trust of his fellow ministers and been found guilty by the judicial enquiry, this might be interpreted as the act of a desperate man. Yet, Haren's conversion impressed the theologians, including the Jesuits in Cologne. When Farnese spoke with him in the Low Countries, he too was convinced of his sincerity. Had Haren not been married, the captain-general would have wanted him to work as a priest in the belief that his preaching would win back his erstwhile co-religionists to the Catholic faith. Nevertheless, Farnese expected much of Haren's pen. He also hoped the convert's supposed ties with many of *los Rebeldes mas granados* would yield valuable intelligence, the more so since Haren's information differed markedly from what he had received from other sources.¹⁵⁵ For these reasons, Farnese thought the convert should be cultivated. In the meantime, he told him to return to Cologne, where he may have received further religious instruction from the ex-Lutheran Caspar Ulenberg, who worked there as a parish priest.¹⁵⁶ Once Haren's apostasy became common knowledge, the Walloon synod proceeded to his excommunication towards the end of September 1585. Presumably aware that Haren was in Cologne, the synod specifically asked the Walloon congregation there to publish this decision and to advise the neighbouring Reformed congregations to do likewise.¹⁵⁷

155 SIMANCAS, *Archivo General de Simancas*, Estado, 589, fol. 96. According to Mía Rodríguez Salgado, to whom I owe this source and translation, 'granadas' derives from 'granate', a term used to describe the colour of pomegranate seeds. To render this extravagant language, she has suggested the phrase be translated as 'the most incarnadine rebels'. On this remarkable letter see note 22.

156 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 105. The published reports of the nuncios at Cologne make no mention of Haren, though we know he was in touch with other prominent Catholics in that city. He provided Cornelius Schulting, a canon in Cologne and a professor there, with transcripts of the earliest 'national' synods of the Reformed Church, which the latter used in his polemic against Reformed church law, published in 1627 though the dedication was dated 1604, *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden*, p. 116-117, 123. Haren had it on the authority of the chancellor of the archbishop of Cologne that when Luther's body was taken from Eisleben to Wittenberg, a sinister flock of crows accompanied the corpse, see *Wettighe ende treffelycke redenen*, D6'.

157 *Livre synodal*, I, p. 112-113. The clandestine Dutch and German-speaking congregation at Cologne issued the excommunication on 22 October, *Kölnische Konsistorial-Beschlüsse. Presbyterial-Protokolle der heimlichen kölnischen Gemeinde 1572-1596*, E. SIMONS (ed.), Bonn, 1905, p. 270-271. On the previous day, the consistory of the Dutch church at Cologne had decided to proceed with the excommunication, *Handelingen van den Kerkeraad der Nederlandsche Gemeente te Keulen 1571-1591*, H.Q. JANSSEN and J.J. VAN TOORENENBERGEN (eds.), Utrecht, 1881 (Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, ser. I, III), p. 224.

Haren did not immediately 'come out' as a Catholic but underwent a period of prolonged instruction. His public abjuration was delayed until March 1586, when it took place, as we have noted, in Antwerp under the aegis of the Jesuits. The publication of his 'recit de conversion' followed almost immediately.¹⁵⁸ The conversion of so seasoned a Calvinist minister was a *cause célèbre*; a French edition appeared in Paris, while Dutch and German translations quickly followed.¹⁵⁹ Shortly afterwards, Ambroise Wille, then the Walloon minister at Aachen, penned a counterblast against Haren, who received it en route from Valenciennes to Cologne.¹⁶⁰ According to Haren, he would have answered in person had he not discovered that the Calvinists were lying in wait to murder him. Instead, he composed *Certaines demandes Chrestiennes* explaining why he had turned Catholic and when his conversion story was reprinted in French in 1587 and again in 1599, the 125 'Christian' questions addressed to Wille were appended.¹⁶¹ The arguments in the *Certaines demandes Chrestiennes* are very similar to those in *Les Causes justes*, though the former omits the lurid tales about Calvinist misdeeds in Geneva and Calvin's deathbed agonies.

In these tracts, Haren insisted the Catholic Church was the only true Church. This claim was, he maintained, proven by her antiquity, her unity, her universality and her apostolic pedigree. By contrast, the churches of the Reformation had only existed for sixty or eighty years and were riven by sectarianism, while their ministers could not demonstrate the authenticity of their

158 The dedicatory epistle bears the date 16 March 1586 and the imprimatur was granted two days later.

159 For details see the appendix.

160 Haren's sneer about the near illiteracy of Ambroise Wille, the ex-serge weaver, in *Certaines demandes Chrestiennes* suggests he may have known the Aachen minister. Since Wille had been in Geneva from 1558 to 1562, the two could have met there or possibly in the southern Low Countries, for Wille served as a minister in Tournai, not far from Valenciennes, from 1562 until 1567. Possibly, Haren's father who had been a serge merchant provided the link. See MOREAU, *Histoire du protestantisme*, p. 142, n. 2, p. 221, n. 3. Wille re-appeared in 1574 as the Walloon minister in Wesel, before he moved to Aachen, where he served from 1577 until 1597, *Synodalbuch. Die Akte der Synoden und Quartierkonsistorien in Jülich, Cleve und Berg (1570-1610)*, E. SIMONS (ed.), Neuwied, 1909, p. 138, 175, 193, 203, 206, 212, 216, 228, 239, 497, 500, 501, 511, 523.

161 *Profession Catholique*, p. 47'.

vocation. Haren then set out succinctly Catholic teaching on the doctrines and practices challenged by the Protestants, including the use of images, papal authority, the real presence, justification, purgatory and fasting. He accused the Calvinists, on whom he concentrated his fire, of reviving ancient heresies condemned long ago by the Catholic Church. Worse, they played fast and loose with the Scriptures.¹⁶² Haren warned that Calvin's teaching on the Trinity opened the door to antitrinitarianism, even atheism.¹⁶³ Haren named several prominent ministers who had gone on to deny the Trinity; indeed, he claimed to have known Adam Neuser, a Calvinist minister in Heidelberg who eventually converted to Islam.¹⁶⁴ The charge of latent antitrinitarianism caught the attention of the young Utrecht lawyer and antiquarian Buchelius, who was returning home in the early summer of 1586 from Paris. In his *Diarium*, Buchelius, still then a Catholic, recorded Haren's remarks on this subject, though this did not deter him from later joining the Reformed Church.¹⁶⁵

Above all, Haren accused the Reformed clergy of fomenting rebellion in France and the Low Countries. Far from seeking God's glory and the peace of Christendom, they incited Christian princes to make war on one another hoping, in the confusion, to seize power and plunder the Catholic Church. In so doing, the ministers took their cue from Machiavelli, whose writings, Haren alleged, they knew by heart!¹⁶⁶ Over many years, he claimed to have watched with a heavy heart as the Calvinists subverted the political order. Here he recalled the conspiracy of Amboise in

162 Haren pointed to the case of Herman Herbertsz., the libertine minister in Gouda from 1582. Supposedly, Haren had heard this minister say, when reproved for mocking the Scriptures, that the commentaries of Calvin and other Protestants had taught him that the truth of the Scriptures could not be demonstrated.

163 *Les Causes justes*, F2', H2'; *Profession Catholique*, p. 76-77.

164 In his refutation of the *Les Causes justes*, Junius reminded Haren, when he complained about the heterodoxy of certain Palatine ministers, that he was partly responsible for their appointment, having at some stage received a commission from the Elector to examine ministers in the Palatinate, W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 113-114.

165 *Diarium van Arend van Buchell*, G. BROM and L. A. VAN LANGERAAD (eds.), Amsterdam, 1907, p. 132. On Buchelius' passage to Calvinism, see J. POLLMANN, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic*.

166 *Les Causes justes*, B2'.

1560, the armed resistance sponsored by the consistories in the southern Netherlands in 1566 and the repudiation of Philip II in 1581.¹⁶⁷ Haren's strictures were scarcely original, though perhaps his disdain for the elders in the consistory as *hommes mecaniques, et ignorants, marchans, usuriers, bancroutiers ou autres semblables creatures* was born of his experience.¹⁶⁸ Despite his long-held misgivings, Haren had not quit the Calvinist Church sooner because, as he explained, the shameless lies peddled by Calvin about the Catholic faith had blinded him. Haren made much of a passage in the *Institutes*, where the Genevan reformer supposedly taught that Catholics denied the existence of God, and dismissed Christ's teaching and the resurrection of the body as mere fables.¹⁶⁹ Eventually, God had emboldened Haren to read the Church Fathers and various Catholic authors and, consequently, he came to realise how gravely he had been misled. Calvin was Haren's particular target and he established his theological credentials by citing in particular from the *Institutes* and other works by the Genevan reformer.¹⁷⁰ Though ostensibly autobiographical – Haren says he wrote *ce petit discours* to explain to a *bon amy*¹⁷¹ why he had converted – *Les Causes justes* is uninformative about Haren's life. Yet, every so often it does include some trivial, and therefore probably accurate, personal details,¹⁷² and these, together with a clutch of scholarly-seeming theological references, enhanced the authenticity of the tract.

167 *Les Causes justes*, B3, *Profession Catholique*, p. 55'-56'.

168 *Profession Catholique*, p. 74'.

169 *Causes justes*, C1'. He cited *The Institutes*, IV, 7, 7 when he meant IV, 7, 27, a slip rectified in the *Profession Catholique*, p. 10. In this chapter, Calvin traced the origin and growth of the Papacy and in this particular passage, he denounced what he termed the 'secret theology' or 'customary religion' of certain pontiffs.

170 In *Les Causes justes* the *Institutes* are cited on seven occasions, not always accurately, as well the Genevan reformer's commentary on the Psalms and his *Antidote* to the Acts of the Council of Trent. In *Certaines demandes Chrestiennes* the *Institutes* are cited more frequently and there are also references to Calvin's commentaries on the Psalms, Isaiah and Colossians, as well as to the Genevan liturgy.

171 The friend is only identified as 'Philippe D' which has been taken to mean Chimay's father, Philippe, the Duke of Aarschot. The 'friend' may simply have been a literary device.

172 For example, Haren tells us that discussions at the Synod of Vitré in 1583 took place in the residence of the S^r. De Laval, *Les Causes justes*, B3.

Haren's writings plainly embarrassed the Reformed Churches. Late in 1587, ministers in Holland petitioned the States on behalf of Flemish colleagues, condemned to death for conspiring against the Leiden magistracy. To the chagrin of the ministers, who went away empty-handed, the States brought *up de sake van Vlaenderen* and in particular threw the apostasy of Haren in their faces.¹⁷³ More generally, in the confessional war, the Reformed could not let Haren's charges go unanswered. This task fell to Junius because he had known Haren and in 1586 the *Admonition Chrestienne . . . aux chrestiens du Pays-bas* appeared.¹⁷⁴ When Junius had first heard of Haren's conversion in 1585, he had, he said, intended to rebuke him privately but once *Les Causes justes* had been published, he realised it had to be answered in print. Junius set out to cast doubt on Haren's significance at the same time as refuting the tract. Junius disputed Haren's moral authorship: in his view, the convert's mentors, particularly the Jesuits, had had a hand in its composition. Noting that some passages employed the first person and others the third person, Junius supposed that the latter betrayed the 'voice' of the Jesuits.¹⁷⁵ He recalled his own doubts about Haren's spirituality when both men had been in Geneva and reminded his readers of Haren's earlier fall from grace. Haren's calumny about Calvin's death so incensed Junius that he forgot his determination to avoid abuse and likened the convert to a frog, who could not have lifted his snout above the water unless the Jesuits had raised him up. He parried Haren's assault on the legitimacy of the Reformed Churches, by denying that the Roman Church had a unique claim to the title 'Catholic'.

173 *Brieven uit onderscheidene kerkelijke archieven*, H. Q. JANSSEN and J. J. VAN TOORENBERGEN (eds.), Utrecht, 1880 (*Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging*, ser. III, IV), p. 76. For this conspiracy, see C. KOOL, *Liberty and Religion*, p. 118-122.

174 I have only consulted brief extracts from *Admonition Chrestienne* which W. CUNO cited in *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 107-114. For summaries see also B. A. VENEMANS, *Franciscus Junius*, p. 113 and C. DE JONGE, *De irenische ecclesiologie van Franciscus Junius (1545-1602)*, Nieuwkoop, 1980, p. 145-147.

175 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 107, 110. When *Les Causes justes* was re-published in 1599 as part of the *Profession Catholique*, Haren consistently used the first person.

Measured by the number of printings, *Les Causes justes* proved fairly popular: in one form or another it went through eight, probably nine editions between 1586 and the early seventeenth century.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, it was the re-publication of a third German edition that prompted a Palatinate minister to translate Junius' refutation in 1602.¹⁷⁷ By then, however, Haren's own circumstances had undergone yet another sea change; indeed, he may already have been incarcerated somewhere in the Lower Rhine.

III HAREN AS A CATHOLIC POLEMICIST AND HIS RETURN TO THE REFORMED CHURCH 1586-C.1612

But that is to run ahead of our story. Between 1586 and 1593, Haren vanishes, though this has not prevented speculation. He himself denied he had withdrawn to a monastery, and Junius supposed he had become a Jesuit. The nineteenth-century Catholic scholar Andreas Räss, who translated excerpts from Haren's *Profession catholique* for his multi-volume collection of the writings of Catholic converts, surmised that he might have worked as a parish priest in Lorraine. In fact, of course, his married state precluded a clerical career of any sort.¹⁷⁸ Presumably, he eked out a living from a small pension, granted perhaps by Farnese, Chimay or the Jesuits in his home town.¹⁷⁹ In the *Treize catecheses*, Haren says he had denounced the errors of the Calvinists in Antwerp, Cologne and elsewhere, so perhaps the convert became a star witness for the Jesuits, with whom he remained in touch.¹⁸⁰

This silence is briefly broken by a curious letter Haren wrote on 15 August 1593 to his Jesuit spiritual father in Valenciennes.

176 For details, see Appendix.

177 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 247.

178 Haren felt obliged to deny the rumours about his having become a monk, see his *Profession Catholique*, p. 50; for RÄSS, see his *Die Convertiten seit der Reformation*, 13 vols., Freiburg, 1866-80, III, p. 516, and for Junius see W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 105-106. Junius' supposition misled several later historians: including Emanuel VAN METEREN and the nineteenth-century Belgian Protestant Charles RAHLENBECK.

179 It may be significant that the amplified edition of *Les Causes justes*, published in 1587, was dedicated to the Chimay's father, the Duke of Aarschot.

180 *Treize catecheses*, *8*.

Fortuitously, a certain Ambroise de Mouy, a Protestant banished from Lille in 1579, made a copy for Lord Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer, so that it came to rest in the English State Papers.¹⁸¹ From this, we learn Haren had been in France earlier that year, though the letter itself was written from Dinant, a town on the Meuse, which here divided the Habsburg lands from those of the bishop of Liège. Haren explained that he had been banished for having converted Henry IV to the Roman Catholic faith. The latter claim is an empty boast, though his exile just outside the borders of the Habsburg Netherlands indicates that he was indeed under a cloud of some sort. Possibly, he had attended the religious discussions held at Mantes and Suresnes in the late spring of 1593 to explore how the French King might return to the Catholic Church.¹⁸² Evidently, Haren was in a predicament and in need of advice. He had learned that if he submitted a petition acknowledging his misdemeanours, he would be pardoned and allowed to return home, yet he could not see he had done any wrong. On the contrary, since returning to the Catholic fold, he had felt called to restore to the Church those sinners who sought his help, and indeed in another letter, written soon after, he offered to assist two Protestant ladies from Liège make that same journey.¹⁸³ The agent responsible for copying the letter thought Haren was naive. He should have realised that Henry's readiness to become a Roman Catholic reduced the chance of the Infante, Clara Eugenia Isabella, succeeding to the

181 *List and Analysis of State Papers Foreign Series. V: July 1593-December 1594*, R. B. WERNHAM (ed.), London, 1989, p. 329-330. For Ambroise de Mouy, see A. LOTTIN, 'Le bannissement des protestants de Lille après la paix d'Arras (1579-1582)', in: *Revue du Nord*, 66 (1984), p. 487.

182 For the complicated manoeuvres preceding the King's public conversion at St. Denis on 25 July 1593, see N. M. SUTHERLAND, *Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion, 1572-1596*, 2 vols., Bristol, 2002, II, ch. 13 and 14 and M. WOLFE, *The Conversion of Henri IV. Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France*, Cambridge, Mass., 1993. I am obliged to Mark Greengrass and Michael Wolfe for suggesting how Haren might have been involved.

183 The ladies are identified only as 'Mme. Betho' and 'Mme. Pesche', though the former may be the wife (or widow) of Jacques de Betho, a known Protestant in Liège in the 1560s, W. BAX, *Het Protestantisme in het bisdom Luik en vooral te Maastricht 1557-1612*, The Hague, 1941, p. 259.

French throne. Anyone who facilitated the royal conversion was therefore acting against the interests of Philip II.¹⁸⁴

At this point, we lose track of Haren until he re-appears in Lorraine, where on New Year's Day 1599 he signed the dedicatory epistle of his *Profession catholique*, a re-issue of the 1587 edition of *Les Causes justes*. According to some, Haren came to the duchy in the train of the mentally unstable Duke Johan Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleve-Berg, who in June 1599 married Antoinette de Lorraine, the second daughter of Charles III, Duke of Lorraine, in Düsseldorf.¹⁸⁵ It seems more likely, however, that Haren had been living for some time in the duchy, for both the *Profession catholique* and the *Treize catecheses* were prepared for publication in Deneuvre, a hamlet to the south east of Nancy, not far indeed from the southern Vosges, where Haren began his ministry almost thirty years earlier.

Antoinette was not the only member of the house of Lorraine to marry that year. A few months earlier the Duke's eldest son Henri, the Marquis du Pont, took as his bride Catherine de Bourbon, the sister of Henry IV. The French King had promoted this controversial union in the hope of preventing the duchy becoming, yet again, a thorn in the side of France. Because of the consanguinity of the couple, this marriage required a papal dispensation. Ordinarily that would have been forthcoming, but Catherine's stubborn refusal to renounce her Reformed faith caused Clement VIII to withhold his consent. Though the marriage went ahead, the Pope nullified it and debarred the Marquis from attending mass.¹⁸⁶ This contretemps with the papacy embarrassed this strongly Catholic dynasty and great efforts were made to convert Catherine, after she arrived in Nancy in the spring of 1599. Yet, despite several debates

184 On 20 June 1593 the French States General rejected the Infante's candidature, R. J. KNECHT, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France 1483-1610*, Oxford, 2001, p. 465.

185 *Bibliothèque lorraine de la Renaissance. Les cent livres*, A. CULLIÈRE (ed.), Metz, 2000, p. 68.

186 For the background see K. CURREY, 'Degrees of Toleration: the Conjunction of the Edict of Nantes and Dynastic Relations between Lorraine and France 1598-1610', in: *The Adventures of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*, K. CAMERON, M. GREENGRASS and P. ROBERTS (eds.), Bern, 2000, p. 237-342; also R. RITTER, *La soeur d'Henri IV. Catherine de Bourbon, 1559-1604*, 2 vols., Paris, 1985, II, p. 297-338.

between Catholic and Reformed theologians, the new Duchess of Bar remained, unlike her brother, steadfast in the faith in which she had been brought up. With conversion such a hot topic at the court of Lorraine, one can understand why the authorities there sanctioned the publication of Haren's *Profession catholique* and his *Treize catecheses*, even though there is no evidence he played any part in the religious disputations at Nancy in 1599.

Haren dedicated his *Treize catecheses* to Antoinette, into whose service he entered. Perhaps this explains the fulsome tribute to her theological acumen in his dedication to the *Treize catecheses*. This work seemingly grew out of a series of addresses, which those who had heard encouraged him to publish.¹⁸⁷ Although ostensibly intended to bring back to the Roman Catholic Church *les brebis esgarées de son troupeau*, Haren primarily wanted to expose the 'true' nature of Calvinism, which he condemned as *un esgout, sentine, et cloaque de toute ordure*.¹⁸⁸

The *Treize catecheses* naturally traversed much the same theological ground as *Les Causes justes*. In the *Treize catecheses*, Haren dwelt at greater length on the connections between Calvinism and antitrinitarianism, devoting the first four of his thirteen addresses to this subject. Haren was by no means the first to question the orthodoxy of Calvinism in respect of the doctrine of the Trinity. As Haren knew, Pierre Caroli, then a reformer at Lausanne, had accused Calvin in 1537 of complicity with Arianism because of his treatment of the Trinity in the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Despite the execution of the antitrinitarian Servetus at Geneva in 1553, doubts lingered, bolstered by the careers of those radical spirits who passed through Calvinism before becoming full-blown antitrinitarians in Poland and Transylvania. Haren could therefore argue that Reformed theology had inherent Arian tendencies.¹⁸⁹ In his view, Calvin came close to tritheism,

187 *Treize catecheses*, p. 39. He ended his first address by saying that at *la première congregation* he would expound Calvin's second and third errors on the Trinity.

188 *Treize catecheses*, A5.

189 F. WENDEL, *Calvin. The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, London, 1963, p. 54, 165-169; *Treize catecheses*, p. 2-7. Haren mistakenly called the Genevan reformer's opponent Robert Caroli, but he knew of Caroli's polemic against Calvin and Farel writ-

and he mischievously cited Servetus against the Reformer, alleging that Calvin had turned the Trinity into *un nouveau Cerberus à trois testes*.¹⁹⁰ More surprisingly, Haren alleged that the Calvinists, by denying the 'miracles' of transubstantiation and the ubiquity of Christ's body, were guilty of restricting God's power. In fact, of course, Calvin never doubted that God had the power to perform miracles. He regarded Moses' miracles as incontestable and maintained that those performed by Christ demonstrated His divinity.¹⁹¹ In his seventh address, Haren emphasised the doctrinal differences between the Lutherans and the Reformed, of which he had first hand experience at Strassburg. Having been a delegate to the Synod of Vitré in 1583, Haren had been privy to the plans of the Huguenots to make common cause with the German Lutherans. These, however, foundered, as Haren explained, because of the doctrinal gulf between the confessions.¹⁹² Besides, the Calvinists always caused trouble: wherever Calvinism prevailed, murder and mayhem followed. In the Low Countries, the Calvinists, on the pretext of opposing Spanish cruelty, had declared war on the Catholic clergy, in violation of their solemn promises. Faithful priests had been replaced by ministers of the most contemptible sort.¹⁹³ The same fate would have befallen the Catholic Church in France had God not had compassion. Haren concluded his treatise with a robust defence of Catholic teaching on the Eucharist, intercessions to saints and papal authority, where he invoked the writings of the Church Fathers.

By the late sixteenth century, Catholic controversialists in France had wrested back the theological initiative from the Protestants. Numerous apologists took up the defence of the Roman Catholic

ten in 1545. Haren mentioned Valentino Gentile and Gregory Paul by name; in *Les Causes justes* he listed Biandrata, Johannes Sylvanus, Adam Neuser, and Ochino. For early modern antitrinitarianism, see *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, I, p. 55-61.

190 *Treize catecheses*, p. 50^v.

191 *Treize catecheses*, p. 65-92^v; see J. CALVIN, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I, 8.6 and 1.13.13.

192 *Treize catecheses*, p. 96-99.

193 *Treize catecheses*, p. 111. Here Haren disparaged the ignorance of the Reformed ministers, many of whom had been cobblers, hosiers, weavers and masons, while others were turncoat priests and monks.

faith and refuted the errors of the Calvinists. The *Treize catecheses* was typical of this genre. Once more, Haren paraded his familiarity with the writings of Calvin, though one suspects that his refutation of their theology owes something to the polemics of Catholic theologians, with whom he became acquainted while receiving instruction at Cologne. Despite the bitter invective, the *Treize catecheses* is a more coherent and polished polemic than *Les Causes justes*. Yet, it was never reprinted. This may be because there was by then a superfluity of such apologies, but it may also be because Haren's own fortunes underwent another somersault soon after its publication.

Around 1601, Haren found himself in prison. The cause of his misfortune is obscure. According to Emanuel van Meteren, he had been detained in Lorraine on suspicion of having written a defamatory pamphlet. This apparently contained allegations about Henry IV's marriage to Marie de Medici and wild accusations about some plot hatched by Protestant rulers to assassinate Catholic princes. The slur against the French King prompted Pierre Jeannin, the president of the Parlement of Paris, to complain to the Archdukes, presumably because Haren was their subject. Initially, Van Meteren supposed Haren had died in captivity or even been executed, though in later editions, he stated that Haren had been set free when the charge was eventually shown to be baseless.¹⁹⁴

Haren himself gave a quite different account. After his release around 1609, he alleged that he had been detained on the orders of a certain 'Coriolanus' because of his interventions on behalf of the Reformed *eglises affichées* in the Lower Rhine while in the service of house of Cleve.¹⁹⁵ Though this cannot be corroborated, it is not implausible, for Haren's arrival in Düsseldorf in the service of

194 Compare E. VAN METEREN, *Commentarien Ofte Memorien*, II, fol. 55^r, published in 1608, with his *L'histoire des Pays-Bas ou recueil des guerres et choses importantes ... depuis l'an 1315 jusques à l'an 1612*, The Hague, 1618, fol. 506^r. I have failed to identify this anonymous libel, which may never have been printed. Henry IV's complicated marital circumstances naturally attracted comment at the time, S. BARENDRECHT, *François van Aerssen. Diplomaat aan het Franse Hof (1598-1613)*, Leiden, 1965, p. 52-53.

195 *Livre des Actes des Eglises Wallonnes*, p. 66; *La Repentance de Jean Haren (1610)*, p. 10. The identity of pseudonymous 'Coriolanus' is unknown, but he may have been a nuncio.

Antoinette coincided with renewed persecution of the evangelical minorities in the region. Freed from the fear of a French invasion by the Treaty of Vervins, the Spanish army marched into the Lower Rhine in the summer of 1598, forcefully assisting the Catholic cause and badly disrupting the Reformed churches; indeed, by 1603 only three town congregations in Cleve had their own minister.¹⁹⁶ It is tempting to link Haren's release with the onset of the Jülich-Cleve succession crisis in 1609. In March 1609 the Catholic Duke Johann Wilhelm died without issue and the Protestant claimants Johann Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang of Pfalz-Neuburg immediately staked their titles to the succession.

We do not know what had brought this old man – by 1610 Haren was in his mid-sixties – who had for many years past been such a bitter opponent of the Reformed faith to repudiate the Roman Catholic Church. If Haren's explanation for his imprisonment is correct, his sympathy for the Reformed churches manifested itself soon after 1599, when he was working for the Duchess Antoinette. While in prison, Haren became convinced that his captivity was divine retribution for his apostasy and he vowed that should God deliver him, he would go to the nearest, presumably French-speaking, Reformed Church to attest his repentance and to crave forgiveness. Once he had been set free and re-united with his wife, whom he had not seen for more than eight years, Haren therefore made his way to Wesel, *de oude herberge der vervolchde gheloovighe* as he called it. In the Walloon Church, on Sunday 7 March 1610, he delivered a breast-beating address in which he acknowledged his *sale et laide apostasie* before the magistrates, ministers and congregation and presented himself as a prodigal son.¹⁹⁷ On the next day, the five Reformed ministers of the German and Walloon congregations in Wesel, having witnessed Haren's repentance, received him into the *Ghemeynte des Heeren*.¹⁹⁸

196 L. KELLER, *Die Gegenreformation in Westfalen und am Niederrhein*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1881-95, II, p. 65-67; see also J. ARNDT, *Das Heilige Römische Reich und die Niederlande 1566 bis 1648*, Cologne-Vienna, 1998, p. 124-129; 200-204.

197 *Bekeeringhe van Ian Haren*, A2-B1; *Liure des Actes*, p. 66-67.

198 *Bekeeringhe van Ian Haren*, Et.

Haren's *Repentance* was first published in French at Hanau and within a few months, Dutch and English editions followed. A German translation followed five years later.¹⁹⁹ The *Repentance* differed markedly from his Catholic 'recit de conversion'. Not only was it much shorter, it was less specific and apart from a few generalised swipes at the Roman Catholic Church, less polemical.²⁰⁰ Haren set out to demonstrate that his return to the Reformed Church was a work of providence and that he was sincerely contrite. He told the congregation at Wesel that though he had trampled on God's Word and despised His ordinances, the Holy Spirit had nevertheless placed him in the *register der gheluzalich*. Chief of those blessings had been his Protestant upbringing. Yet, despite the efforts of his father, who had died as a martyr and had spared no pains to teach him good letters, virtue and piety, he had been *de leelijcste ende vuylste Apostael*. Because he had sinned against God, he feared damnation: his soul was, he said, pierced by arrows from the *Alderhoochsten*. Yet great as had been his sins, God was forever showing mercy to his *wtverkoren*. Haren drew a parallel between his own repentance and that of Manasses. This King of Judah, having led his people into idolatry, had turned back to God and repented while in captivity in Babylon.²⁰¹ While in prison, Haren had feared that the Lord had abandoned him, but then he came to the realisation that He had forgiven him and had delivered him from physical and spiritual captivity.²⁰² At the close of his public repentance, he made a plea that the books he had written as a Catholic should be burnt because they were full of lies.²⁰³

Perhaps uncertainty about his future played a part in persuading Haren to seek reconciliation with the Reformed Church in 1610 as it had thrust him in 1584 into the arms of the Jesuits. The dynastic

199 For details, see the Appendix.

200 He claims to have been shocked by the immorality he witnessed in Rome, but this, like his remarks in *Les Causes justes* on Calvin's anguished death, seems unconvincing, *Bekeeringhe van Ian Haren*, D3'.

201 For the history of Manasses, see 2 Chronicles 33 vv. 1-20. Haren concluded his *Bekeeringhe* with Manasses' Prayer of Repentance, which found a place in the Protestant Apocrypha, though not in the Roman Catholic canon.

202 *Bekeeringhe van Ian Haren*, A4-B1.

203 *Bekeeringhe van Ian Haren*, D4'-E1.

tie between Jülich-Cleve and Lorraine dissolved with the death of Johann Wilhelm. The childless Antoinette became the Dowager Duchess, but though Haren was careful to speak well of his former patron, she was powerless to help him now.²⁰⁴ By that summer, he was telling the minister of the German Reformed congregation at Wesel that he might, *faute de mieux*, have to accept a post at the court in Düsseldorf, this time with Johann Sigismund. Yet, he would do so with misgivings because in the past such appointments had been his undoing.²⁰⁵ Haren held the post of secretary to the Elector for less than year; by March 1611 he had been dismissed, due to the malice of his enemies. Presumably, he then left the Lower Rhine for Holland for in July that year the States General gave him permission to take up residence there.²⁰⁶ By now destitute and advanced in years, Haren had to rely on the charity of the Walloon synod that came to his aid on several occasions during 1611.²⁰⁷ He was still apparently alive in 1613, but neither the year of his death nor his final resting place are known.²⁰⁸

Clearly, Haren's career did not end as he had hoped. From the spring of 1610, he was angling to be allowed to resume his career as a minister, but the Walloon synod was understandably cautious. After all, Haren had not just converted to Catholicism; he had conducted a high profile campaign against Reformed Protestantism. In mid-April 1610, the Walloon synod tactfully but firmly rebuked the ministers at Wesel for having pardoned Haren precipitately. While rejoicing in the return of their wayward son, the synod felt the church at Wesel should have waited until it had ful-

204 Haren claimed Antoinette had protected him from his enemies in Jülich-Cleve, see *Repentance*, p. 10. Antoinette died in August 1610, *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte. Die Herzogtümer Jülich-Kleve-Berg*, Kleve, 1984, p. 459.

205 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 115.

206 *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal. I: 1610-1612*. A. Th. VAN DEURSEN (ed.), The Hague, 1971, p. 417.

207 *Livre des Actes*, p. 81-82; 84; H. Q. JANSSEN, *De kerkhervorming te Brugge*, I, p. 264-265; *Livre synodal*, I, p. 226, 230.

208 According to Charles RAHLENBECK, having been denied a post as minister, he withdrew in 1613 to Alsace and Lorraine, where he died in a depressed state, *Biographie Nationale ... de Belgique*, VIII, p. 726-727, but no evidence is offered. More plausibly, VOETIUS thought he spent his last years in Holland, dying in Leiden, see W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 115.

ly considered his situation, since Haren *avoit esté excommunié en toutes nos Eglises*. The synod left it to the discretion of the French congregation at Wesel whether to admit Haren to the Lord's Table, but it was adamant that he should not be allowed to preach until his repentance had been tested and synodal approval given. When then Haren asked to be put to work in the Walloon churches so as not to remain *inutile* in his old age, the synod prevaricated.²⁰⁹ In fact, he had to wait until September 1610 before being received back into full communion, though he was never again to be a minister of the Word.²¹⁰ We last hear of Haren as the author of some *oposcules*, for which the synod at Rotterdam in 1612 duly appointed ministers to assess *à loisir*, but a year later they had still not reported back.²¹¹ The nature of these writings is unknown, though the Remonstrant church historian Gerard Brandt approvingly cites a remark by Haren, which just might come from this source. Apparently, shortly before his death, Haren observed *à propos* the doctrinal conflicts then raging among the Dutch Calvinists, that *al die disputen kunnen geen troost geven, het komt op godtsaeligheit en deucht aen*.²¹² That was perhaps the lesson that Haren's troubled life had taught him.

IV RETROSPECT

Of himself, Jean Haren was a quite insignificant figure in the Revolt of the Netherlands and an unoriginal religious thinker. His conversion to the Roman faith made him headline news for a season, but his subsequent career stuttered. The reader might therefore reasonably ask whether the man warrants such extensive treatment. To my mind, the value of Haren's tortuous life lies in the insight it offers into the religious and political developments of the later sixteenth century. Through Haren we glimpse the desperation of those at the helm of the so-called Calvinist republics in Flanders as

209 *Livre des Actes*, p. 73; *Livre synodal*, I, p. 217.

210 *Livre des Actes*, p. 75-76; *Livre synodal*, I, p. 220-221.

211 *Livre synodal*, I, p. 232, 238.

212 G. BRANDT, *Historie der reformatie en andre kerkelyke geschiedenissen, in en ontrent de Nederlanden*, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1671-1704, II, p. 121.

Farnese closed in. In the autumn of 1583, the rebel regime at Bruges looked to Johann Casimir to save them from defeat, yet a few months later Chimay, assisted by Haren, was engaged in secret discussions with the captain-general to bring about the capitulation of the city. At Ghent, Jan van Hembyze and Petrus Dathenus underwent an even more spectacular political conversion in the winter of 1583/84, seemingly in the hope that they might thereby secure religious concessions from the King. Because those hopes proved barren, Chimay and Van Hembyze have generally been stigmatised as duplicitous hypocrites, and Haren and Dathenus found themselves arraigned as traitors. In their cases, those judgments may be justified, but we should be wary of supposing that at this date all professed Calvinists were necessarily signed up to political independence from the King.²¹³ If, as some Reformed negotiators seem genuinely to have believed, the King might grant them freedom of religion in return for their political obedience, then their very fervour for the 'causa religionis' could override their desire for the 'causa libertatis'.

Following the surrender of Bruges and other cities in Flanders and Brabant to Farnese, large numbers emigrated. Apparently, Haren had initially intended to join these, but after his disgrace in the summer of 1584, he concluded that his best hope for the future lay in renouncing his faith. For many years he championed the Catholic cause with conviction, yet, like many southern emigrants who had gone into exile, Haren found that it was difficult to obliterate the past. While the latter continued to regard Flanders nostalgically as their 'fatherland', Haren in the isolation of his prison in the Lower Rhineland looked back on his father, who had raised him as a Protestant and who had died as a Calvinist rebel in Valenciennes forty or so years earlier. Those memories seem to have induced in Haren a sense of shame, which contributed to his eventual return to the faith of the Reformed Church.

213 A claim made, for example, in *Orange's Apology*, see 'William of Orange's *Apology*. A New Annotated English Translation', A. DUKE (ed.), in: *Dutch Crossing*, 22 (1998), p. 82.

Small fry like Haren needed some sort of patronage if they were to survive in such turbulent times. In order to raise his stock with prospective patrons, Haren was inclined to inflate his own importance. Hence, his bravado before Farnese²¹⁴ and his claim to have converted Henry IV. Yet patronage was, as Haren learnt to his cost with Chimay and Antoinette de Lorraine, no guarantee of prosperity for, in the words of a contemporary proverb, *c'est folie de manger cerises avec son seigneur*.²¹⁵ Understandably, Haren suffered from a deep sense of his own insecurity and he was forever telling his correspondents and readers that he lived in peril of his life. In 1584, the threat came from Marnix, in 1586 from vengeful Calvinists who intended to assassinate him, and in 1593 from unknown adversaries, who were apparently out for his blood. After his conversion to Catholicism, he saw himself as a paladin of that faith, whose life was consequently continually at risk. In the *Treize catecheses* he even compared his tribulations in defence of the Catholic faith with those endured by Athanasius and Augustine at the hands of their heretical opponents: *mille fois le glaive des adversaires*, he rather melodramatically told his readers, *s'est estendu sur moy pour m'accabler*.²¹⁶

By the late sixteenth century, creeds and catechisms had become the theological order of the day; there was little scope for doubt and even mild dissent. Haren responded to this pressure to conform by making extravagant declarations of his doctrinal orthodoxy, be it Roman Catholic or Reformed. So he reassured the Calvinist theologian Jean Taffin in 1575 that he always wanted to live and die in God's House and in the following year he sent Beza a confession of his faith *en laquelle je desire vivre et mourir*. When his erstwhile confrere Ambroise Wille attacked him in 1586 for having become a Catholic, Haren concluded his *demandes chrestiennes* by solemnly

214 SIMANCAS, *Archivo General de Simancas*, Estado, 589, fol. 96^v.

215 On this proverb see s.v. 'cerise' in R. COTGRAVE, *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, London, 1611; repr. Columbia, 1950. The anonymous nun who recounted her experiences of the troubles in 's-Hertogenbosch began by declaring that she would speak her mind even though it was *met groten heren quaet keerssen te eten*, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster van het voormalig Bossche Klooster "Mariënburg" over de troebelen te 's-Hertogenbosch e.e. in de jaren 1566-1575*, H. VAN ALFEN (ed.), 's-Hertogenbosch, 1931, p. 1.

216 *Treize catecheses*, **4^v.

asserting that he had never for one moment regretted his conversion to the Catholic faith.²¹⁷ Yet, in April 1610 he told the Walloon synod that he had decided to *terminer ma vie en l'assemblée des saints et vivre le reste de mes tristes iours en iustice et sainteté*.²¹⁸ Haren's erratic career demonstrates just how uncomfortable life had become in an increasingly polarised world. Some survived by compromise, others by detaching themselves from the religious and political conflicts of the time. Not so Haren: he ran to and fro between the parties, loudly proclaiming his new found loyalties, yet ultimately failing to win the trust of either Catholic or Calvinist, loyalist or rebel.

PUBLICATIONS BY, AND RELATING TO, JEAN HAREN 1586-1615²¹⁹

1. Haren's Abjuration of Reformed Protestantism

- 1.1. *Les causes justes et equitables, qui ont meues Jean Haren, jadis ministre, de quitter la Religion pretendue Reformée, pour se renger au giron de l'Eglise Catholique, recitées publicquement au peuple d'Anvers en la grande Salle du College des Pères de la Societé de Jesus, le IX. jour de Mars 1586. par ledit Haren. Et depuis envoyées par escript à son bon Seigneur et amy Philippe D., Antwerp: Pierre Bellere, 1586.*
- 1.2. *Die wettighe ende treffelycke redenen, die Jan Haren, overlanx minister, gheroert hebben, om te verlaten die ghepretendeerde Reformeerde religie, ende wederom te keeren tot den schoot der heyliger catholijcker Kercken. Vercondicht by ... Jan Haren openbaerlijck voor de ghemeynthe van Antwerpen den ix.sten dach van meerte, anno 1586, Antwerp: Henrick Wouters, 1586.*²²⁰

²¹⁷ *Profession Catholique*, p. 96'.

²¹⁸ *Livre des Actes*, p. 67; *Repentance*, p. 20-21.

²¹⁹ I am indebted to Andrew Pettegree for furnishing information on Haren's publications in French before 1601 from the forthcoming *French Vernacular Books. Books Published in the French Language before 1601*, A. PETTEGREE, M. WALSBY and A. WILKINSON (eds.), 2 vols., Leiden, 2007.

²²⁰ *Belgica typographica, 1541-1600*, E. COCKX-INDESTEGE and G. GLORIEUX (eds.), 4 vols., Nieuwkoop, 1968-94, no. 3905.

- 1.3. *Les causes justes et equitables, qui ont meües Jean Haren, jadis ministre, de quitter la Religion pretendue Reformée, pour se ranger au giron de l'Eglise Catholique. Recitées publiquement au peuple d'Anvers en la grande Salle du Collee des Pères de la Societé de Jesus, le IX. jour de Mars 1586. par ledit Haren . . . jouxte la copie imprimée a Anvers, Paris: Pierre Ramier, 1586.*
- 1.4. *Rechtmessige, und billiche ursachen, so Herren Joannem Harennum, einen hiebevor gewesenen Calvinischen Predicanten bewegt haben, die angemastereformierten Religion zuverlassen, Cologne: Gotfrid von Kempfen, 1586.*²²¹
- 1.5. *Bref discours des causes justes et equitables, qui ont meues M. Jean Haren, jadis ministre, de quitter la Religion pretendue Reformée, pour se renger au giron de l'Eglise Catholique . . . Aquel sont adjoustée certaines demandes Chrestiennes, proposées par ledit Jean Haren à un certain ministre Protestant, touchant les principaux pointz de la Religion Catholique. . . .*, Antwerp: Pierre Bellere, 1587.
- 1.6. *Bekehrung deß Wolgelehrten unnd Fürnemen Herrn Joannis Harenii, Ingoldtadt, 1587.*²²²
- 1.7. *Profession Catholique de Jean Haren à laquelle sont adjoustées certaines demandes Chrestiennes, proposées par luy à un certain ministre Protestant, touchant les principaux points de la religion Catholique. Livre très utile pour découvrir la malice des ennemis de l'Eglise et du repos public, Nancy: Blaise Andre, 1599.*
- 1.8. *Profession Catholique de Jean Haren à laquelle sont adjoustées certaines demandes Chrestiennes, proposées par luy à un certain ministre Protestant, touchant les principaux points de la religion Catholique Livre . . .*, Cologne: Antoine Hierat, 1599.
- 1.9. A third German edition of Haren's conversion to the Roman Catholic faith was apparently published at Cologne around 1600.²²³

221 Copy in WOLFENBÜTTEL, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, A: 918.5 Theol. (2).

222 Cited in *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XVIII, p. 198. See also W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 248.

223 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 247-248.

2. Junius' Refutation of Jean Haren's Abjuration of Reformed Protestantism²²⁴

- 2.1. Franciscus JUNIUS, *Admonition Chrestienne de F. Dujon fidele serviteur de Dieu, aux chrestiens du Pays-bas: respondante aux fausses doctrines, blasmes, et calomnies de Jean Haren, contre les Eglises des Protestants, et les Ministres d'icelles, en un livret intitule: Les causes justes . . . d'Eglise catholique*, S.l. [Heidelberg?], 1586.
- 2.2. Franciscus JUNIUS, *Admonition chrestienne . . . respondante aux fausses doctrines . . . de Jean Haren . . . aux chrestiens du Pays-Bas*, Amsterdam: Laurens Jacobsz., 1587.
- 2.3. Franciscus JUNIUS, *Rettung Desz Evangelischen glaubens. Wieder desz Abtrünningen Johannis Harennij Lästerbüchlin: Erstlich in Frantzösischer sprach gestelt, . . . Und nunmehr uff frommer Leut begeren in unser Teutsche Sprache gebracht: Durch Winandum Zonsium diener am wort Gottes zu Bretta*, Heidelberg: Johannes Lancellot, 1602.²²⁵

3. Haren's Anti-Calvinist Polemic

- 3.1. *Treize catecheses de Jean Haren Contre les erreurs des Caluistes*, Nancy: Blaise Andre, 1599.

4. Haren's Abjuration of the Catholic Faith

- 4.1. *La Repentance de Jean Haren et son retour en l'église de Dieu, publicquement par luy récitée en l'église Wallonne à Wesel*, Hanau: Daniel Aubri, 1610.²²⁶

224 For Charles Perrot's response to Junius refutation see L. DOREZ, *Catalogue de la Collection Dupuy*, Paris, 1899, I, p. 277-278.

225 W. CUNO, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere*, p. 247-248. In 1891 Cuno listed a copy in the then *Kön. Hof und Staats-Bibliothek* at Munich, now the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*.

226 W. P. C. KNUTTEL, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 9 vols., The Hague, 1899-1920, no. 1798. According to Charles RAHLENBECK, a French edition of *La Repentance* was also printed at The Hague in 1610, but I have been unable to verify this, s.v. 'Haren, Jean' in *Biographie Nationale . . . de Belgique*, 28 vols., 1866-1944, VIII, col. 726.

- 4.2. *De Bekeeringhe van Jan Haren, ende Syn weder-komen tot de Ghemeynte Godts. Door hem openbaerlijc wtghesproken ande Walsche Kercke tot Wezel ... den 7 dach Martii 1610. Wt het Francoys int Nederduytsch overghezet door J. de la Haye, The Hague: Lowijs Elsevier, 1610.*²²⁷
- 4.3. *Het berouw ende Leedtwesen van Jan Haren Ende syne weder-komste inde Kercke Godes ... Wt het Fransche ghetrouwelick ... overgheset ... Ghedruckt nae de Cotype van Hanau ... , Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. inde witte Persse opt Water, [1610].*²²⁸
- 4.4. *The Repentance of Jan Haren., Priest, and his returne to the Church of God: publicly by him recited in the French Church at Wezell ... Likewise the recantation of M. Bartox at Rochelle ... Translated out of the Latine and French, into English, London: William White, 1610.*²²⁹
- 4.5. *Denkwürdige Bekehrung Joannis Harenii, gewesenenen Abtrün-nigen Papisten, unnd Widerkehrung desselben zu der Kirchen Gottes, S.l., 1615.*²³⁰

Samenvatting door Ludo Vandamme

In de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw, na de Religievrede van Augsburg (1555), lag de religieuze kaart in Europa in grote lijnen vast. Gelovigen die een andere religie hadden dan deze van hun vorst stonden voor de keuze: uitwijken, hun geloof clandestien belijden of zich conformeren. In deze religiestrijd werd de bekering van publieke personen door de verschillende confessies aangegrepen om het eigen gelijk kracht bij te zetten. Dit is onder meer het geval geweest met Jean Haren (ca. 1544/45-na 1613) die tijdens zijn

227 W. P. C. KNUTTEL, *Catalogus van de pamfletten*, no. 1799a.

228 W. P. C. KNUTTEL, *Catalogus van de pamfletten*, no. 1799.

229 *Short Title Catalogue*, 12769; another issue with a different imprint 12770. See also *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, E. ARBER (ed.), 5 vols., London, 1875-94, III, p. 438.

230 Apparently listed in Georg DRAUDIUS, *Bibliotheca librorum germanicorum classica, das ist, Verzeichnis aller und jeder Bücher ... biss auff's Jahr nach Christi Geburt 1625*, Frankfurt am Main, 1625, p. 22.

leven zich bewoog tussen katholicisme en gereformeerd protestantisme. Haren speelde in de reformatie in de Nederlanden en de Opstand tegen Spanje tijdens de 16de eeuw geen prominente rol. Toch blijft het interessant om hem te volgen in zijn opeenvolgende keuzes. Vooral wordt duidelijk dat protestanten niet per definitie politieke *hardliners* waren en – zoals Haren in de afwikkeling van de Calvinistische Republiek in Brugge, 1583-84 – in de keuze voor de wettige (Spaanse) vorst hoopten om hun religie een kans te geven. Tijdgenoten oordeelden hard over Jean Haren maar het is pas door zijn beslissingen in de context van zijn levenloop te plaatsen dat een evenwichtig oordeel mogelijk wordt. De bijzonder tentatieve bronnen die ons ter beschikking staan maken dit tot een moeilijke opdracht.

Jean Haren werd omstreeks 1544/45 geboren in een protestantse familie in Valenciennes (Henegouwen). Als jongeman studeerde hij in Genève, onder meer op het ogenblik dat Jan Calvijn er overleed (1564). Omstreeks 1566 begon zijn predikantenbestaan binnen het gereformeerd protestantisme. Naar zijn geboortestad kon hij niet want de protestantse opstand van 1566 was er bloedig onderdrukt. Het is mogelijk dat hij in 1574 inging op een amnestie van de Spaanse koning Filips II om de nalatenschap te recupereren van zijn vader, die als calvinistische martelaar was gestorven. Voor en na deze eerste 'beking' verbleef hij vooral in Straatsburg (Elzas); tussendoor trok hij in 1575 als legerpredikant met de troepen van de paltsgraaf Johann Casimir (1543-1592) Frankrijk in om de Hugenootse zaak te ondersteunen. In 1577/78 was hij als Waals minister in Dordrecht actief tot de Waalse synode hem in oktober 1578 naar Brugge afvaardigde. Tijdens de Calvinistische Republiek (1578-1584) aldaar was hij ononderbroken voorganger van de Franstalige protestantse gemeente, die de Sint-Donaaskerk als bidplaats kreeg toegewezen.

Over zijn rol als calvinistisch predikant in Brugge is niet zoveel bekend. Wel kwam Jean Haren uitdrukkelijk in beeld in de tijdspanne 1583-mei 1584, een periode die werd afgesloten met de reconciliatie van Brugge met de Spaanse veldheer en landvoogd Alexander Farnese. Haren wierp zich toen op als vertrouwensfi-

guur en woordvoerder van de jonge edelman Karel van Croÿ, prins van Chimay (1560-1612). Karel was als gouverneur van Brugge en stadhouder van Vlaanderen in dienst van de (opstandige) Staten-Generaal maar kon het niet vinden met Willem van Oranje en zijn Franse politiek (Anjou). Haren, overigens gevolgd door de meeste predikanten in Brugge, was een hevig pleitbezorger van deze anti-Oranjeagenda en een groot voorstander om militaire steun te zoeken bij de flamboyante Duitse paltsgraaf Johann Casimir, onverdacht in zijn protestantse overtuiging. Deze demarches van Haren liepen op niets uit. Gedreven door hun anti-Oranjegevoelens zochten Chimay en Haren op 10 maart 1584 toenadering tot Gent om samen vredesbesprekingen te beginnen met Alexander Farnese. Ze maakten zich sterk kansen voor de protestantse godsdienst te vrijwaren. Toen deze vredehandel uitliep op een volledig debacle voor de protestantse zaak, rekenden de andere protestantse voorgangers in Brugge dit Haren zwaar aan. Harens "verraad" ging hem vooraf toen hij in mei 1584, evenals vele hoofdrolspelers van de Brugse Calvinistische Republiek, noordwaarts vluchtte. Hij werd gearresteerd en in september 1584 uit zijn ambt ontzet. Voor Haren lag er geen toekomst meer in de protestantse publieke kerk in de opstandige gewesten. Hij trok naar Keulen waar hij zich tot het katholicisme bekeerde. Zijn publieke afzwering volgde in maart 1586 in Antwerpen. *Les causes justes*, zijn "récit de conversion" werd in verschillende edities en vertalingen de wereld ingestuurd. In pamflettistische stijl verdedigde hij de Kerk en de dogma's van Rome en haalde zwaar uit naar Calvijn. Vanuit protestantse hoek wordt Franciscus Junius (1545-1602) in stelling gebracht die met een *Admonition chrestienne* (1586) onder meer Harens weinig voorbeeldige levenswandel in Genève in herinnering bracht.

Na 1586 wordt de reconstructie van Harens handel en wandel nog moeilijker. Tot 1593 verdwijnt hij helemaal uit beeld en vanaf 1599 dook hij op in Lotharingen. In Nancy liet hij onder de titel *Profession catholique* een nieuwe uitgave van zijn *Les causes justes* drukken. Bovendien ging hij in een nieuw pamflet, *Treize catecheses*, nog dieper in op Calvijns theologie en de affiniteit ervan met het antitrinitarisme. Deze laatste publicatie was opgedragen

aan Antoinette, de tweede dochter van de hertog van Lotharingen, gehuwd met de eveneens katholieke Johann Wilhelm, de laatste hertog van Kleef (en Jülich-Berg). Haren leefde in die jaren onder hun patronage. Na jaren gevangenis om onduidelijke redenen (1601-1609) trok Haren naar Wezel waar hij in maart 1610 als een verloren zoon publieke getuigenis aflegde in de Waalse protestantse kerk. Ook aan deze nieuwe bekering werd via pamfletten (*Repentance...*) in vele talen ruchtbaarheid gegeven. Het is mogelijk dat opnieuw pragmatische overwegingen hem tot deze nieuwe overstap brachten. Toen Antoinette van Lotharingen na de dood van haar man Johann Wilhelm (1609) niet langer in staat was hem te helpen, koos hij immers voor een hofambt in Düsseldorf, in het Land van Kleef, bij de protestantse opvolger Johann Sigismund.

Jean Haren verliet in 1611 het Rijngebied richting Holland. De Waalse synode aldaar was zeer terughoudend om hem een functie te bezorgen. Wellicht was hij nog in leven in 1613; het jaar van overlijden en zijn begraafplaats zijn niet bekend.