



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Rumours of revolt

*Civil war and the emergence of a transnational news culture in France and the Netherlands, 1561-1598*

Baars, R.M.

#### Publication date

2019

#### Document Version

Other version

#### License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

#### Citation for published version (APA):

Baars, R. M. (2019). *Rumours of revolt: Civil war and the emergence of a transnational news culture in France and the Netherlands, 1561-1598*.

#### General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

#### Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

# RUMOURS OF REVOLT

Civil War and the Emergence  
of a Transnational News Culture  
in France and the Netherlands, 1561-1598



Rosanne Baars

Front cover: Anonymous, 'Interior with a Man Writing on a Long Table'. Pen and brown ink, brush and gray and brown wash, over faint sketch in graphite. 16<sup>th</sup> century. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

# RUMOURS OF REVOLT

CIVIL WAR AND THE EMERGENCE OF A TRANSNATIONAL NEWS CULTURE  
IN FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1561-1598

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor

aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam

op gezag van de Rector Magnificus

prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex

ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde  
commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit

op woensdag 15 mei 2019, te 13.00 uur

door Rosanne Maria Baars

geboren te Heemskerk

Promotiecommissie:

Promotores: prof. dr. H.F.K. van Nierop      Universiteit van Amsterdam

prof. dr. G.H. Janssen      Universiteit van Amsterdam

Overige leden: dr. M. van Gelder      Universiteit van Amsterdam

prof. dr. E.M.P. van Gemert      Universiteit van Amsterdam

prof. dr. M. Greengrass      University of Sheffield

dr. H.J. Helmers      Universiteit van Amsterdam

prof. dr. A. Pettegree      University of St Andrews

prof. dr. J.S. Pollmann      Universiteit Leiden

Faculteit:      Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

Dit werk maakt deel uit van het onderzoeksprogramma Promoties in de Geesteswetenschappen met projectnummer 322-52-007 dat gefinancierd is door de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO).

## CONTENTS

<b>List of Figures</b>	i
<b>Introduction</b>	1
The French Wars of Religion and the Dutch Revolt	2
News and News Scholarship	4
Chronicling and Chroniclers	7
The Media World of the Sixteenth-Century Chronicler	12
Scope and Structure	15
<b>Chapter 1. The First Troubles (1561-1566): Iconoclasm</b>	17
The Sound of the Flute from France	17
Open Borders and Transnational News Networks after Cateau-Cambrésis (1559)	18
Iconoclasm in France and the Netherlands	21
News about the First War of Religion and French Iconoclasm	25
Foreign Influences	28
The Iconoclastic Fury as a News Event	31
A More Suitable Topic for News Pamphlets: the Ottomans	33
An Awkward Event	35
Borrowing Responses from France	36
<b>Chapter 2. War, Fame, and Noble Leadership, 1567-1571</b>	41
Fame	42
Praise, Poetry, and Prints	47
Famous Frenchmen during the First Years of the Religious Wars	50
News about Alva, Orange, and the Troubles in the Netherlands	55
Egmont and Hornes	59
Don Carlos	62
<b>Chapter 3. St Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the Credibility of News, 1572</b>	66
Part 1. Reactions to the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in the Netherlands	68
The Massacre and the Siege of Mons	69
Rumour and the Official Story	72
Copycat Events	76
Part 2. Credibility and Verification	78
Correspondence	79
Eyewitnesses	81
News Pamphlets	82
Celebrations	83
<b>Chapter 4. Peace Negotiations, 1576-1579</b>	85
Peace Attempts in France and the Netherlands	86
Parallels and Differences	88
News in the Netherlands about Peace in France	90
French News regarding the Events in the Netherlands	93
Pamphlets and Readership	98
International Pamphleteering	98

Explaining a <i>Coup d'état</i>	99
Ideas regarding Public Communication	102
French Peace Edicts in the Netherlands	106
<b>Chapter 5. Anjou, 1578-1583</b>	<b>108</b>
Anjou goes to the Netherlands	109
Netherlandish Expectations	110
Marriage Plans	112
News from France	113
French News Networks in the Netherlands	115
French Views of Anjou's Mission in the Netherlands	118
Why Go to the Netherlands?	120
Anjou's Honour	123
The French Fury: 'Anvers, l'Enfer'	126
<b>Chapter 6. Transnational Solidarities, 1584-1598</b>	<b>131</b>
Chroniclers Take Sides	132
The Murder of William of Orange	135
The Siege and Surrender of Antwerp	137
The Armada	139
A Single European Audience	141
The Murders of the Guises and Henry III - Separation in Print	143
Navarre versus Farnese	147
Alternative Facts	152
Mirroring Murder: the Affair of Maurice of Nassau and the Assault with the Quadruple Cutting Knife	155
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>160</b>
Two Civil Wars in France and the Netherlands	160
The Emergence of a Transnational News Culture	161
The Well-Informed Chronicler	163
<b>Appendix: Consulted Chronicles</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>176</b>
<b>Summary in English</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>Résumé français</b>	<b>207</b>
<b>Samenvatting in het Nederlands</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>216</b>