elles Interesse an der Koexistenz, am Zusammenleben und Miteinanderleben von Kulturen an und gibt ihm Tiefe und Weite. Der Band folgt keiner postkolonialen Ideologie; in der Wahrnehmung bekannter und unbeachteter Fakten und Fälle weiten sich dennoch Begrenztheit und Engführungen bisheriger wissenschaftlicher Betrachtung.

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Philip Benedict. Season of Conspiracy: Calvin, the French Reformed Churches, and Protestant Plotting in the Reign of Francis II (1559–60), Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society Press, 2020, XI & 224 S. – ISBN 978–1–60618–0853.

Philip Benedict's recent study of Protestant conspiracies in France during the short reign of Francis II is one facet of his projected broader monograph on French Protestantism from 1552 to 1563. This work offers a well-crafted historiographical analysis, based in part on a close reading of a little-known primary source: the September 1560 interrogation record investigating a Reformed craftsman, Gilles Triou of Lyon, and his part in a Huguenot attempt to take over the city by force. Benedict also provides an annotated transcription (in the French original) of Gilles Triou's deposition as an appendix to the volume.

Benedict's study sheds light both on the sequence of plots that followed the well-known Conspiracy of Amboise (March 1560) and on the previously underestimated role in these plots played both by pastors (including Calvin and Beza) and by Reformed laymen who were not of noble rank. Throughout the work, Benedict argues that historians need to understand the Conspiracy of Amboise as more than simply a story of noble discontent, and analyze what happened after Amboise, including the key roles taken on by pastors in France and Geneva and by ordinary Reformed laymen in subsequent plotting.

Benedict makes his case by following a number of paths. First, he presents at some length the historiography of the Conspiracy of Amboise. He highlights effectively how contemporary accounts, including the royal declaration to the Parlement of Paris, dated

March 31, 1560, blamed both malcontents and misguided ordinary folk impelled by pastors who hoped to gain a hearing for their new faith by force. Second, he makes a strong case that the focus on Amboise has caused later historians to miss other plots in the same period, including the abortive Reformed plan to seize the city of Lyon in September 1560 (known as the Maligny Affair, named after two brothers of the minor nobility who were deeply involved). Indeed, the collapse of those plans led directly to the arrest and interrogation of Gilles Triou.

Benedict's historiographical overview emphasizes the following points: Protestant accounts at the time were largely successful in shaping the narrative of the Conspiracy of Amboise as a noble-led campaign against the power of the Guise family. However, evidence from Calvin and Beza's correspondence, carefully analyzed by the Genevan historian Alain Dufour among others, highlights the pastors' deep involvement both in the Amboise conspiracy and in subsequent plots throughout the remainder of Francis II's short reign. Indeed, Benedict highlights Calvin's dangerous miscalculation in trusting the advance of the Reformed faith in France to a sequence of efforts to gain a hearing and legitimacy through the use of force. Because the plots relied on a patchwork of nobles, pastors, and Reformed artisans, merchants, students, and other foot-soldiers, and because of the less-than-decisive leadership of Antoine de Bourbon, none of the plots succeeded or even had much chance of success. Benedict also makes the important point that the various participants' objectives did not always mesh: for instance, Reformed laymen of the middling classes believed that the aim was to gain a hearing for their faith and were largely kept in the dark about wider political aims. However, those higher up in the planning had more specific political objectives, including »liberating" Francis II from the influence of the Guise family or even potentially replacing Francis II altogether.

Thanks to the surviving interrogation record of Gilles Triou and other documents, Benedict sheds light on the otherwise little-known attempted uprising in Lyon in September 1560, and establishes that this event was directly linked both to the Conspiracy of Amboise earlier that same year and to ongoing Protestant plans. Triou testified to the involvement of a number of men in these

plots, including pastors and minor noblemen from across France. He also provided information about the involvement of ordinary Reformed laymen in other French cities including Nîmes and Montpellier, who agreed to provide men, weapons, and supplies to support the uprising in Lyon. Although the plan to have armed men seize Lyon for the Reformed faith and make it a beachhead for French Protestants fell apart, and most of the conspirators fled to avoid arrest, Benedict notes that many, including Calvin, still hoped that Antoine de Navarre would make use of the men and equipment at his disposal to lead an armed movement. Instead, Antoine and his brother Louis de Condé submitted to Francis II in late October 1560.

Among the most interesting features of this work are the incisively summarized pages detailing how a certain retelling of the Conspiracy of Amboise has won the limelight (78–81) and the convincing analysis of the dangerous outcomes of Calvin's support (albeit covertly) for armed plots to support the advance of the Reformed faith in France (181–185). Benedict rightly points out that by the late autumn of 1560, French Protestants faced a calamitous wave of repression, including arrests, torture, and execution, resulting from the discovery of these various plots.

Less convincing, or perhaps needing further research, are the sections detailing Scottish and English involvement in the French Protestant schemes during this period. Admittedly, the lack of primary sources clearly stating what exactly English and Scottish leaders were willing to contribute in terms of funds or support makes it difficult to evaluate their role. But the reader is left to wonder whether nebulous promises was all that really was on offer from the British Isles. Another aspect that also raises questions stems from Calvin's letter dated June 1563 to Jeanne d'Albret (widow of Antoine de Bourbon), asking for reimbursement for the sums he raised and contributed (even from his own personal funds) to Jean de Ferrieres, Sieur de Maligny, for the planned uprising in Lyon in 1560. In his letter to Jeanne d'Albert, Calvin wrote of raising 10,000 francs at the request of Antoine de Bourbon to send to Maligny in Lyon. Benedict went no further on this matter, but I have found in the *Calvini Opera* a later response on this matter, sent by Jean Raymond Merlin, who served as one of Jeanne d'Al-

bret's chief pastors. Written on July 23, 1563, the letter asks Calvin to send more evidence about this sum of money raised. "If you could manage to have monsieur le Vidame [Maligny] and others who know about the matter give testimony as authentically as possible, that would be a great help. But the greatest difficulty I see is that we have no money […]. Therefore there is no point in waiting for funds at the present time." [CO, XX, col. 96] Merlin's request to have Calvin contact Maligny and others in his circle to provide confirmation of the original payment from Geneva provides further evidence of the close and ongoing contacts between Geneva and the French leaders of this plot.

Benedict's combination of deft historiographical analysis combined with careful analysis of an often-overlooked primary source helps shed new light on an often confusing period in sixteenth-century France. The swirl of names, often concealed by pseudonyms or nicknames in Triou's deposition, mirrors the complex multi-layered plans and multiple objectives fostered by a wide range of the Reformed in France and outside France at the time. Regardless, by the waning months of 1560, French Reformed communities and leaders were in grave danger. As Benedict notes, only the death of Francis II in early December 1560 and the start of the regency for his younger brother Charles IX changed the trajectory and allowed the Reformed to find a measure of safety once again, even if only temporarily.

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Confessio im Konflikt: Religiöse Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ein Studienbuch, hg. von Mona Garloff und Christian Volkmar Witt, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 129), 305 S. – ISBN 978–3–525–57142–2.

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