COURSE DESCRIPTION

The early modern period is surely not remembered as a century of tolerance. One could recall the religious conflicts in Germany, the massacre on Saint Bartholomew’s day in France, the refugees from the Low Countries, or the operations of the Inquisition in Italy, Spain and Portugal, not to mention the witch-hunts in many parts of Europe and the religious aspects of the Thirty Years War. During the so-called Reformation times, however, the question of tolerance became a central issue for the first time in public discourse. Propositions for toleration were either to argue for the freedom of conscience, or to procure greater civil security.

Intellectuals who argued for more religious tolerance had mostly a firm humanist education. Humanist discourse, thus, started to be used for new, "Christian" goals in Northern Europe. The course is going to examine the cooperation and tension between humanism and the reformation. Special attention will be paid to the radical reformation (e.g. Central-European antitrinitarianism) and the heterodox interconfessionalism, the humanists which prepared the way for a more modern religiosity in the time of Enlightenment as well as laid the groundstones of civil rights to be codified by the time of the French Revolution.

The goal of the course is to make students aware of the double nature of early modern tolerance and heterodoxy. It would be a mistake to examine the above mentioned phenomena only as precursors of modernity (no matter how important these aspects are too); the course will also highlight the specific historical, cultural and religious contexts which make this period so familiar and at the same time so remote from us.

The learning outcome should consist of 1/ an accumulation of historical knowledge about the connections of political and social history and premodern/early modern ideology and religiosity; 2/ a clear insight into the cultural history of such concepts as church and sect, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, interconfessionalism and dissent, eirenism and toleration; 3/ a realization how the genesis of many modern concepts of civil rights and civil society were forged in the religious discourse of the 16th and 17th centuries.

TOPICS AND READINGS

1.
Definitions: church and sect, dissent and heresy, heterodoxy, interconfessionalism, eirenism and toleration.

READINGS: Kamen, Introduction; Hillerbrand, "Introduction" in Kiraly; Grell, "Introduction". (reader)

2.
The nature of humanism, the rhetorical tradition, and the idea of tolerance.

READINGS: Remer, "Introduction". (reader)
PRESENTATION: Erasmus, man and works. (Ref: Remer, Lisa Jardin)
   **READINGS:** More, *Utopia*. (reader)
   **PRESENTATION:** Thomas More, man and works. (Ref: Fleisher, Spitz)

   **READINGS:** Szőnyi, "The dark Offsprings..." (reader)
   **PRESENTATION:** Johannes Reuchlin and Hebrew Studies in the Renaissance.

   **READINGS:** Castellio, *Concerning heretics*. (reader)
   **PRESENTATION:** Spiritualism and legal issues: Servet, Castellio and Acontius. (Ref: Kamen, MacCulloch, Spitz)

   **READINGS:** MacCulloch, 253-70; 340-44; 457-64. (reader) Optional: Balázs, 191-217. (reader)
   **PRESENTATION:** Anabaptism, the Calvin–Servet controversy. (Ref: Kamen, MacCulloch, Spitz, Tazbir)

7. Renaissance magic, interconfessionalism, enthusiasm.
   **READINGS:** Lodovico Lazzarelli, from *Crater Hermetis*; From John Dee's *Spiritual Diaries*. (reader)
   **PRESENTATION:** Guillaume Postel, career and thought. (Ref: Kuntz)

   **READINGS:** Szőnyi, "Magical Humanism at the Court of Rudolf II". (reader)
   **PRESENTATION:** The story of the Anglican Church; Rudolf's cosmopolitan Prague. (Ref: MacCulloch, Spitz, Fučikova)

9. Europe and the Ottoman world in the contexts of toleration and "othering".
   **READINGS:** Erasmus, *De bello turcico*; Postel, *The Concord of the World*. (reader)
   **PRESENTATION:** The *Pax Ottomanaica*. (Ref: Kiraly)

10. A case study of late humanist toleration: Jean Bodin's *Heptaplomeres*.
    **READINGS:** Bodin, *Colloquium of the Seven...* (reader)
    **PRESENTATION:** Bodin, man and work. (Ref: Kuntz)

    **READINGS:** Locke, *Letter*. (reader)
    **PRESENTATION:** Hobbes and Locke, careers and ideas. (Ref: Kamen, Remer)

12. Round up, Q&A.

**ASSIGNMENTS, GRADING**

The grade will be composed of three components: 1/ **Participation** in classes (30%); 2/ A formal in-class **presentation** (20%); 3/ A final **essay** (8-10 pages long with a minimum of 5 items of bibliography; a case study, analysing one of the source-texts mentioned/studied during the course).
REFERENCES (items indicated as "Reader" will be available in PDF format)

Primary Texts
Dee, John. From the Spiritual Diaries. Ed. Meric casaubon, 1659. (excerpts, reader)
Erasmus of Rotterdam, De bello turcico. (excerpts, reader)
Locke, John. A Letter Concerning Toleration (1686). (reader)
More, Thomas. Utopia (1518). (reader)
Pico della Mirandola, On the Dignity of Man (De hominis dignitate, 1485). (excerpts, reader)
Postel, Guillaume. The Concord of the World (De orbis terrae concordia, Basel: Opurinus, 1544).
Introduction to the Zohar; De la république des Turcs (Poitiers, 1560). (excerpts, reader)

Scholarship
—. "About a Copy of De falsa et vera unius Dei... (Additional data to the history of the English connections of the Antitrinitarians of Transylvania)." Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce 47 (2003): 54-64.


1 Definitions: Church and Sect, Dissent and Heresy, Heterodoxy, Interconfessionalism, Eirenism and Tolerance

READINGS: Kamen, Introduction; Hillerbrand, "Introduction" in Kiraly; Grell, "Introduction".

1.1 DEFINITIONS

1.1.1 Church and Sect

Church is the body of people who share a faith or a religious organization, usually within Christianity. The Church, as a generic term refers to the leaders of organized religion, regardless their religion or theology. – In the sociology of religion a sect is generally a small religious or political group that has broken off from a larger group, for example from a large, well-established religious group, like a denomination, usually due to a dispute about doctrinal matters (= dissent). – In its historical usage in Christendom the term sect has a pejorative connotation and refers to a movement committed to heretical beliefs and that often deviated from orthodox practices (= heterodoxy).

1.1.2 Dissent / Heresy

Dissent need not be accompanied by toleration but toleration presupposes the existence of dissent. The category of religious dissent presupposes the existence of normative religious and ecclesiastical standards (= orthodoxy). These standards are enforced by the authorities. While dissent is a relatively neutral term, heresy is a pejorative label given by the representatives of the dominating authority.

1.1.3 Orthodoxy / Heterodoxy

See above.

1.1.4 Interconfessionalism / syncretism / enthusiasm

Interconfessionalism is an attitude toward religion when denominational differences are disregarded in favor of common denominators. This attitude became characteristic among humanist intellectuals in the time of the Reformation. Syncretism is a conscious and philosophical effort to reconcile different religious/philosophical systems. E.g. Christian neoplatonism. Interconfessionalism and syncretism characterise certain types of early modern religious enthusiasm, attracted to occult and esoteric beliefs.

1.1.5 Eirenism, Irenicism

Irenicism (from Gr. "peace") is a concept rooted in the ideals of pacifism related to natural theology in an attempt to unify Christian apologetical systems by using reason as an essential attribute. Those who have affiliated themselves with Irenicism identify the importance of unity in the Christian church, and declare the common bond between all Christians under Christ in orthodox Christianity. Among Protestants, eirenism meant the reconciliation of all reformed denominations (but usually not including Roman Catholicism).

1.2 NOTIONS

Toleration: concession of liberty to those who dissent in religion. Contributed to the development of the principle of human freedom. But this was not a continuous development, rather a cyclical progress.
The importance of the social context in which philosophies emerged. Zwingli and Locke cannot be understood properly without the burgher class of Zurich or the landed aristocracy of England (Kamen). The general context of early modern toleration is Christian Europe in an age of revolution.

Larger contexts: Decline of feudalism – growth of money economy – secular spirit of Renaissance humanism – a new and more liberal attitude to religion. Liberalism in religion was a prerequisite for tolerance.

1.2.1 The Sociology of Dissent
Dissent may be represented by a lonely voice (outsider), or a restless group within the orthodox community. The two may be interconnected: the lonely prophet may be the founder of a movement. Tolerance for dissent is based either on a conviction that certain religious affirmations are unimportant, insignificant; or that there is no final certainty concerning the truth or falsehood of specific theological assertions.

Intolerance, on the other hand, is based on a conviction that orthodoxy is in full possession of the truth from which divergence cannot be ignored or tolerated.

In a way the story of religious dissent and toleration is the story of Western civilization. Christianity in its beginning was dissent, within Judaism, then within the Roman Empire.

1.2.2 Christianity and Tolerance
The Church began with the principle of liberty. [Bible quotations from Kamen, 8-11.] – Church and State separated ("give back to Caesar what is Caesar's"). – Until the Church was in an outsider position, tolerance was demanded for the members; dissenters were simply removed from the community (excommunication). – "The parable of the tares" (Matt. 13.24-30, 36-43).

1.2.3 Christianity and Intolerance
Intolerance began when the Christian Church became insider, and integral part of the Roman Empire with Constantine's emancipation (313 AD). The Church assumed the role of official guardian of souls and called for help from the secular political power to back the ideological cleansing of the Christian community. – The church–state alliance began a program of selective persecution.

The beginning of persecution: St. Augustine's campaign against the Donatists in North Africa (early fifth century).

The Donatists could not accept that due to persecution (Diocletian) priests and bishops could fell away from the faith. According to them such persons should not be allowed to administer the sacraments. The rest of the Xian community was more permissive and referred to the sacrament of penance. Augustine had been a Manichean heretic so he had more understanding of the weak, but then turned out to be very strict with the strict Donatists.

With the rule of Charlemagne the Church and the State became completely intertwined, however the Church had the greater (=spiritual) power. – The Church became very sensitive to heresies which threatened the temporal power. – Medieval heresies: to differ in faith meant to threaten the fabric of society. Not surprisingly, religious innovators often became social rebels and vice versa.

1.2.4 The Medieval Heresies
Bogumils (Eastern Europe); Cathars/Albigensians (Southern France); Waldensians (France, Northern Italy); Lollards (England); Hussites (Bohemia, Central Europe). Further information and chart: <http://www.biblefacts.org/history/g2chart.html>. – The struggle for toleration involved a denial of the whole medieval framework of government.

Although the Middle Ages did not tolerate dissent, there was no monolithic intolerance. Non Christians, Jews and Muslims were tolerated and these communities coexisted with the Xians. "Non-believers must not be compelled to believe, because believing is a matter of free will" (Th. Aquinas). Heterodoxy, on the other hand was punished as treachery against the faith.
1.2.5 The Renaissance/Reformation Era

The question of toleration appeared in two ways: 1/ Has the state as an auxiliary to the Church any right to repress heresy? 2/ Does the individual have any right to freedom of conscience? – Error has no rights, claimed the scholastics. This view became challenged from two groups: the humanists and the early reformers. The latter were in a similarly outsider position than Xians in the time of the early Church.

1.3 HISTORIOGRAPHY (Grell)

Traditional ("whiggish") scholarship since the Liberalism of the 19th century had a strong image about the development of toleration. According to this it appeared with the Renaissance humanists, then briefly got hindered by the zeal of the early reformers only to regain strength by the late 16th century thus making way for a common-sense tolerance of religious differences. This is a "grand narrative".

"Revisionist historiography" since the 1980s has been trying to establish a more refined, polyphonic narrative about the development of toleration. The main elements of this are: with a more thorough consideration of the social contexts, not the ideological standpoints are the sole decisive factors, rather the position of the actors whether outsider or insider (the changing role and opinions of Luther; even some great humanists, such as Lipsius could be very intolerant on a "rational" basis).

A still not fully accomplished task: the research on dissent and toleration within non-Christian communities, notably Judaism and the Islam.
2

The Nature of Humanism, the Rhetorical Tradition, and the Idea of Tolerance

READINGS: Remer, "Introduction". (reader)
PRESENTATION: Erasmus, man and works. (Ref: Remer, Lisa Jardin)

2.1 MAJOR REPRESENTATIVES OF EARLY MODERN TOLERATION
(According to Remer)

Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536)
Two types of toleration: 1/ minimal = the preacher's accommodation to the listeners, even if they err (hierarchy in communication). 2/ Maximal = conversation-like (equality in communication). The application of maximal toleration is limited to nonessentials of faith (adiaphora) and to the scholarly elite.

Jacobus Acontius (1500-67)
Expanded Erasmus' sermo-based defense of toleration. All beliefs (including fundamentals) should be discussed, at least initially. Every person must be given a chance to offer an opinion. Preaching ceases to be a model for toleration, conversation becomes the sole genre.

William Chillingworth (1602-44)
Continued to justify toleration based on the model of conversation. Applied the rhetorical standard of probability to the fundamentals of faith – certainty is impossible in religious matters. A setback: Chillingworth put an emphasis on political obedience.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)
Motivated by the fear of civil war, Hobbes abandoned the humanist presuppositions in favor of the authority of science. He emphasized the separation of religious beliefs and secular (royal) power. As for toleration: the sovereign must look to the interest of the commonwealth to decide whether or not to be tolerant. (Cf. Machiavelli.) Hobbes expressed the modern form of skepticism by denying the objective existence of all religious and moral beliefs, excluding the existence of God.

Jean Bodin (1530-96)
Earlier humanists believed that conversation, dialogue can gradually approach truth. A consensus would be achieved on the fundamentals and disagreement respected about the nonessentials. Hobbes thought that disagreement eventually would lead to force. Bodin agreed with this, still he claimed that if the participants of the conversation believe that their truths are partial and separate aspects of a greater truth, they can remain peaceful. Bodin was to include non-Christian participants in the debates, he extended full toleration to them, too.

Bodin also emphasized the argument from conscience: he believed that sincere belief must not be violated (except the conscience of atheism because B. deemed the atheist a threat to society).

John Locke (1632-1704)
It was only Locke who fully expanded the norm of toleration from conscience. This view was enhanced by Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) and with him the humanists’ arguments from religion have been transformed into the secular theory of free speech known as the marketplace of ideas (Enlightenment, capitalism).
2.2 CLASSICAL RHETORIC

2.2.1 Decorum

Content (res) cannot be separated from form (verba) – human communication always occurs within a given context. The successful orator must be mindful of propriety (decorum), he has to adapt himself to occasions and persons.

The rules of rhetoric are dictated by prudential knowledge (to understand human nature, to recognize the multiplicity of human personalities).

2.2.2 The Main Genera (Genres)

Three main categories of speech: deliberative; judicial/forensic; epideictic/demonstrative.

- Deliberative originates in the political assembly (persuasion).
- Judicial is used in the courtroom (accusation and defence).
- Demonstrative is concerned with praise or blame (ceremonial, funeral, aims at honor).

Common denominators of rhetorical expression: concrete (action-oriented); popular; emotional (pathos); agonistic (fighting); skeptical (denial of certain knowledge). – The importance of hermeneutics in relation to rhetoric.

The standard of knowledge is not certainty, but probability. (Arguing the strength and weaknesses.)

2.2.3 Conversation

Cicero: "Conversation (sermo) should be found in social groups, in philosophical discussions and among gatherings of friends". – It is a dialogue. – The principle of decorum makes the dialogue rhetorical: an awareness of the human element in communication. Each speaker must first accommodate himself to the conditions of the other speakers.

Conversation is well-suited to philosophy.

As opposed to public speech, in conversation reason is more important than passion.

The method of scrutiny by cross-examination – needs goodwill and skepticism.

Cicero did not speak about religious toleration because in the Roman cult-based religion there was no need for it. It became an issue in doctrine-based Christianity and Erasmus accommodated Cicero's arguments to the case of religious toleration.
Humanist Discourse of Tolerance. A Case Study: Thomas More's *Utopia*

**READINGS:** More, *Utopia.* (reader)

**PRESENTATION:** Thomas More, man and works. (Ref: Fleisher, Spitz)

Sir Thomas More, son of Sir John More, a justice of the King's Bench, was born in 1478. Earlier education: St. Anthony's School, in Threadneedle Street; then he was placed, as a boy, in the household of Cardinal John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor. At the age of about nineteen he studied at Canterbury College, Oxford, where he learnt Greek (his tutors were the Italian trained William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre). At the age of twenty-one he entered Parliament, and soon after he had been called to the bar he was made Under-Sheriff of London. In 1499 he met Erasmus and they became lifelong friends. In 1503 he opposed in the House of Commons Henry VII.'s proposal for a subsidy and he opposed with so much energy that the House refused to grant it. In 1513 Thomas More wrote his "History of the Life and Death of King Edward V., and of the Usurpation of Richard III." In May of the year 1515 Thomas More--not knighted yet--was joined in a commission to the Low Countries with Cuthbert Tunstal and others to confer with the ambassadors of Charles V., then only Archduke of Austria, upon a renewal of alliance. While at Antwerp he established friendship with Peter Giles (Latinised Aegidius), a scholarly and courteous young man, who was secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. This journey was the main inspiration for writing his *Utopia* (1515, printed in Louvain in 1516). It was then revised by More, and printed by Frobenius at Basle in November, 1518. It was reprinted at Paris and Vienna, but was not printed in England during More's lifetime. Its first publication in this country was in the English translation, made in Edward's VI.'s reign (1551) by Ralph Robinson. Other works: pamphlets against the early Protestants (William Tyndale); *Life of Picus, Earl of Mirandula; Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation* (1530s). Executed after a long process in 1535. Connections with East-Central Europe: 1474, John Morton's embassy in Hungary; Henry VII's negotiations with Wladislas II; 1527, More as Chancellor answered Ferdinand's envoys in connection with the Turkish threat (Mohacs). Social models for *Utopia:* Dalmatian peasant communities of equality; the Czech Brethren in Tabor.
Humanism, hermeticism and the Reuchlin affair about Judaism

READINGS: Sz. nyi, "The dark Offsprings..." (reader)

PRESENTATION: Johannes Reuchlin and Hebrew Studies in the Renaissance.
5

The Reformation: a new orthodoxy and its discontents

READINGS: Castellio, Concerning heretics. (reader)
PRESENTATION: Spiritualism and legal issues: Servet, Castellio and Acontius. (Ref Kamen, MacCulloch, Spitz)

5.1 CALVIN AND THE NEW ORTHODOXY

Calvin (1509-64), French Protestant theologian during the Protestant Reformation and was a central developer of the system of Christian theology called Calvinism or Reformed theology. In Geneva, his ministry both attracted other Protestant refugees and over time made that city a major force in the spread of Reformed theology. He is renowned for his teachings and writings, in particular for his Institutes of the Christian Religion and the doctrine of predestination.

1532, Calvin is a doctor of law (University of Orléans). 1533, because of his protestantism has to flee Paris. He moved to Basel where in 1536 published the first version of the Institutio.

On his way back to France he passed by Geneva, where Guillaume Farel (1489-1565) invited him to stay and help consolidating the Reformation in that city. In 1538 they both were expelled. Until his return in 1541 he lived as a pastor in Strassbourg. Then he stayed in Geneva until his death.

The establishment of the Consistory as an ecclesiastical court in 1541.

5.1.1 The Calvin–Servet Controversy

The most lasting controversy of Calvin's life involves his role in the execution of Michael Servetus (1511-53), the Spanish physician, and theologian. Servetus first published his views in 1531 to a wide yet unreceptive audience. He denounced the Trinity, one of the cardinal doctrines that Catholics and Protestants agreed upon. – Around 1546, Servetus initiated a correspondence with Calvin that lasted until 1548, when the exchange grew so tense that Calvin ended it. Each man wrote under a pen name and each tried to win the other to his own theology. – As early as 1533 the Spanish Inquisition had sentenced Servetus to death in absentia. Years later, in 1553, he was charged with heresy while living under an assumed name in France. – Servetus came to Geneva in August 1553 and attended a Sunday church service with Calvin in the pulpit. He was recognized and arrested on Calvin's initiative. Calvin drafted the heresy charges (rejection of infant baptism; denial of the doctrine of the Trinity), while Geneva's city council steered Servetus' trial, sentence, and burning at the stake (October 27, 1553).

5.2 CASTELLIO’S DISCUSSION OF TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE

(based on Roland H. Bainton's "Introduction" in Castellio 1965)

5.2.1 Sebastian Castellio (1515-63)

Born in Savoye from a french family. Degree: University of Lyon. In 1540 he witnessed the execution of early Hugenots in France which turned him to Protestantism and had to leave France. In Strassburg he made friends with Calvin who in 1542 invited him to Geneva and appointed him as rector of the College de Geneve. – For his outstanding work, the Geneva City Council recommended Castellio's permanent appointment as preacher in Vandoeuvres; however in 1544 a campaign against him was initiated by Calvin. – After Castellio's views about toleration became known, Calvin charged him with the offense of "undermining the prestige of the clergy." Castellio was forced to resign from his position of Rector and asked to be dismissed from being a preacher in Vandoeuvres.

He had to leave Geneva and during years of poverty, he prepared an edition of the Latin Bible to which he wrote a very important preface addressed to the English adolescent-king, Edward VI. This
preface became so famous that it earned him the invitation to the University of Basel to be professor of Greek in August 1553. He was deeply upset by the execution of Servet a few months later. – In 1554 Calvin published his *Defensio orthodoxae fidei de sacra Trinitate*. Three months later, Castellio wrote the pamphlet *De haereticis, an sinit persequendi* (Whether heretics should be persecuted) with the place of publication being printed on the first page as Magdeburg rather than Basle. The book was printed by Johannes Oporinus, a Basel book printer, known for his bold publications.

It is believed that the pamphlet was co-authored by Laelius Socinus (wandering Italian humanist and radical reformer) and Celio Secondo Curione (professor of rhetorics in Basel) [for these names look up the history of Antitrinitarism – cf. the Reader, the article by M. Balázs].

In 1555 Castellio published a French Bible, again with a renowned preface. He was at length brought to trial for his own heresies, but died during the proceedings in 1564.

5.3 THE STRUCTURE AND SOURCES OF CONCERNING HERETICS

The work is a compendium of quotations from various sources, concerning heresy. The groups of authors in it are the following: pre-Reformation writers with an emphasis on Church Fathers and ending with Erasmus; Protestant persecutors; Liberals – "Erasmians" and "Independents."

5.3.1 Church Fathers

*Lactantius* (fl. 305-311 CE) and his *Divine Institues* crystallized three principles concerning the persecution of heresies: to persecute a man must believe 1/ that he is right; 2/ that the point in question is important; 3/ that coercion is effective. Theories and practise were based on "The parable of the tares" (Matt. 13.24-30):

24 The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: 25 But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. 26 But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. 27 So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? 28 He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? 29 But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. 30 Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn.

Two basic attitudes of the early church: a/ the church as a little organized congregation of saints would keep the heretics outside in order to keep the purity of the societ;. b/ the organized church came to see herself as Noah's Ark outside which there was no salvation. The tares then became interpreted as outside heretics who should be compelled to come in. – A further consideration against toleration: Christ was concerned about the wheat, so when the separation could be carried out without danger of mistake, the heretics who voluntarily separated themselves, could be destroyed with no scruples.

5.3.1.1 Early Ideologies of Intoleration

The emergence of the heretic as a spiritual adulterer, a counterfeiter of divine truth, the first born of Satan, a murderer of souls. – Procedures grounded by St. Paul in his letter to Titus: "10 A man that is an heretick after the first and second admonition reject; 11 Knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself." – When the Montanists were repulsed and the two groups came to die in the Arena for the same Lord, they separated themselves to opposite corners unwilling to be eaten by the same beasts (as reported by *Eusebius*).
5.3.1.2 Opinions of Toleration

"It is not in the nature of religion to coerce religion, which must be adopted freely and not by force" (Tertullian). – "It ill befits Christians of all men to correct the mistakes of the erring by constraint. God crowns those who refrain from evil by choice not by necessity" (Clement of Alexandria). – "Those who hold different opinions and will not be convinced, after a first and second admonition, are indeed to be rejected. but the corrupters of Christianity are not to be regarded with hatred and called bad names. The penalties of burning and stoning for transgression of the Mosaic law are no longer in force. For Christ conquers no one who is unwilling" (Origen).

Constantine had hoped that Christianity would serve to unify the Empire and was shocked to see that the Church was itself divided by the Donatist controversy in the West and the Arian in the East. – Constraint was used in both cases. – Under the sons of Constantine the situation was reversed. The new emperors were Arians and the followers of the Nicean creed protested and called for toleration.

The first instance of the death penalty against heresy occurred in 385 under Maximus, condemning Priscillian and his followers in Spain. Martin of Tours and Ambrose of Milan were both shocked by this treatment. Ambrose and his follower, Chrysostom stated that the capital punishment is not to be inflicted, but freedom of assembly may be denied.

"Judges without the Christian fold may exercise coercion against those who are legally convicted, but in our case such men must be brought to a better fruit, by persuasion rather than compulsion. God crowns those who refrain from evil by choice and not by necessity..." (Chrysostom).

5.3.1.3 Augustine (354-430)

An ideologue of both toleration and persecution. For one, he changed his opinion: in his younger years he had reservations against state authority in church matters but in the end he endorsed the legal actions against the Donatists¹. – In 404 the bishops of North Africa called for imperial intervention against the Donatists. Augustine supplied arguments against them, at the same time worked out the theory of the inquisition: the corner stone of his theory was love, i.e. the Christian must be his brother's keeper. In face of great peril (= damnation) love cannot be scrupulous about methods. Augustine's metaphors: the persecutor is like a kind father who disciplines a fallen son, or a dutiful son who restrains his mad father from destroying himself. Or the physician who amputates a diseased member for the sake of the rest of the body. – When the diseased body is identified with the community, the individual becomes the rotten member who is to be destroyed for the sake of the larger good.

At the same time Augustine was also the father of the liberals. He always objected to the death penalty and he also imposed limitations on the scope of heresy. He differentiated between essential and nonessential questions, and said that even an error on essentials does not constitute heresy unless it is associated with pride, curiosity, obstinacy, and a lack of love.

5.3.2 The Middle Ages

The MA had very little to add to the theory of persecution elaborated by Augustine. The death penalty was introduced in the 13th century, backed by Aquinas. Augustine: heresy, that destroys the soul is worse than murder that destroys only the body. Aquinas: the counterfeiting of divine truth is worse than counterfeiting money which is punishable by death. Pope Innocent III: heresy is worse than treason because it is more serious to offend the eternal than the temporal Majesty. – Here we have a feudalization of the conception of heresy.

¹ The Donatists condemned those church officials who collaborated with the Roman authorities under the persecutions of Diocletian. As a consequence they rejected the sacraments administered by such sinners (ex opere operantis against ex opere operato). Constantine tried to settle the issue at the Synod of Arles (314) but it was only after 404 that Donatism was radically suppressed.
5.3.3 **Erasmus** (1466/69-1536)

Formative influences toward toleration: *Devotio moderna* and Italian Neoplatonism. (Inwardness, simplicity, humility + syncretism.) He criticized both Catholic excess and Protestant puritanism – and hypocrisy in both. To Catholic and Protestant alike Erasmus pointed out the futility of persecution.

Erasmus started to reduce to the possible lowest common denominator the points of fundamentals, thus preparing the methodology for Castellio and Acontius. He nevertheless maintained the distinction between the masses and the experts. He complained about Luther who had dragged thorny problems from the schools to the street.

➢ "God has deliberately hidden some things that we might adore Him in mystic silence [...] for example the distinction of the persons, the nature of the union of the human and divine in Christ, and the character of the unpardonable sin." (*De libero arbitrio*)

➢ "Is it not possible to have fellowship with the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit without being able to explain philosophically the distinction between them and between the naticity of the Son and the procession of the Holy Ghost?" (Preface to Hilary)

He possessed a healthy amount of rationalism, thus, remained suspicious about prophets, mystics, enthusiasts. The inspired man might be infallible, but there is no infallible way of knowing that he is infallible. – Who is to determine what are the essentials? Erasmus frankly admitted that weakness drove him to external authority.

Erasmus's universalism reste in large measure upon an ethical basis. Deeds are exalted above creeds. The true theologian reveals himself not by syllogisms, but by his life.

On the other hand he always remained cautious not to break with the Catholic Church and not to side with any kind of radicalism. He would not tolerate Anabaptism on the following basis:

➢ "The Anabaptists are by no means to be tolerated. For the apostles command us to obey magistrates, and these men object to obeying Christian princes."

5.3.4 Protestant Persecutors

5.3.4.1 **Martin Luther** (1483-1546)

In some respects Luther did more for religious liberty than did Erasmus, in some, less. After a period of liberalism, he (re)established within his own authority a new institution, and a new inquisition. – His similar situation to that of Augustine: both were dealing with the disintegration of a great institution (the Roman State and the Roman Church).

Toward the catholics he was more moderate but to the sectaries in his own movement was unwilling to use any constraint. Two occurrences that pushed him in the direction of persecution: 1/ the accession of John Frederick, elector of Saxony, a strong protestant who provided power-background for Luther; 2/ the Peasant War (1524-25), culminating in the revolt of Thomas Müntzer who took Mühlhausen and turned it into a theocracy ("Eternal League of God").

Luther's radicalization: 1528 – he accepts banishment for "heretics"; 1529 – accepts the death penalty for Anabaptists; 1530 – calls for general punishment for blasphemous heretics. But he kept to his original liberal ideas in interesting ways: still said that conscience was not to be forced – but asserted that blasphemers had no conscience; still said that faith was not to be constrained – but dissenting views should not be made public.

5.3.4.2 **Urbanus Rhegius** (1489-1541)

Was a Reformer who was active both in Northern and Southern Germany in order to promote Lutheran unity in the Holy Roman Empire. He was particularly hostile to the Anabaptists.

Once he debated with an Anabaptist woman of noble birth in front of a town council.

The woman said to him: "There is a great difference between you and me, my dear
Urbanus. You sit on a soft cushion beside the councillors and talk as from the tripod of Apollo, whereas I must dispute lying in chains on the ground." Urbanus answered: "It serves you right, sister, for you were saved once by Christ from bongade to the devil, and now you have willingly given yourself again to his yoke and he has adorned you in this fashion as an example to others."

5.3.5 Speakers for Tolerance among the Early Protestants

5.3.5.1 Otto Brunfels (1488-1534)
German theologian and botanist. In one of his works he defended Ulrich von Hutten against Erasmus of Rotterdam and published the manuscripts from the Jan Hus heritage. Brunfels' *Catalogi virorum illustrium* (1527) is considered to be the first book on the history of evangelical Church.

After his friend Ulrich von Hutten had died (1523), Brunfels' religious views brought him into a controversy with Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli. Later on he began to study medicine at the University of Basel. In 1532 he became a city physician in Bern, where he stayed till the end of his life.

5.3.5.2 Conrad Pellican (1478-1556)
German theologian and humanist. He taught Hebrew, Greek, mathematics and cosmography at the Franciscan monastery of St. Katherina in Rouffach, in the upper Alsace. He subsequently taught at Pforzheim and Tübingen. The mapmaker Sebastian Münster studied under him at Rufach, and is said to have been greatly influenced by Pellican's teachings.

Pellican himself became a Protestant gradually. At Tübingen the future "apostate in three languages" was able to begin the study of Hebrew. He learned the letters from the transcription of a few verses in the Star of the Messiah of Petrus Niger, and, with a subsequent hint or two from Johannes Reuchlin, who also lent him the grammar of Moses Kimhi, made his way through the Bible for himself with the help of Jerome's Latin.

Pellican became a priest in 1501 and continued to serve his order at Rouffach, Pforzheim, and Basel until 1526. At Basel he came to the conclusion that the Church taught many doctrines of which the early doctors of Christianity knew nothing. He spoke his views frankly, but he disliked polemic; he found also more toleration than might have been expected, even after he became active in circulating Luther's books. Finally he received through Zwingli a call to Zürich as professor of Greek and Hebrew, and formally throwing off his monk's habit, entered on a new life. Here he remained until his death on 6 April 1556.

5.3.5.3 David Joris (1501-56)
Important Anabaptist leader in the Netherlands before 1540. He became an Anabaptist in 1533 but had conflicts with the emerging leader, Menno Simons. David Joris remained on the "mystic" edge of Anabaptism, leading by citing dreams, visions and prophecies. His writings number over 200. – David Joris was posthumously convicted of heresy, and his body exhumed and burned on May 13, 1559.

5.4 JACOBUS ACONTIUS (Giapoco Aconcio, 1492-1566)
Italian jurist, theologian, philosopher and engineer. He is now known for his contribution to the history of religious toleration. – He was one of the Italians, like Peter Martyr and Bernardino Ochino, who repudiated papal doctrine and ultimately found refuge in England. Like them, his revolt against Romanism took a more extreme form than Lutheranism, and after a temporary residence in Switzerland and at Strasbourg (between 1557 and 1558), he arrived in England soon after Elizabeth's accession (1559). He had studied law and theology, but his profession was that of an engineer, and in this capacity
he found employment with the English government. On his arrival in London he joined the Dutch Reformed Church in Austin Friars, but he was "infected with Anabaptistical and Arian opinions" and was excluded from the sacrament by Edmund Grindal, bishop of London. He was granted naturalization on 8 October 1561.

5.4.1 His Works

Before reaching England he had published a treatise on the methods of investigation, *De Methodo, hoc est, de recte investigandarum tradendarumque Scientiarum ratione* (Basel, 1558); and his critical spirit placed him outside all the recognized religious societies of his time. His heterodoxy is revealed in his *Stratagematum Satanae libri octo*, sometimes abbreviated as *Stratagemata Satanae*, published in 1565 and translated into various languages. The Stratagems of Satan are the dogmatic creeds which rent the Christian church. Aconcio sought to find the common denominator of the various creeds; this was essential doctrine, the rest was immaterial. To arrive at this common basis, he had to reduce dogma to a low level, and his result was generally repudiated.
The Radical Reformation: Antitrinitarism and tolerance in East-central Europe.

**READINGS:** MacCulloch, 253-70; 340-44; 457-64. (reader) Optional: Balázs, 191-217. (reader) 

**PRESENTATION:** Anabaptism, the Calvin–Servet controversy. (Ref: Kamen, MacCulloch, Spitz, Tazbir)

### 6.1 VARIETIES OF CALVINISM

As opposed to a relatively homogeneous Lutheranism, the Reformed Faith sprung up from various sources. Swiss-German origins: Zwinglianism in Zürich and Bern, other centres in Strassbourg and Cologne, a special atmosphere in Basel.

#### 6.1.1 A Third-Way Model: East-Friesland

Anna von Oldenburg's "third way" experiment in Emden. – The role of Jan Łaski in establishing the Emden community (much more democratic than Calvin's Geneva).

#### 6.1.2 Łaski's Career

Poland – international studies and travels – friend of Erasmus – titular bishop of Warsaw in 1538 – got married in 1540 and became Protestant – in Emden between 1542-49 – settled in England in 1549 – in 1550 nominated as the superintendent of the Stranger Church in London – after the accession of "Bloody Mary" exiled to the Continent (1553) – returned to Poland in 1556 and worked for the Reformation till his death in 1560. – Important work: *Forma ac ratio* (1555), a description of his church government at the Stranger Church in London.

### 6.2 THE RADICAL REFORMATION IN ECE

#### 6.2.1 Hungary and Transylvania

Protestant concepts of the Ottoman invasion as a punishment from God (Bullinger's *Brevis et pia institutio*, 1559). – Nominal Lutheranism (Augsburg Confession) but soon opposing and competing Protestant trends.

#### 6.2.2 The Influence of the Italian Radical Protestantism

Italian radicals were expelled from Italy, they moved to Switzerland (especially Basel) but soon had to move on – to East-Central Europe. – Doubts about the divinity of Jesus Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity, debates on child baptism.

#### 6.2.3 The Role of Ferenc Dávid (1510-79)

His development from Lutheranism through Calvinism to Antitrinitarianism. The role of Giorgio Blandrata, the court physician of Transylvanian Prince, Johannes Sigismund. The Edict of Torda (1568) which established religious freedom in Transylvania.

#### 6.2.4 A Radical Reformer, Andreas Dudith (1533-89)

Bishop of Pécs – secretary and biographer of Reginald Pole – Protestant leader in Hungary – settled down in Breslau (Wroclaw) and became a spokesman of religious toleration.

Reginald Pole (1500-58). In 1521, Pole went to Padua, where he met leading Renaissance figures, including Pietro Bembo, Gianpietro Carafa (the future Pope Paul IV), Stanislaus Hosius, Pier Paolo Vergerio the younger, Peter Martyr and Vettor Soranzo. The last three were eventually condemned as heretics by the Church, with Vermigli – as a well-known Protestant theologian – having a significant share in the Reformation in Pole's native England. – The final break between Pole and Henry followed upon Thomas Cromwell and others addressing questions to Pole on behalf of Henry. He answered by sending the king a copy of his published treatise *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* which, besides being a theological reply to the questions, was a strong denunciation of the king's
Policies. – Pole was made a cardinal by Pope Paul III in 1536, over Pole's own objections. In 1542 he was appointed as one of the three papal legates to preside over the Council of Trent, and after the death of Pope Paul III in 1549 Pole, at one point, had nearly the two-thirds of the vote he needed to become Pope himself. – Pole's return to England was followed by an Act of Parliament, the Revival of the Heresy Acts. This revived former measures against heresy: the letters patent of 1382 of Richard II, an Act of 1401 of Henry IV, and an Act of 1414 of Henry V. All of these had been repealed under Henry VIII and Edward VI. – On 13 November 1555, Cranmer was officially deprived of the See of Canterbury. Under Mary's rule, Pole was finally ordained as a priest on 20 March 1556 and raised to Archbishop of Canterbury, an office he would hold until his death. He was also Chancellor of both Oxford and Cambridge universities. – As well as his religious duties, he was in effect the Queen's chief minister and adviser. Reginald Cardinal Pole died in London on 17 November 1558, at about 7:00pm, nearly twelve hours after Queen Mary's death from illness.

6.2.5 Poland-Lithuania
The Orthodox Reformation – The Hussite Brethren – Efforts for a Polish national church.

6.2.6 The curious experiment of Jakob Heraklides in Moldva

6.3 FURTHER NOTES ON ECE ANTITRINITARIANS

6.3.1 Transylvania
The Transylvanian Antitrinitarian Church was inspired by Gorgio Blandrata (1515-88) Italian physician of the Polish bride of king (later Transylvanian prince) John Sigismund who in 1566 converted Ferenc Dávid, Calvinist bishop of Kolozsvár to the new religion. While cooperating with Dávid in Transylvania, he also helped the formation of the Polish Unitarian Church (Minor Reformed Church or Polish Brethren in 1565, then the Raków center of the church established in 1569).

In 1568 the Diet of Torda declared freedom of conscience and religious practice for four accepted religions: Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Antitrinitarian. After the death of John Sigismund in 1571 the situation became more difficult since Stephen Bathory supported Catholicism and invited the Jesuits into Transylvania. The Antitrinitarian center moved from Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) to Kolozsvár (Cluj) and attracted a more middle-class based flock.

In the 1570s Ferenc Dávid became more and more radical, stepping beyond his early Servetian views towards a rational criticism of every organized religion. The antitrinitarians then rejected baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the efficacy of prayers. They also rejected Christ's secondary divinity and expressed doubts about the dorctines of predestination, the original sin, even the soul's immortality.

This radicalism was backed by two foreigners:

Jacobus Palaeologus (1520-85) originally a Dominican monk who had to exile Italy because of heresy in 1559. After a period in Prague he started correspondence with Ferenc Dávid and received an invitation to Transylvania. In 1572 he visited Andreas Dudith in Breslau then moved to Kolozsvár (till 1575). In 1581 he was captured and after three years of prison the Inquisition ordered his execution.

Johannes Sommer (1540-1574) another radical from Saxony. In 1561 he was invited by vojvoda Jakob Heraklides into Moldva to organize the protestant church there. After this failure he moved to Transylvania where he became the rector the of Unitarian School of Kolozsvár in 1570. He exercised radical criticism of the Bible and of Christian dogmas. In 1570 he rewrote Jacobus Acontius' Satanae stratagemata for the unitarian pastors of Transylvania, thus propagating very advanced views of religious toleration.

In the 1570s two more radical reformers took refuge in Transylvania, Adam Neuser (1572) and Matthias Vehe Gliirius (1574-79). The former was originally from heidelberg and finally ended up in Istambul, even converting to the Islam. The latter also came from Heidelberg and left his Calvinist denominatio for radical Antitrinitarism which he developed toward Judaism. In Kolozsvár he worked at the Unitarian schools and grounded Transylvanian Sabbatarianism. When he returned to Germany he was imprisoned where he died.

Most radical of all foreigners in Transylvania was Christian Francken (stayed in Kolozsvár
between 1584-85 and 1588-93). After his earlier works following Antitrinitarian nonadorantism later he arrived at asserting the uncertainty of all religions and the assertion of atheism (*Disputatio de incertitudine religionis Christianae*, 1591).

A second Diet in Torda reaffirmed religious freedom in 1572, however with the restriction of introducing any new reforms. Dávid's radicalism definitely crossed that border when in 1578 he called for free theological inquiry (*communis profetia*).

Blandrata became frightened of Dávid's radicalism (they actually broke with each other in the mid-1570s) and in 1578 he invited a milder Antitrinitarian, Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604) to Kolozsvár to debate with Dávid. Sozzini was a moderately radical Italian exile theologian who founded a version of the antitrinitarian church known as "Socinianism". In 1579 Dávid was arrested and sentenced to life prison where he died a few months later. After this Sozzini moved to Poland and participated in the life of Polish Antitrinitarians.

6.3.2 Poland

The first steps: in 1565 a Polish student, Piotr z Goniadza (Peter Gonesius), inspired by Servet's views, proposed at a Polish reformed church synod the founding of an Antitrinitarian church. This caused a schism of the Polish Reformed Church and resulted in the foundation of the Minor Church (Polish Brethren). The movement lasted till 1658, the expulsion of Arians from Poland.

The chief organizer of the Polish Brethren was Grzegorz Pawel (Georgius Paulus, 1525-91) who first served as a rector of a Catholic school in Poznan but as of 1500 joined the Reformation and eventually ended up as a Calvinist pastor in Cracow. In 1562 he openly professed Antitrinitarism and in 1569 moved to Raków, the center of the Polish Brethren. Another important figure was Szymon Budny, translator of the Bible into Polish.

In Raków an intellectual center of the Antitrinitarians developed with a very active printing press, then a good quality school (Academia Rakowska [Gymnasium Bonarum Artium], 1602-38). Several members of the foreign radicals active in Transylvania also appeared in Poland (Blandrata, Sozzini) and cooperated with the church organization there.

6.3.3 Back to the Beginnings

In many ways the birthplace of the radical theology was in Basel. It was there that the liberal views of Castellio became popularized by Jacobus Acontius (*Satanae stratagemata*, 1564) and Coelius Secundus Curione (1503-69). The latter fled to Switzerland where he became the rector of the newly founded University of Lausanne in 1542. In 1546 he went to Basel where he taught ancient classics at the University until his death. He gained a wide reputation, attracted many students coming from foreign countries including Poland. He declined invitations by many great powers, including the Pope, the Emperor, the prince of Transylvania (who invited him to the new college established at Alba Julia). He was not a confessed theologian, nevertheless he wrote a treatise, *Christianae religionis institutio* (1549), from which he omitted any mention of the Trinity or the deity of Christ as a doctrine necessary for salvation. In 1550, he attended the Anabaptist Council at Venice and in 1554 wrote a work dedicated to the Polish king, Sigismundus Augustus, *De amplitudine beati regni Dei*, in which he opposed Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Curione was very careful not to commit himself to any compromising doctrinal position, nevertheless his writings and his association with Castellio, Ochino and Lælius Socinus make him one of the precursors of the Unitarian-Socinian movement.

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The movement for tolerance grew out of the influence of Castellio and his associates in Basel. Many who disapproved of Servetus' doctrine, disapproved of his being put to death. His execution stood as a symbol of religious persecution, his name became a symbol for martyrdom for freedom of
conscience. Servetus gave an indirect stimulus to the rise of religious toleration as a general policy, as a moral principle. It took a long time before the idea was gradually and slowly accepted in various parts of the world.

Heresy was punished as capital crime in England until 1612, in Geneva until 1687, in Scotland until 1697, in Poland until 1776 with an interval between 1552 and 1660 when some freedom was allowed. Only the Anabaptists and Socinians defended toleration on the basis of principle and without any restrictions.
Renaissance Magic, Interconfessionalism, Enthusiasm

READINGS: Lodovico Lazzarelli, from Crater Hermetis; From John Dee's Spiritual Diaries.

PRESENTATION: John Dee, career and thought. (Ref: Sz nyi)

7.1 LODOVICO LAZZARELLI

Born on February 4, 1447 in San Severino (successor of the Roman city, Septempeda) in a family of physicians, in a Jewish neighborhood.

7.1.1 Early Years as a Poet

Around 1466 he moved to Venice, Latin and Greek studies with the humanist Giorgo Merula. – In 1468 Emperor Frederick III came to Italy and in Pordenone (near Venice) Lazzarelli had the occasion to greet him with a Latin oration (De laudibus poesis et de dignitate poetica). – In 1468-69, back in Venice, Lazzarelli wrote De gentilium deorum imaginibus. Fasti christianae religionis. – He moved from Venice to Pioraca, this is where he drafted his great poem, Fasti as a counterpart to Ovid's "Fasti" of pagan holidays.

7.1.2 Rome

Lazzarelli moved to Rome around 1469 and joined the Societas Literatorum S. Victoris in Esquilis – the reformed version of the former Roman Academy of dubious fame. – In 1481 Lazzarelli witnessed da Correggio's appearance in Rome and recognized him as a reincarnation of Hermes. This also transformed him: "From Mount Helicon to Mount Zion."

In 1482 Lazzarelli prepared an edition of the Hermetica which he dedicated to Correggio.

In 1484 Correggio appeared again in Rome about which Lazzarelly wrote Epistola Enoch (an entusiastic eyewittness' report).

7.1.3 Naples

From Rome Lazzarelli moved to Naples, in the service of King Ferrante. He inspired his next and greatest work, Crater Hermetis, a dialogue among the King, Pontano, and L. himself. Also here he wrote his only work to be published in his lifetime, Opusculum de Bombyce (On the Silkworm, published around 1490 in Rome).

Crater hermetis, structure

01 Introduction
02 Hermes on Self-Knowledge – A Prayer to God
03 The Meaning of Paradise Trees
04 The Meaning of the Woman in Proverbs
05 The Spiritual Meaning of Myths
06 The Meaning of the "Daughters of Men"
07 The Fall of Man – A Sad Complaint
08 Knowledge of the Self and of God
09 The Human Soul and the True Man – The Hymn of Contemplation
10 The Fertility of God – The Hymn of Divine Generation
11 The Mystery
12 Conclusion – A Hymn of Praise

Sources and Influences: Christianized Neoplatonism, hermeticism and Jewish cabala.

7.1.4 Final Years and Afterlife
After the death of King Ferrante in 1494 Charles VIII entered Naples (February 1495). L. thought of rededicating the *Crater* to him, finally decided to leave the city. First he went to Rome, then back to San Severino where he died a few years later.

7.2  **JOHN DEE (1527-1609)**

7.2.1  **Career**

Dee started as a mathematician but during his career became more and more imbued in occultism. Like many Renaissance intellectuals, he was desperately looking for universal knowledge, a *clavis universalis*, and this turned his attention to esoterism and magic. In 1581 he – like Postel earlier, whom he actually had met in Paris in 1550 – experienced something extraordinary. By the help of a medium, Edward Kelly, he managed to establish a regular contact with the spirit world and he could get engaged into conversations with angels. This possibility seemed to him as the solution of his long and frustrated search for omniscience after he had got disappointed in mathematics as well as meditative talismanic magic. As he concluded: the easiest way of learning the universal language of Adam and Enoch was to directly ask the angels who translated the patriarch. The "angelic conversations" took place by the help of the medium, a crystall ball and some magical equipment. It is easy to recognize that the learned humanist and scientist finally ended up practicing a crude form of popular magic, known as *scrying*.

Dee tried to popularize his spiritual findings not only in England but on the Continent, too. He had good contacts with some German Protestant princes but he tried his fortune at the court of the Catholic Stephen Bathory in Cracow and Rudolf II in Prague. He stayed in Europe between 1584 through 1589.

7.2.2  **The Angelic Conversations**

The subject of these angelic conversations were varied, however Dee's main concern was to learn the *lingua adamica* about which he gained so thorough instructions that in the twentieth century a professional linguist, Donald Laycock, was able to reconstruct its vocabulary and grammar. Perhaps not too surprisingly his conclusion was that the language of the angels has a curious resemblance to English.

Dee meticulously wrote down everything the angels dictated through his medium – this huge amount of manuscript material is called the *spiritual diaries* of Dee, part of which were published in 1659 by Meric Casaubon, the *späthumanist* scholar.

7.2.3  **Dee's Interconfessionalism and Casaubon's "Othering"**

Dee formally was Anglican, but depending on his actual surroundings, he could easily adopt to other denominations, too. It was so because for him the non-essentials were really nonessentials, he was more concerned with his apocalyptic visions of an esoteric Christianity.

In the famous edition Casaubon tried to explain away Dee's religious attitude: according to this Dee was an "enthusiast", deluded by devils, having got near to Anabaptism which, according to casaubon, was almost as dangerous than Atheism.

His methodology of "othering": familiarization – understanding – safe segregation.
The ambiguous spaces of tolerance: case studies of Elizabeth I's England and Rudolf II's Prague

READINGS: Szőnyi, "Magical Humanism at the Court of Rudolf II". (reader)

PRESENTATION: The story of the Anglican Church; Rudolf's cosmopolitan Prague. (Ref: MacCulloch, Spitz, Fučíkova)
Europe and the Ottoman world in the contexts of toleration and "othering"

**READINGS:** Erasmus, *De bello turcico*; Postel, *The Concord of the World*. *(reader)*
**PRESENTATION:** The *Pax Ottomanica*. *(Ref: Kiraly)*

9.1 GUILLAUME POSTEL (1510?-1581)

*A chronology of life*

1510  Born in Barenton, Normandy.  
1530  MA, then studies of oriental languages (Hebrew and Arabic).
1536  Accompanies Jean de la Forest to Constantinople with the purpose of purchasing books in ancient languages.
1537  Venice: works in the printing press of Danie Bomberg and meets the Jewish scholar Élie Levita. Also briefly studies at the University of Padova.
1538  Joins the circle of Francis I., "mathematicorum et peregrinarum linguarum regius interpres."
1540  Writes *De orbis terrarum concordia* – the Sorbonne refuses to publish.
1541  A vision to warn Francis I to reform his kingdom. Postel assumes the persona of a *prophet*.
1544  Meets Ignatius of Loyola and follows him to Rome.
1545  After an inquisitional check, leaves the Society of Jesus.
1546  Moves to Venice and meets Mater Zuana (Giovanna), founder of a poor people's hospital.
1548  Summoned to the Council of Ten, for unusual behaviour.
1548  His second travel the the East. In his absence Mater Zuana dies.
1550  Back in Paris.
1552  January: his "immutation" with Mater Zuana.
1552  Meets John Dee.
1555  His Italian publications (Padova), on Mater Zuana and the destiny of Venice.
1555  Inquiry of the Venetian inquisition.
1556  Transferred to Rome and imprisoned.
1560s  Back in France, lives in a monastery and is treated as an insane person.  
       Continues writing and occasionally publishing till his death.

❖ French humanist, linguist, philosopher, astronomer, Kabbalist, diplomat.
❖ Had knowledge of Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac and other Semitic languages. – In 1536 Postel was sent to Constantinople as a French interpreter by Francis I, who sought an alliance with the Ottoman Turks. Additionally, commissioned to collect Eastern manuscripts for the royal library.
❖ 1548-1551 probably traveled to the Holy Land and Syria to collect manuscripts.
❖ Appointed professor of mathematics and Oriental languages at the College Royal in 1539, but soon resigned from this position.
❖ Made the following ideas/works available to European intellectual life by collecting, translating, etc.:
   * Euclid's elements - collection of mathematical and geometric definitions, proofs, axioms, etc.
   * Works by al-Tusi and other Arabic astronomers, which may have influenced Copernicus's epicycles.
   * Latin translations of the *Zohar*, the *Sefer Yetzirah*, and the *Sefer ha-Bahir* of the Kabbalah (1552), and his commentaries on the Kabbalistic significance of the Menorah in Latin and Hebrew (1548). Postel thought that the Kabbalah contained ideas that were capable of uniting people in a universal religion.
On a trip to Venice in 1547, Postel met the Venetian mystic Mater Zuana, aka the Venetian Virgin, in whom Christ had allegedly dwelled. Postel referred to Zuana as "mother" and thought of himself as her son, and by implication the offspring of Jesus, "New Adam," or "New Cain." The mysterious doctrine of *restitutio omnium*, of which Postel became a proponent, was revealed to Joanna by the divine presence within her in 1540.

The Venetian Inquisition condemned Postel's writings, on the account of which he was imprisoned for heresy (esp. for his *Le prime nove dell'altro mondo* and *Il libro della divina ordinatione*, published in 1555).

Released after the death of Paul IV in 1559, but put under house arrest in 1563 by the authorities of Paris for his preaching; spent the last years of his life in a monastery.

Some Notable Publications:

* *Linguarum Duodecim Characteribus Differentium Alphabetum Introductio* (An Introduction to the Alphabetic Characters of Twelve Different Languages) (1538) – recognized inscriptions on certain coins from the Great Jewish Revolt as Hebrew written in Samaritan characters.

* *De republica seu magistratibus atheniensium liber* (1541).

* *De orbis terrae concordia* (Concerning the Harmony of the Earth) (1544) – supported the idea of a universal religion. Postel believed that Jews, Muslims, and other religious groups would convert to Christianity once it was recognized and accepted that all religions have a common base - love of God and mankind, etc. He believed that Christianity was the best embodiment of this base.

* *Lés trés merveilleuses victoires des femmes du nouveau monde* (1553).

* *Il libro della divina ordinatione* (1555) – Venice as *Ierusalema Ponentina*; designated the city's role in the Second Coming.
A case study of late humanist toleration: Jean Bodin's *Heptaplomeres*

READINGS: Bodin, *Colloquium of the Seven...* (reader)

PRESENTATION: Bodin, man and work. (Ref: Kuntz)

10.1 JEAN BODIN (1529-1596)

10.1.1 His Life

French jurist, historian, economist, natural philosopher and political theorist.

Educated by the Carmelite order and lived in the monastery of Notre-Dames-de-Carmes. In 1545 he went to Paris to study philosophy under the tutelage of the Carmelite Guillaume Prevost. In 1549 he departed from the Carmelites.

In 1550 he started to study law at the University of Toulouse. After he finished his studies in Toulouse, he became the editor for the Latin translation from the Greek of Oppian of Apamea's third-century treatise on hunting (1555).

In 1559 he published in Latin an *Address to the Senate and People of Toulouse on the Education of Youth in the Commonwealth*. In this work, he suggested that if humanism began to be taught in the public schools, the political and religious unity of the State would be strengthened.

In 1560 he returned to Paris and became counsel to the king.

In 1566 he published *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History (Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem)*. In this work, he argues that historical and juridical knowledge not only helps a proper government of the State, but also makes the State's forms and changes understandable.

In 1568 he wrote *Response to the Paradoxes of Monsieur de Malestroit* and explained his views on economic and financial matters.

In 1576 he published his *Six Books of the Commonwealth (Les Six Livres de la République)*. It is his most significant work and represents the legal and political thought of the French Renaissance. In this work he tries to restore the institutional bases of the French kingdom.

He wrote against the background of religious and civil conflict – especially the conflict between Huguenots (Calvinists) and the Catholic Church. Therefore, his support of religious concord was interpreted by some of his contemporaries that he became Calvinist, though this was not true.

In 1581 he published his *On the Demonmania of Witches*, in this work he warns readers that there is no crime that could be more terrible or deserve more serious punishment than witchcraft.

Finally, he wrote his work *Colloquium of the Seven about Secrets of the Sublime (Colloquium Heptaplomeres de rerum sublimium arcanis abditis)* around 1588, but it was published only in 1683 after his death. This work provides clues about Bodin's own religious views as well as his conception of toleration.

10.1.2 The Concept of Toleration in the "Colloquium Heptaplomeres"

While treating religious matters, Bodin selected the humanist genre of *sermo* (dialogue) and observed its rules of *decorum* in order to make the dialogue rhetorical.

In contrast to previous humanists, Bodin extended toleration to those who possess religious truth. Thus he moves beyond a Christian conception of religious truth to a "pluralistic conception of truth".

The *Colloquium* is divided into six books and there are seven speakers representing many different religions, confessions and philosophical school of thought: Coronaeus, Catholicism; Salomon, Judaism; Senamus, Skepticism; Octavius, Islam; Friedrich, Lutheranism; Curtius, Calvinism; and Toraiba, natural religion.

The setting is the Venetian home of Coronaeus. The choice of Venice as a setting is important:
a place of "the greatest freedom und tranquility of spirit."

Unlike earlier interreligious dialogues, the speakers in the Colloquium are presented as equals. They discuss a wide variety of topics, including the nature of God, how God expresses himself through nature und the spirit world, our role in the universe, the natures of interpretation, music und musical harmony, and good and evil.

In the Colloquium the aim of the speakers is not to dissuade each other from their original beliefs. The discussions turn around the fundamentals of faith and there is no consensus among the speakers about the fundamentals. However, despite their diverse views about religion, their views were respected by others. In a way, Coroneus's house represents a "microcosm of an ideal tolerant society".

There are some points all of them agree: for instance, it should be prohibited to dispute fundamentals of religion publicly since "all matters that are disputed are immediately called into doubt."

They also agree that the freedom of conscience should be respected, because "one should not be constrained in matters of religion, und beliefs should be voluntarily embraced, not imposed."

Two main points that can be seen in this work is that there is no intention of persuasion und there is no attempt to rationalize religion. So in a way Bodin gave kis characters the opportunity to defend and praise their religions. The reason behind this boundless toleration is that he has a different conception of religious truth. According to him, each religion forms a part of the greater whole. Although they are not consistent with one another, they express the unity of truth. So his concept of toleration in Kuntz's terms was based on "concordia discors." Harmony in the state und harmony among religions depend on "general principles that find the greatest common agreement and respect for the particular opinions and beliefs which are different from the majority."

The speakers are described at the end of the dialogue as brothers living in unity. All seven participants with all of their divisions are inseparably joined and form a harmony. For Bodin each religion has some aspect of truth, thus all the participants call for toleration.

From all it can be said that Bodin argues that each religion represented in the Colloquium can claim for itself a right to be tolerated because it is a part of the truth. So kis toleration is inclusive rather than exclusive.