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Introduction: Exile and Innovation☆

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The early modern period (c. 1500–1800) was an age marked by the forced migration and displacement of social groups and individuals around the world. Huguenots, *conversos*, Catholics, cavaliers, Jacobites and French *emigrés* alike fled or were expelled from their homes and communities. New interest in mobility and transnational connections in the last decade – as well as the present refugee crisis – has fostered closer attention to how migration and the movement of people affected early modern lives and cultural production. Yet, exile is still usually considered only within the context of broader religious or political events by scholars working in sub-fields, rather than as a phenomenon worthy of study in its own right. Foregrounding displacement as a major facet of early modern society and culture, this special issue explores the experience, perception and poetics of exile from 1500 to 1800 through the prism of innovation. It encompasses displaced individuals and communities, as well as writings, that treat the theme of exile, to consider how forced migration shaped the social, cultural, political and intellectual contours of the era – and thus led to innovative practices and ideas. Our aim in this special issue is twofold: to demonstrate the innovative practices and writings developed by early modern exiles, while at the same time highlighting the innovative scholarly approaches that have produced this research. As the essays that follow attest, innovation is an understudied but significant aspect of early modern exile, encouraging us to assess the extent to which exile is a driver of innovation. In this introduction, we set out the stakes of this approach to early modern exile, discussing our key terms and the current research landscape in order to situate our intervention in the field.

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Since the early 1980s, when Heinz Schilling put forward the thesis that Dutch Calvinist exiles spurred economic development in Europe, there has been surprisingly little scholarly attention given to the possibility that exile in the early modern world created opportunities for innovation.[1] However, as Peter Burke's essay – the first article in this special issue – persuasively outlines, there is ample evidence for a connection between exile and innovation. Burke has made the case at greater length elsewhere that early modern exiles made a distinctive contribution to both the creation and circulation of knowledge.[2] Building on Schilling's argument and using the theme of Burke's essay to link all the contributions, we suggest that innovation is a highly productive way of revisiting early modern exile. We adopt an expansive definition of 'innovation', by which we mean the development of new, altered or transformed strategies, ideas and outputs across a wide range of spheres, from religion and science to literature and art. As the sixteenth-century English proverb 'necessity is the mother of invention' captures, to be innovative was sometimes a necessity for exiles for whom survival was a particularly pressing concern, given their insecure social and political status.[3] Innovation is an especially apt concept for studying exiles, who were often plunged into extreme and unfamiliar situations that required equally novel solutions.

While we usually place a positive value on innovation today, this was not always the case in the early modern period, when innovation was regarded by many with suspicion and scorn.[4] However, the fact that innovation is currently laden with positive (and progressivist) connotations does not indicate that our volume automatically attaches a positive value to innovation nor, by extension, to the conditions of displacement that produced this innovation. Rather, we propose innovation as one way to assess the complex degrees of agency and influence wielded by exiles and exile communities, without implying that displacement was necessarily beneficial to their lives or that their innovations were always useful and consequential.

[1] Heinz Schilling, 'Innovation through Migration: The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Central and Western Europe', *Histoire Sociale – Social History*, 16, 31 (1983), 7–33. One recent exception is Francesca Trivellato's argument that Jews expelled from Iberia generated innovations through cross-cultural trade; see *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

[2] Peter Burke, *Exiles and Expatriates in the History of Knowledge, 1500–2000* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2017).

[3] This proverb is an adaptation of a quotation from Plato's *Republic*: 'I think our need will build it for us.' Book II, 369c, in Plato, *Volume V: Republic Volume I*, Books 1–5, trans. Chris Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library 237, 2013), 162–3.

[4] See Burke's essay in this special issue. Ulrich L. Lehner has also shown how early modern Catholic theologians couched new ideas and Biblical interpretations in a rhetoric that avoided the language of innovation to disguise their novelty; see 'The Rhetoric of Innovation and Constancy in Early Modern Catholicism', in Lehner (ed.), *Innovation in Early Modern Catholicism* (London: Routledge, 2021), 9–27.

Such an approach is grounded in the evaluation of each case study and its relationship to innovation. It does not assume that the innovation in question is directly related to the displacement of the individual or group. In essence, innovation is presented here as a lens through which we can enrich and complicate scholarly conversations on the activities, integration and impact of early modern exiles.

1. CURRENT LITERATURE

Exile has been described as one of the main 'dynamics of European history' and there is a flourishing scholarship on early modern exile.[5] Important studies have placed exile at the centre of political, cultural and religious transformations during this period. Exile has perhaps most fruitfully been investigated as a phenomenon closely tied to Protestantism. This literature is too vast to cite fully, but it is worth dwelling on some of the main arguments that have shaped it. Calvinism in particular has traditionally been seen as 'a faith forged in exile'.[6] The Dutch historian Heiko Oberman set the agenda for the past two decades of scholarship by emphasizing Calvin's understanding of God as 'the first refugee' and ascribing a crucial place to 'the Reformation of the Refugees' in spreading new forms of religious thought and practice in Europe.[7] The role of exile in the formation of confessional communities is a common thread that ties together newer studies of religious persecution and displacement in the early modern world.[8] David van der Linden has shown how Huguenot preachers in the Dutch Republic described religious exiles as 'God's chosen people, a community of refugees-elect who could one day replant the standard of Protestantism in France'.[9] In his 2015 survey, Nicholas Terpstra argued that the Reformation heralded the advent of the religious refugee as a 'mass phenomenon' – and that exile played a key part in the development of national identities. The expulsion of reformers both resulted from a 'grand project

[5] Philip Mansel and Torsten Riotte, 'Introduction', in iid. (eds.), *Monarchy and Exile: The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1. See also Yosef Kaplan (ed.), *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017). One recent example of this scholarship is the NWO-funded project 'The Invention of the Refugee' (2018–2026), led by Geert Janssen at the University of Amsterdam.

[6] Jesse Spohnholz and Mirjam van Veen, 'The Disputed Origins of Dutch Calvinism: Religious Refugees in the Historiography of the Dutch Reformation', *Church History*, 86, 2 (2017), 398–426.

[7] Heiko A. Oberman, 'Europa Afflicta: The Reformation of the Refugees', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies* (London: Routledge, 2004), 156–72; id., *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 2009). For other works which have developed this idea, see Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996).

[8] See Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite (eds.), *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014).

[9] David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 94.

of social purification' by early modern states and hardened religious intolerance among exiles.[10] The influence of the global turn is also apparent in Terpstra's focus not just on Europe, but the wider Mediterranean and America. In a similar vein, global history underpins Owen Stanwood's recent vision of the Huguenot Refuge as a motor of European imperial expansion.[11]

As interest in the relationship between exile and the formation of Protestantism persists, historians have justly turned their attention to the more neglected topic of early modern Catholic exile. Aiming to recover the experiences of the 'losers' in the Dutch Revolt, Geert Janssen suggested that our understanding of the sixteenth-century 'refugee crisis' of the Low Countries has been distorted by the dominance of Protestant exile in the historiography. Arguing for the 'radicalising effects of exile', Janssen proposed that displaced Catholics were more receptive to militant Catholicism and, by spreading these beliefs when they returned to areas reclaimed by the Habsburg monarchy, played a formative role in defining Catholic Reformation identities.[12] Robert Descimon and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez have likewise shed important light on the character of the radical French Catholic League by studying the *ligueurs* who fled to the Spanish Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century.[13] Still other scholars, however, have called into question the inevitability of a link between exile and 'confessional radicalisation' among both Protestants and Catholics – including Silke Muylaert, one of our contributors in this special issue.[14] As part of a broader effort to break down the barriers of national history, historians have found the study of exile especially useful for understanding English

[10] Nicholas Terpstra, *Exiles and Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1–4, 7.

[11] Owen Stanwood, *The Global Refuge: Huguenots in an Age of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). There is also more traditional literature focused mainly (but not exclusively) on the experience of the Huguenots in Britain, who have tended to be viewed as the first 'modern refugees'; see, for example, Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550–1700*, trans. Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); John M. Hintermaier, 'The First Modern Refugees? Charity, Entitlement, and Persuasion in the Huguenot Immigration of the 1680s', *Albion*, xxxii (2000), 429–49; Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1985); id., *The Huguenots of London* (Brighton: Alpha Press, 1998); id., *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, 2 vols. (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2015–2018); Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Carolyn Chappell Lougee, *Facing the Revocation: Huguenot Families, Faith, and the King's Will* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[12] Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[13] Robert Descimon and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les ligueurs de l'exil: Le refuge catholique français après 1594* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2005).

[14] Silke Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches: Migrants in England and the Troubles in the Netherlands, 1547–1585* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021), 9; Spohnholz and van Veen, 'The Disputed Origins of Dutch Calvinism'; Frederick E. Smith, *Transnational Catholicism in Tudor England: Mobility, Exile and Counter-Reformation, 1530–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 5.

Catholicism in its European context. Frederick Smith has explored how the mobility of Catholics who fled from Henrician and Edwardian England allowed them to act as 'agents of religious exchange' who influenced the course of the Marian Counter-Reformation upon their return.[15] Katy Gibbons posits that Elizabethan Catholics who sought refuge in sixteenth-century Paris were critical to the internationalization of 'the practical and ideological cause of English Catholicism'.[16] Meanwhile, Liesbeth Corens has shown how seventeenth-century English Catholics who travelled to the Continent saw themselves as missionaries defending the Church. In this way, they built a cross-Channel community that shaped Counter-Reformation Catholicism as a whole.[17]

The historical coverage of early modern political exile has tended to be patchier than exile primarily motivated by religion – although the two were seldom neatly separable and (we would argue) ought to be studied more frequently in tandem. There is now significant literature on the groups of exiles who left the British Isles in the seventeenth century as a result of their support for the executed and deposed Stuart monarchs, Charles I and James II/VII, broadly characterized as 'royalists' or 'cavaliers', and 'Jacobites'.[18] In a related vein, exiled royal courts, which often saw innovations in their form and ceremonial, have prompted

[15] Smith, *Transnational Catholicism*, 2, 6.

[16] Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 13.

[17] Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[18] For a selection of key works on the Civil War exiles see Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985); Michael G. Brennan, *English Civil War Travellers and the Origins of the Western European Grand Tour* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2002); Geoffrey Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Geoffrey Smith, 'Royalists in Exile: The Experience of Daniel O'Neill', in Jason McElligott and David L. Smith (eds.), *Royalists and Royalism During the Interregnum* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 106–27; Mark R. F. Williams, *The King's Irishmen: The Irish in the Exiled Court of Charles II, 1649–1660* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014). For more on Jacobite exiles, see Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, 'Une élite insulaire au service de l'Europe: les Jacobites au XVIIIe siècle', *Annales. Histoire, Science Sociales*, 28e Année, 5 (1973), 1097–122; Edward T. Corp and Eveline Cruickshanks (eds.), *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London: Hambledon, 1995); Rebecca Wills, *The Jacobites and Russia, 1715–1750* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2002); Edward T. Corp, *A Court in Exile: the Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Patrick Clarke de Dromantin, *Les réfugiés jacobites dans la France du XVIIIe siècle: l'exode de toute une noblesse 'pour cause de religion'* (Pessac: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2005); Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil: les Jacobites en France, 1688–1715* (Vincennes: Service historique de la defense, 2007); Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (eds.), *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); id., *Britain's Lost Revolution?: Jacobite Scotland and French Grand Strategy, 1701–1708* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Harry M. Lewis, '"A Project Was Contrived and Carryed On With Great Secrecy": International Irish Jacobite Networks and the Madagascar Project, 1718–1723', *Northern Studies*, 52 (2021), 137–63.

new investigation.[19] Yet, as Philip Major has pointed out, sustained interest in the exiles produced by what is commonly called the English Civil Wars or the Wars of the Three Kingdoms is a fairly recent development.[20] Efforts to counteract the dearth of scholarship on the republican experience of exile after Charles II's restoration are still in their infancy.[21] In contrast, if we look to the end of the period examined in this special issue, the travails and enterprises of *émigrés* who fled the French Revolution have long formed the object of historical research.[22] Moreover, the turn towards global history has encouraged a wider focus on people displaced by revolutionary upheavals and imperial conflict.[23] Jan Jansen, for example, explores how refugees in the British Atlantic were central to modern transformations of subjecthood and citizenship.[24] But beyond the mass movement of select groups, early modern historians have been slow to consider

[19] See Edward Gregg, 'Monarchs without a Crown', in Robert Oresko, Graham Gibbs, and Hamish Scott (eds.), *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnhild Hatton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 382–422; Mansel and Riotte (eds.), *Monarchy and Exile*, especially the chapters by Toby Osborne, Ann Hughes and Julie Sanders, William O'Reilly, Anna Keay, Karen Britland, John Cronin, and Edward Corp; and, more recently, Thomas Pert, *The Palatine Family and the Thirty Years' War: Experiences of Exile in Early Modern Europe, 1632–1648* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).

[20] Philip Major, 'Introduction', in id. (ed.), *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and Its Aftermath, 1640–1690* (London: Routledge, 2010), 3.

[21] The major recent work on this topic is Gaby Mahlberg, *The English Republican Exiles in Europe during the Restoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). See also Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic*, *1623–1677* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[22] Friedemann Pestel, 'Who were the French Émigrés? On the relation between Émigré and refugee studies', *Age of Revolutions* (2023), https://ageofrevolutions.com/2023/05/29/who-were-the-french-emigres-on-the-relation-between-emigre-and-refugee-studies/#edn6. For a selection of works, see Frances Sargeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790–1800* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940); Patrick Bryan, 'Emigrés, Conflict and Reconciliation: The French Émigrés in Nineteenth-Century Jamaica', *Jamaica Journal*, vii (1973), 13–19; Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); Kirsty Carpenter and Philip Mansel (eds.), *The French Émigrés in Europe and the struggle against revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); Simon Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792–1814* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2000); Juliette Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Laure Philip and Juliette Reboul (eds.), *French Emigrants in Revolutionised Europe: Connected Histories and Memories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Friedemann Pestel, 'The Colors of Exile in the Age of Revolutions: New Perspectives for French Émigré Studies', *Yearbook of Transnational History*, 4 (2021), 27–68; Lloyd Kramer (ed.), 'Émigrés and Migration during the French Revolution', Forum in *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, 48, 3 (2022).

[23] See Mary Beth Norton, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774–1789* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972); Carl Brasseaux and Glenn R. Conrad (eds.), *The Road to Louisiana: The Saint-Domingue Refugees, 1792–1809* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1992); Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: The Loss of America and the Remaking of the British Empire* (London: Harper Press, 2011); Matthew J. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica after Emancipation* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Jan C. Jansen, 'Brothers in Exile: Masonic Lodges and the Refugees of the Haitian Revolution, 1790s–1820s', *Atlantic Studies*, xvi (2019). Most recently, the open-access journal *Age of Revolutions* has published a series on the topic entitled 'Exiled: Identity and Identification' (2023), https://ageofrevolutions.com/category/exiled-identity-and-identification/.

[24] Jan C. Jansen, 'Aliens in a Revolutionary World: Refugees, Migration Control and Subjecthood in the British Atlantic, 1790s–1820s', *Past & Present*, 255, 1 (2022), 189–231.

political exile in more general works.[25] Toby Osborne's observation of this state of affairs over two decades ago remains just as salient as it was then.[26] There are promising signs that this is beginning to change. Political exile in early modern Asia, especially in the colonial context, is a growing field of research.[27] In our area of speciality, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, there has been increasing recognition that exile reverberated widely in the lives of the political and social elite.[28] Julian Swann's comprehensive examination in 2017 of banishment in the Bourbon kingdom opened up new vistas onto changing conceptions of the relationship between subject and monarch.[29] By shedding light on the origins of modern notions of foreignness and citizenship, James Coons's article in this special issue on the Prince de Condé's family reinforces the value of integrating exile into broader studies of political culture.

Exilic literatures represent a crucial part of this history, in which early modern writers articulated the experience of exile, banishment and captivity. These writings were inspired by first- and second-hand experiences and observations as well as writers' own literary responses to other exilic texts. The scope of this literature is broad, encompassing texts written by individual writers in exile, by groups of exiles and by non-exiled writers who nonetheless explored the theme of displacement in their works. Reflecting this breadth, early modern exilic texts span a wide range of genres, from letters, memoirs and diaries to sermons, novels, poems and plays. Scholarship on early modern exilic literatures has not been confined to one discipline but ripples across history, history of art, English and modern languages – although there tends to be more interest in exilic literatures in the literary-leaning fields of English and modern languages. The transnational turn in early modern studies has been especially productive for scholarship on exilic literatures, encouraging disciplinary border crossings that mimic the

[25] One notable exception is Christine Shaw's *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[26] Toby Osborne, '"Chimeres, monopoles and stratagems": French Exiles in the Spanish Netherlands during the Thirty Years' War', *The Seventeenth Century*, 15, 2 (2000), 155.

[27] See Ronit Ricci (ed.), *Exile in Colonial Asia: Kings, Convicts, Commemoration* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016); Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging: Exile and Diaspora in Sarandib, Lanka and Ceylon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); and Zoltán Biedermann, 'Cosmopolitan converts: the politics of Lankan exile in the Portuguese Empire', in Biedermann and Alan Strathern (eds.), *Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History* (London: UCL Press, 2017), 141–60.

[28] See, for example, Susan Shifrin (ed.), *'The Wandering Life I Led': Essays on Hortense Mancini, Duchess Mazarin and Early Modern Women's Border Crossings* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009); Jessica Muns, Penny Richards and Jonathan Spangler (eds.), *Aspiration, Representation and Memory: The Guise in Europe, 1506–1688* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Jonathan Spangler, *The Society of Princes: The Lorraine-Guise and the Conservation of Power and Wealth in Seventeenth-Century France* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2017); Laurent Bourquin, Olivier Chaline, Michel Figeac and Martin Wrede (eds.), *Noblesses en exil: Les migrations nobiliaires entre la France et l'Europe (XVe-XIXe siècle)* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2021); Xavier Le Person, *Le Grand Condé: Un exil pour l'honneur* (Paris: Fayard, 2023).

[29] Julian Swann, *Exile, Imprisonment, or Death: The Politics of Disgrace in Bourbon France, 1610–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

geographic, linguistic and cultural trajectories of early modern exilic writers and so provide a more nuanced understanding of the cross-cultural encounters that influenced their literary styles and forms. The special issue extends this interdisciplinary approach in its examination of early modern exile and innovation.

Across these studies, a poetics of early modern exile writing has emerged from Shakespeare to Voltaire, defined by loss, alienation and rupture.[30] Literature by and about early modern exiles often presents the experience of displacement and encounters with displaced people through the figure of 'the other', extracting mutual feelings of difference and estrangement between exile and host.[31] At the same time, communities of exiles, especially religious exiles, produced historical narratives of persecution and displacement as a means of fostering a shared sense of belonging and commemorating their ancestry. Such narratives crystallized bonds between members of a specific community and connected the community to the transnational diaspora more generally.[32] Other forms of exilic writing sought to bridge the sense of loss by attempting 'to shape a national identity conceptualized on the periphery of the dominant culture' – or in other words, conceptualized from the marginalized position of exile, which J. Seth Lee has termed 'the mind of exile' in his work on early modern English literature.[33] Together, these themes, apparent in exile writing from antiquity to the present day, situate this literature within the wider, transtemporal aesthetics of exile. Indeed, early modern exiles often looked to their classical predecessors for inspiration, especially Ovid – whose banishment by Emperor Augustus for 'a poem and a mistake' aligned him with both exiles and writers. In light of this transtemporal poetics, what makes early modern writing on exile distinct? First, writers of exilic literature from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries blend classical and Biblical exilic tropes, particularly from narratives of displaced Trojans and of the Jewish diaspora, reflecting two emblematic pillars of the period: the high-level engagement with ancient literature from the Renaissance onwards and the heightened sensitivity to Biblical material in the wake of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. Second, early modern exilic writing possesses a markedly

[30] Major, 'Introduction', 1–13. See also Carole Levin and John Watkins, *Shakespeare's Foreign Worlds: National and Transnational Identities in the Elizabethan Age* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009) 9–10; and Christopher D'Addario, 'Introduction', in id. *Exile and Journey in Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–21.

[31] Ana Sáez-Hidalgo and Berta Cano Echevarría, 'Introduction', in eaed. (eds.), *Exile, Diplomacy and Texts: Exchanges between Iberia and the British Isles, 1500–1767* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 1–12; Giovanni Tarantino and Charles Zika (eds.), *Feeling Exclusion: Religious Conflict, Exile and Emotions in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2019).

[32] Johannes Mueller, 'Introduction', in id., *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora, 1550–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1–26, especially 4–8.

[33] J. Seth Lee, *The Discourse of Exile in Early Modern English Literature* (London: Routledge, 2018), 3.

transnational aspect, indicative of the large-scale migrations taking place during its production. Third, owing to rising literacy rates among both men and women, authorship of exilic writing was more varied, and so more representative of the variety of exilic experiences, than in previous eras. In sum, these features contributed to a recognizable literary category.

However, exilic writing in the early modern period should not be viewed as homogenous. The widening of authorship in the period to include men and women writers from mixed social backgrounds – which in turn reflected expanding readerships – multiplied the range of exilic writings. Moreover, even within particular frameworks, such as the neo-classical, there was room for innovation. As Helena Taylor has shown, Ovid became a rich source of inspiration for seventeenth-century French writers, from the internal exile Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, to the Huguenot refugee Anne de La Roche-Guilhem. Many of them playfully adapted Ovid's exilic and erotic literature to echo the values of their French audiences.[34] Evidently, early modern exilic writing shared notable characteristics but also diverged into sub-categories depending on the national, regional, gender, social, religious and political backgrounds of its authors. Even then, as Major has charted in his collection on seventeenth-century royalists and their multifarious loyalties and writings, literature authored by defined groups of exiles falls across a vast spectrum.[35] The collective experience is not always the same as the individual one, and innovation can be found in both types of literary outputs.

Across this heterogenous literary history, exilic literature and exilic writers were frequently innovative in both form and content. Christopher D'Addario persuasively argues that the exilic impulse to create or innovate 'comes from both the necessity of reorienting oneself somewhere between the lost past and the immediate present, and the need to fashion a peaceful space in which the author can operate away from the unsettled, difficult reality of daily life'.[36] The experience of banishment has long been studied in relation to individual authors of innovative works, such as Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532), the poetry of Veronica Franco and Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651).[37] Similarly, there has been sustained scholarly interest in the generic innovation of exilic writing, from

[34] Helena Taylor, *The Lives of Ovid in Seventeenth-Century French Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[35] Major, 'Introduction', 3.

[36] D'Addario, *Exile and Journey*, 2.

[37] See, for example, Ronald J. Schmidt, Jr, 'Torture, Exile, and the Citizen', in id., *Reading Politics with Machiavelli*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 79–114; Margaret F. Rosenthal, 'The Courtesan in Exile: An Elegiac Future', in ead, *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993) 204–55; and James Loxley, 'Not Sure of Safety: Hobbes and Exile', in Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile*, 133–51.

John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and its popularization of blank verse in non-dramatic English poetry via its retelling of the banishments of Satan, Adam and Eve, to the development of the short-form essay by the seventeenth-century French soldier Charles de Saint-Évremond during his exile in England.[38] Generic innovation could also emerge in specific bodies of exilic literature. Lisa Voigt demonstrates how writings by and about captives and penal exiles in the early modern Atlantic 'assert the value of the captive's cross-cultural experience and the expertise derived from it', mirroring and participating in the new styles of prose fiction that claimed to be both true and entertaining.[39]

Displacement had particularly important consequences in the realm of early modern women's cultural practices.[40] While the disruption of exile could hinder female authors, many found authorial freedom in their new homes. Life-writing seems to have been especially galvanized by the experience of exile. Some of the earliest published memoir writing in English and French by women, from Margaret Cavendish to the Mancini sisters, was produced while the authors were banished.[41] Additionally, the scholarship of Joan DeJean and Juliette Cherbuliez reveals how the cultural activities of women within seventeenth-century French salons developed alongside a growing incidence of banishment, as salons sprang up around domestic exiles such as Louise-Marguerite de Lorraine, Princesse de Conti, and Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, Duchesse de Montpensier.[42] From literary genres to cultural spaces, displacement shaped the ideas and output of early modern women. Yet, the innovative strides of one exiled woman writer did not necessarily herald a bright future for others. As Natalie Zemon Davis stresses, following the publication of the *Letter to the Queen of Navarre* in 1538 by the exiled religious reformer, Marie Dentière, in a text that included an unusually bold defence of women, no book by a woman writer was published in Geneva for the rest of the sixteenth century. From this, we might infer that Dentière's controversial work fostered an atmosphere hostile to

[38] See, for example, Louis L. Martz, *Milton: Poet of Exile* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); and Quentin M. Hope, *Saint-Evremond and his Friends* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1999).

[39] Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 1.

[40] See, for example, Sonya Cronin, *Women, Royalisms and Exiles 1640–1669: Towards Writing the Royalist Diaspora* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

[41] Anna Battigelli, *Margaret Cavendish and the Exiles of the Mind* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1998), 44; and Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, 'Publishing the Lives of Hortense and Marie Mancini', in Goldsmith and Dena Goodman (eds.), *Going Public: Women and Publishing in Early Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 30–45.

[42] Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 74; and Juliette Cherbuliez, *The Place of Exile: Leisure Literature and the Limits of Absolutism* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 42–6.

women authors.[43] Each woman writer thus had to negotiate the individual circumstances of her exile in her pursuit of literary activity. This was also true of women artists and their output, as explored in Erin Wilson's essay in this volume, which shows how the changing circumstances of exile shaped the innovative cultural contributions of Élisabeth Vigée Lebrun.

2. EXILE AS A CATEGORY OF ANALYSIS

A growing cohort of early modern scholars has begun to point out the problematic nature of the term 'exile'. A single definition of the word remains elusive, as – in Cherbuliez's formulation – exile 'can refer equally to strategies of repression, idylls, spiritual journeys and sites of political possibility'.[44] More concretely, the physical exile of individuals or groups can be hard to distinguish from other forms of travel. Criticizing the idea of a 'Reformation of the Refugees', Jesse Spohnholz and Mirjam van Veen have noted that sixteenth-century Protestants on the move often identified themselves not as exiles but as pilgrims.[45] Muylaert's inclusion of Dutch reformed ministers among those who considered themselves pilgrims in her contribution to this volume adds weight to the notion that we should pay close attention to the ways in which contemporaries understood their mobility, rather than using exile uncritically. In the context of English Civil War travellers, Timothy Raylor has suggested that the concept of exile should not be restricted only to those formally banished (of whom there were relatively few), but should include 'voluntary expatriation'.[46] As scholars have observed, whether exile was 'voluntary' or 'forced' was often a matter of perspective.[47] Burke has similarly written that 'the distinction between voluntary and forced migration is not always a clear one, a difference of degree rather than a difference of kind'.[48] This is the approach taken by Corens in examining exiles, fugitives, pilgrims, students, travellers and short-term visitors alongside each other under the broad umbrella of 'confessional mobility'. Corens astutely criticizes the term exile as a descriptor of individuals, which 'places a label on people and reduces their entire identity to that label as their key characteristic'. She argues that using mobility as a tool of analysis emphasizes the agency of Catholics who left

[43] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (1965; repr. Oxford: Polity Press, 1995), 85.

[44] Cherbuliez, *The Place of Exile*, 19.

[45] Spohnholz and van Veen, 'The Disputed Origins of Dutch Calvinism', 399–400.

[46] Timothy Raylor, 'Exiles, Expatriates and Travellers: Towards a Cultural and Intellectual History of the English Abroad, 1640–1660', in Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile*, 18–20. See also Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 11–12.

[47] Nandini Das, João Vicente Melo, Haig Z. Smith, and Lauren Working, *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 103.

[48] Burke, *Exiles and Expatriates*, 3.

England, as well as the role of circulation and connections which transcended borders.[49] Other historians of early modern religious exile have readily incorporated this more expansive framework.[50]

Is the solution for the field of exile studies therefore the wholesale replacement of the category of 'exile' with 'mobility'? We would argue the contrary. Dispensing with exile risks a loss of specificity when it comes to the uniquely compelled nature of banishment or fleeing from one's home. The legal and political difficulties that both flowed from and caused physical exile differentiate it from more general travel. Relabelling exile as mobility conceals those difficulties, and could reshape public perceptions not only of displaced people seeking asylum in the past but today as well – with potentially calamitous consequences. This is not to say that exile existed as an uncomplicated state, entirely distinct from other types of movement. Using exile only to refer to displacement caused by state action or expulsion equally fails to recognize the multiple resonances of the term in the early modern period. Nandini Das, João Vicente Melo, Haig Smith and Lauren Working have shown how a variety of people separated from their homelands, from Puritans to royalists and settlers in America, understood their identities through the lens of exile. In post-classical Latin, *exilium* connoted not only banishment but also 'ruin, waste, and destruction'. Biblical stories of the Babylonian captivity and classical myths of exile were a touchstone for early modern Europeans who longed to return home, whether their migration was forced or voluntary, as discussed in this special issue in Nat Cutter's article on English expatriates in the Maghreb.[51]

This fluidity is significant, precisely because it offers us valuable insight into the dynamics of exile and how it functioned in practice. In the political realm, we can see exile as existing on a continuum of volition: at one end lay formal banishment and deportation, while at the opposite end were more calculated forms of exile, exemplified by the 'voluntary' retreat used strategically by high-ranking nobles.[52] Exile could be characterized by frequent mobility when displaced individuals faced hostility in their new hostlands and underwent multiple displacements. But it also sometimes entailed immobility, especially for people who were banished to their homes under a form of house arrest or who found refuge in places they were unable to leave as a result of personal or political circumstances. More work remains to be done to tease out the differing valences of exile in specific historical and literary contexts. Even studies which are self-reflective about exile seldom distinguish between categories like 'exile' or 'refugee', and use

[49] Corens, *Confessional Mobility*, 3–4.

[50] Smith, *Transnational Catholicism*, 3–4.

[51] Das *et al.*, *Keywords of Identity*, 101–8.

[52] Osborne, 'Chimeres, monopoles and stratagems', 155.

these labels interchangeably.[53] In this special issue, we embrace a wide-ranging definition of exile, recognizing its heuristic usefulness as a category. However, the many forms of exile included here make the case not for an application of the term so loose as to become devoid of meaning, but instead for more precise definitions of the multiple uses and understandings of exile that existed in the early modern period – from the legal to the religious, political and metaphorical.

3. CONTENTS AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE SPECIAL ISSUE

Despite the wide geographical and disciplinary range of the essays brought together here, they are united by an overarching theme: an implicit or explicit interest in how exile produces innovation. Our authors span specialists in history, English, modern languages and history of art, providing a rich terrain upon which to reflect both on exile and on interdisciplinary collaboration. By placing these different approaches to early modern exile in dialogue with each other, the special issue aims to challenge the centring of the nation that has shaped each of these disciplines. Moving – like the exiles studied here – between languages, cultures, histories and literatures carves out a space to explore not just geographical border crossings but also scholarly border crossings between disciplines. The other pillar of this methodology is a deliberately global scope. The articles cover historical and fictional exiles who travelled between England, Ireland, France, Spain, Switzerland, the Low Countries, the Holy Roman Empire, Russia, China and the Maghreb. While the issue does not completely move beyond the focus on Western Europe that has typified studies of early modern exile, it looks to complicate our understanding of exile in this period by highlighting connections and displacements that spanned the world. In doing so, the issue speaks to *Renaissance Studies*' commitment to a multidisciplinary and global approach.

The articles are organized chronologically. The first article, by Peter Burke, sets up the special issue by offering a synthetic survey of the role of heretics or 'radical reformers' as innovators and exiles in sixteenth-century Europe. Burke's essay functions as an introductory map that helps to frame the main concepts of innovation, allowing readers to locate better the specific case studies that follow. For Burke, Protestant exiles during this period were often perceived as unwelcome 'innovators', and the refuge they found in new urban environments promoted further innovation. Radical reformers took religious innovation further than other Protestants and adopted new ideas more frequently while they were living in exile. Building on Oberman's notion of a 'Reformation of the Refugees', the

[53] See, for example, Corens, *Confessional Mobility*, 3, 11; and Osborne, 'Chimeres, monopoles and stratagems', 154.

essay argues that Calvinist communities in exile in London, Antwerp and Emden remained closer to the 'original vision' of Calvin than his followers in Geneva. Burke directly tackles the problem of source material, acknowledging that the documents are often silent as to how exiles adapted to their hostlands and when they took on new ideas. The article does not push its argument beyond the evidence, carefully caveating when it is not known whether innovative beliefs formed in exile. Burke ultimately concludes that movement between cities and cross-cultural encounters provided a kind of 'informal education' to religious reformers, encouraging both innovative thinking and the spread of unorthodox ideas.

The second article offers a case study situated in the wider Protestant diaspora explored by Burke. But rather than focusing on departing from a homeland, Silke Muylaert's essay on reformed Dutch ministers looks at the innovations that might be produced by returning to it. Muylaert charts these ministers' activities in the late sixteenth century through a collection of correspondence focused on the minister Arnold Cornelisz between 1570 and 1590. The rich source material enables Muylaert to reconstruct the ecclesiastical networks that formed between Dutch ministers during a time of upheaval. The turbulent years of the Dutch Revolt saw many ministers leave the Low Countries before returning in the 1570s, when successive rebellions by the House of Orange won territory from the Catholic Habsburgs and allowed Protestants to follow their religious inclinations. Muylaert questions the use of the term 'exile' and shows that it should be applied with caution and specificity. Influenced by scholars like Corens, the essay argues that the travel of ministers back to the Low Countries from the Holy Roman Empire was not so much a return from exile but part of a continuous displacement, typical of the mobility expected of ministers in the early modern era. Many Dutch ministers did not return to their hometowns, while modern notions of the nation state have obscured the fact that moving to a new locale in the Netherlands may have felt more 'foreign' than migrating to the Empire. The article shows how departing from their homeland led many Dutch ministers to innovate in their ministerial work, as they received schooling abroad and established ministerial information networks in which they continued to participate after their return to the Low Countries.

The next article turns to literature; namely, the writings of the early seventeenth-century Irish soldier and historian, Philip O'Sullivan Beare. In tracing the life and writings of the exiled O'Sullivan Beare, Kevin Tracey discerns Bakhtinian undercurrents, specifically Bakhtin's theorization of time and space via the chronotope. The essay uses these ideas of time and space to explore the relationship between an early modern exile and his native environment. O'Sullivan Beare's *Zoilomastix* is well chosen for this study. A national, natural history inspired by the author's time in exile, *Zoilomastix*

explores the history, cultural practices and natural environment of Ireland as the exile-author mediates his relationship to his native land via memory and historiography. By bringing Bakhtin's ideas of time and space into the analysis, Tracey offers fresh perspectives on two crucial areas of early modern exile studies: memory and place. This has wider implications for the field since a Bakhtinian approach to the writings of O'Sullivan Beare could be extended to other early modern texts. Tracey's argument that there is a 'creative conservatism' within O'Sullivan Beare's writings shows us the potential for exile to inspire innovative rhetorical strategies and literary forms.

Moving to North Africa, Nat Cutter's contribution persuasively argues for the importance of exile in understanding British–Maghrebi relations in the seventeenth century. By assembling an impressive collection of sources written by figures such as the British consul in Tunis, Thomas Goodwyn, the article shows how English-speaking expatriates in the Maghreb often articulated their experiences through a rhetoric of exile. Much of this language of loss, alienation and isolation was rooted in a Biblical poetics of exile, which underlines the role of religion in both cementing and dividing British communities in the Maghreb. Although the essay begins by exploring the stereotypically negative consequences of 'exile' expressed by British expatriates, it shifts to looking at a strand of exilic language that drew on the stories of 'pragmatic' Biblical exiles like Joseph, Esther and Daniel. This model of exile suited expatriates' commercial interests and aspirations, and created a shared grammar that could be wielded and understood within the British community in the Maghreb. By attending to expatriates' rich range of exilic rhetoric – from loss to future prosperity – Cutter reminds readers that the Biblical language of exile is not one-dimensional but multifaceted. In turning to exiles from the Old Testament who had to craft strategies to survive or hold firm to their beliefs, early modern British writers created their own innovative methods for coping with existence in the Maghreb while away from a homeland that had irrevocably changed in their absence.

James Coons's article on the legal and emotional case made by the Condé family to preserve the status of Louis II de Bourbon's child, born while the prince of the blood was in exile in the Spanish Netherlands in the 1650s, takes a different angle on belonging and subjecthood. Coons vividly tells the story of Claire-Clémence de Maillé-Brezé's campaign to have her child's rights and privileges as a member both of the royal family and the community of France recognized by the French court. Sensitively reading the Princesse de Condé's correspondence and the opinions of the jurists commissioned by her family, the essay makes a highlycompelling argument for the importance of an affective and interpersonal conception of politics during the seventeenth century. Coons's illumination of the connection between physical presence and national belonging does much to develop our understanding of the fluid boundaries of foreignness in absolutist France under Louis XIV. In uncovering this little-known episode in the Grand Condé's exile – and grappling

with the more generally neglected question of the effects of treason on the family members of political exiles –, the article shows how exiles in extreme circumstances could formulate innovative emotional and legal strategies to try to preserve their status.

Traversing the imaginative distance between East Asia and late seventeenth-century Paris, Sean Heath's article investigates exile itself as a strategically useful state for the 'false princess of China', a lower-status woman named Ina who appeared in Paris and claimed to have endured a perilous journey from the Qing court in Beijing. The would-be princess of China not only attracted considerable publicity in Parisian high society, but became a proxy for a broader struggle over Jesuit expertise when Louis Le Comte, a former missionary in China, sought to disprove her story. Heath's handling of the controversy over Ina is nuanced and sympathetic, while acknowledging the limitations of the sources. Without accepting that the Chinese princess was telling the truth, the article finds in Le Comte's assumptions about Chinese culture fertile ground for criticism of her interrogator and the limits of his knowledge. Heath's analysis of Ina's case also leads us to think about exile in innovative ways. The false princess's refashioning of herself afforded her glamour rather than misery and alienation, in a reversal of the usual loss of status suffered by exiles. Trading on seventeenth-century French 'Chinomania' and Christian charity to assume the identity of an elite 'exotic' exile temporarily vaulted Ina to a social standing far above her previous station in life.

Exile similarly proved a boon for the court painter Élisabeth Vigée Lebrun after she fled Revolutionary France a century later. The special issue's final article, by Erin Wilson, examines Vigée Lebrun's experience of exile in Italy, Vienna and Russia during the 1790s and early 1800s. Wilson places Vigée Lebrun's uncertain status and precarious existence in Italy in the context of growing hostility towards French *émigrés* in Europe as the politics of the Revolution shifted. Bookended by the artist's contrasting *Self-Portraits* produced a decade apart, the article's approach is innovative in its use of literary sources (in the form of Vigée Lebrun's memoirs) coupled with a close analysis of her painting techniques. In this way, Wilson uncovers a neglected but crucial episode in Vigée Lebrun's career: her flourishing artistic production at the imperial court of Catherine the Great and her son Paul I. Vigée Lebrun's early years of exile in Western Europe did not come close to matching the degree of success she enjoyed in her later, more settled existence in St Petersburg. In Russia, Lebrun moved away from the form of portraiture that linked her to the French court of Louis XVI and instead celebrated the opulence of her new surrounds. Wilson thus makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Vigée Lebrun's life and our broader knowledge of the experience of exile in the early modern world by demonstrating how the locality of her exile shaped both the course of her career and her artistic innovations.

Many of the exiles examined in this issue were of elite or middling status, from nobles and the gentry to merchants and clergymen, reflecting a general imbalance of the sources in favour of these social groups. If this coverage of the upper strata of society gives rise to the suspicion that innovation was only available to elites, such an assumption would be misleading. Constitutive elements of 'elite' status, such as financial security and social privileges and networks, waned and sometimes disappeared entirely in the context of displacement. Even the highest-born individual studied in this volume, the Prince de Condé's son, was at risk of losing his social status entirely owing to his father's exile. Other examples illustrate the precarious existence of displaced individuals, including those who were minoritized or marginalized either on account of their gender, as in the case of Vigée Le Brun, or because of their religious beliefs, like the theologians and ministers in Burke's and Muylaert's respective essays. Similarly, Heath's article shows how a poor woman could tap into innovative practices to try to raise her status, stressing that innovation was not necessarily limited to elites or middling sorts. Ultimately, social status was a particularly complicated factor in the lives of exiles, and the study of displacement illuminates the fragility of that status in the early modern world.

4. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This collection of essays shows how early modern exile was bound up with innovative ideas, networks, identities, writings and paintings. Innovation was a running thread in the lives of early modern exiles and in the texts they produced or that depicted them. However, while there has been some scholarly attention to innovation in the individual experiences or cultural output of certain exiles, innovation has not yet been analysed as a unifying theme across studies of early modern displacement. To some extent, this oversight derives from a dominant focus on how exiles and migrants adapted their behaviour and practices, either to continue previous lifestyles or to conform to expectations in their hostlands, rather than on how such adaptations might in certain cases be understood as genuinely innovative. Burke's essay touches on the blurred line between adaptation and innovation by recognizing that contemporary source material does not always reveal much about the process of adaptation (either failed or successful) for early modern exiles, which equally obscures the degree of innovation within that process. Yet, in spite of the difficulty of untangling these categories, innovation is worth exploring on its own terms. That is the goal of the present special issue.

The articles in this volume cover only a few of the many possible approaches to exile and innovation in the early modern period. Seeking to reinvigorate debates in the growing field of exile studies, we hope that the foregrounding

of innovation may lend itself to future research both on our chosen theme and employing the interdisciplinary methodology displayed here. Beyond this special issue, there is still work to be done; in particular, on the role of displacement in the lives of non-elite early modern men and women, as well as those living outside of Europe and the Americas, all of whom are under-represented in the archives. Yet, there may be cause for optimism on this front. The foundational work currently being undertaken by librarians and archivists in digitizing material will enable researchers to gain easier access to a wider variety of primary sources, including collections relating to under-studied and marginalized groups that tend to be fragmented and scattered between archives.[54] Technological innovation will surely continue to play a role in shaping our research. Finally, we are excited to see how other burgeoning fields – from race studies to environmental histories – might intersect with early modern exile scholarship to produce innovative results. Through this special issue, we invite you to contemplate how innovation encourages us to think differently about early modern exiles – just as early modern exiles might push us to think innovatively about our scholarship.

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[54] Many libraries and cultural heritage institutions across the UK, and elsewhere, are in the process of digitizing parts or all of their collections. For example, 'Project: Digitise' at the National Library of Scotland; 'Courtauld Connects' and the digitization of the photographic collections at The Courtauld Gallery; and the 'Medieval and Renaissance Women' project at the British Library that will digitize manuscripts, rolls and charters connected with British and European women from 1100 and 1600. There are other initiatives focused on digitizing the papers of individual early modern exiles, such as 'The Letters of Marie Mancini' run by the University of Idaho and the 'Stuart Papers' held by the Royal Collection Trust.

Abstract
The early modern period was an age marked by the forced migration and displacement of social groups and individuals around the world. Huguenots, conversos, Catholics, cavaliers, Jacobites, and French emigrés alike fled or were expelled from their homes and communities. Yet, exile is still usually considered only within the context of broader religious or political events by scholars working in sub-fields rather than as a phenomenon worthy of study in its own right. Foregrounding displacement as a major facet of early modern society and culture, this special issue explores the experience, perception, and poetics of exile from 1500 to 1800 through the prism of innovation. It encompasses displaced individuals and communities, as well as writings that treat the theme of exile, to consider how forced migration shaped the social, cultural, political, and intellectual contours of the era – and thus led to innovative practices and ideas.