FEELING EXCLUSION

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT, EXILE AND EMOTIONS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

EDITED BY
**GIOVANNI TARANTINO
AND CHARLES ZIKA**

Routledge

FEELING EXCLUSION

Feeling Exclusion: Religious Conflict, Exile and Emotions in Early Modern Europe investigates the emotional experience of exclusion at the heart of the religious life of persecuted and exiled individuals and communities in early modern Europe.

Between the late fifteenth and early eighteenth centuries an unprecedented number of people in Europe were forced to flee their native lands and live in a state of physical or internal exile as a result of religious conflict and upheaval. Drawing on new insights from history of emotions methodologies, *Feeling Exclusion* explores the complex relationships between communities in exile, the homelands from which they fled or were exiled, and those from whom they sought physical or psychological assistance. It examines the various coping strategies religious refugees developed to deal with their marginalization and exclusion, and investigates the strategies deployed in various media to generate feelings of exclusion through models of social difference, that questioned the loyalty, values, and trust of "others".

Accessibly written, divided into three thematic parts, and enhanced by a variety of illustrations, *Feeling Exclusion* is perfect for students and researchers of early modern emotions and religion.

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People In Motion
Entangled Histories of Displacement
across the Mediterranean (1492-1923)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGP   Archivo de General Palafox
AGR   Archives générales du royaume à Bruxelles
AMZ   Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza
BNF   Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CdT   Conseil des Troubles
DNB   Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
NMS   National Museum of Scotland
NRS   National Records of Scotland
WDA   Westminster Diocesan Archives
ZBZ   Zentralbibliothek Zürich

INTRODUCTION

Feeling exclusion, generating exclusion

Giovanni Tarantino and Charles Zika

On 13 April 1986, Pope John Paul II made an official visit to the Great Synagogue of Rome, in what was the first ever visit by a pope to a place of Jewish worship. In his address to the Jewish community of Rome, the Pope alluded to the improvement of relations between Jews and Christians brought about by the *Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions, 'Nostra Aetate'*, issued by the Second Vatican Council in October 1965. He then said something that is of particular relevance for the subject of this collection:

> The Jewish religion is not 'extrinsic' to us, but in a certain way is 'intrinsic' to our own religion. With Judaism therefore we have a relationship which we do not have with any other religion. You are our dearly beloved brothers and, in a certain way, it could be said that you are our elder brothers.[1]

Amidst the widespread euphoria over John Paul II's visit, it was left to the historian Carlo Ginzburg to point out that the term 'elder brothers' is not just a bland expression of friendship, but refers to Romans 9:12: 'The elder shall serve the younger. Just as it is written: "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated."' By a sort of unintentional theological lapse, just as he was striving to blunt the edges of existing divisions between the two religious communities, John Paul II once again became entangled in the traditional theology of typological thinking: the elder brother Esau, standing for Judaism, has been superseded and replaced in the history of salvation by his younger brother Jacob, who represents the Christian Church.[2]

This intriguing insight, by a historian who has done ground-breaking work on the victims of persecution by ecclesiastical inquisitions, illustrates very graphically the way in which the internalized views of religious alterity, or alterity in

general, create some of the most difficult obstacles to be overcome in the process of building a more inclusive society—that is, a society that does not wave the flag of identity as a weapon to separate insiders from outsiders, a society capable of engaging with and accepting diversity, with humility, curiosity, and respect, rather than with diffidence, fear, mockery, or disdain.

Feeling Exclusion aims to open up the emotional strategies that contributed to the formation and maintenance of stereotypes of difference throughout much of Europe between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. It does not focus primarily on the proclamation of such views by society's designated leaders in formal treatises or decrees—whether concerning the adherents of other rival Christian churches, the members of non-Christian faiths such as Turks or Jews, or those like witches and the "natives" on Europe's margins and beyond, whose ritual practices often categorized them as devotees of a diabolical form of pseudo-religion. It intends rather to explore the myriad ways that stereotypical claims of difference permeated daily life and culture, in the shadow of immense political and religious upheaval, the flight of unprecedented numbers into physical or internal exile, and the trauma, disenchantment, dissimulation, and secrecy that such events inevitably brought in their wake.

To help achieve this aim, this collection has turned to some of the methods and insights derived from the recent focus on emotions in historical studies, and used them to understand better the social impact Reformation conflicts had on post-Reformation societies. Emotions methodologies allow us to peer more deeply into the many different ways historical processes seep into the everyday lives of individuals and communities. Emotions provide us with a window on experience; they give us insight into how individuals and communities caught up in historical conflicts deploy their emotional attachments to create their own particular histories and an understanding of the world in which they live.[3] This collection aims, therefore, to uncover the different ways the conflicts resulting from the religious changes brought by the Reformation are experienced, viscerally and psychologically; how these experiences are made conscious and also visible, through the articulation of emotion; how emotions in turn drive individuals to adopt frameworks for understanding, dealing with and mastering their sense of displacement and alienation; how some adopt emotional strategies to cope with such trauma or to create rationales for resistance; and how emotions are deployed by individuals, institutions, and communities to reproduce their structures of authority through intolerance and exclusion.

By focusing on the emotions that drove acts of exclusion or expulsion, as well as the feelings that resulted for those who were sent into physical or internal exile, this book's approach attempts to integrate critical human dimensions into well-established stories. In the quest to uncover emotions, the authors consider not only first-person accounts, as in diaries and letters, but also sermons and literary parodies, the authority of the court room and biblical quotation, objects such as sacred relics or treasured letters, prints and other visual media,

communal ritual and bodily gesture, and memorials that both enshrine and release emotion.

Language, gesture, object—all can become powerful media in which strong emotions are invested with the purpose of projecting and disseminating emotionally charged views of the religious "other" or of the misery and trauma of marginalized, persecuted, displaced or exiled individuals and communities. Sara Ahmed has shown us how emotions "stick" to objects, which then embed and carry these emotions, thereby accruing the power to arouse human agents, or to draw them together into new forms of association.[4] However, the social context of time and place, the particular emotional arena in which different actions take place, contemporary understanding and expectations related to gender, and more generally the feeling rules current within a particular community—all impact on the reception and understanding of these emotions as well as on the sequence of emotions they can subsequently arouse within observers or readers.[5]

Culturally specific ways to control, express, mobilize, or repress emotions are touched on across the chapters, and discernible changes in emotional reactions to comparable phenomena are highlighted in this collection. One example is the fascinating case of changing attitudes toward witchcraft in the twilight of early modern Spain (Chap. 13). This brought to mind Barbara Rosenwein's penetrating critique of Norbert Elias's narrative that described the history of the West as the history of increasing emotional restraint. We concur with Rosenwein's view that this grand narrative is no longer viable. The new narrative, Rosenwein writes, 'recognizes various emotional styles, emotional communities, emotional outlets, and emotional restraints in *every* period, and it considers how and why these have changed over time'.[6]

The geographical scope of the collection is broad, albeit European. It ranges across France, England, the Netherlands, Italy, the Swiss confederation, Spain, and several German-speaking territories. It investigates a shared history that stretches from the campaigns against "Waldensian" witches and other heretics in France from the mid-fifteenth century and the expulsion of Jews from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century to the persecution of different groups during the long period of religious reformations over the following centuries, that sparked waves of expulsion, migration, imprisonment, and execution. While the focus on emotions in the exclusion policies of governments and the lives of excluded religious communities has not as yet been the subject of scholarly study, the individual chapters do build on a number of recent important works.[7]

The chapters in Part 1, Belonging and Displacement, investigate the complex relationships between communities in exile, the homelands from which they fled or were exiled, and other communities of fellow believers from whom they could seek physical or psychological assistance in their marginalized condition. Emotions are considered first among the strategic devices of excluded individuals and communities seeking support and assistance from co-religionists across Europe, and from family and friends who had emigrated to supposedly more tolerant countries. Penny Roberts analyses the deep resentment and disillusionment

found in the memoirs of exiles to Switzerland and England in the second half of the sixteenth century, who had been forced to leave country, home, family, and friends. Susan Broomhall explores the hopeful supplications sent from persecuted Huguenots in the southern Low Countries and northern France to family and friends who had safely migrated across the Channel at the end of the 1660s. David van der Linden examines the emotionally charged dialogue between exiled ministers and their flock between London, Amsterdam, Berlin, and Geneva after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, while Ole Peter Grell documents the mixed emotions of hope and despair that informed the desperate requests for help sent by refugees in German-speaking territories during the Thirty Years War to Calvinist congregations throughout Europe. These chapters clearly demonstrate how the Huguenot diaspora provides a particularly strong case study through which to explore feelings of loss and belonging, as well as the deployment of collective identities created through the experience of persecution, displacement, and dispossession brought about through religious conflict.

The contributions to Part 2, Coping with Persecution and Exile, consider the coping strategies religious refugees developed in order to deal with their marginalization and exclusion, whether physical or internal exile. Critical to these strategies were the ways in which such feelings were internalized, transforming their stereotyping as others into a positive condition that could generate strong feelings of comfort, confidence, resilience, and hope. Their refugee experience and identity would ultimately become 'a form of social capital', as Nicholas Terpstra argues in the afterword to this collection. This is similar to the phenomenon of African Americans applying the word "race" to themselves, in order to express their collective identity and turn the word's original derogatory use on its head.[8] Claire Walker shows how the mobility of relics across the English Channel connected fragmented communities of English Catholic nuns during the seventeenth century, and how their connections to Christ's torments and martyrs allowed them to fashion common narratives of anguish and alienation. This widespread strategy, of taking on the language of Christian sacrifice and martyrdom to make sense of suffering, is also explored by Giovanni Tarantino, through the letters from prison of the Piedmontese Waldensian, Sebastian Bazan, as he prepared for his execution, and by Dolly MacKinnon, in the retelling of narratives in the face of persecution suffered by the Scottish Covenanters in the late seventeenth century. The promise of martyrdom provided a belief in ultimate victory against persecutors. Martyrdom was an emotional burden, but also a privilege and a viaticum for inner transformation, argues Gary Waite in his consideration of the Dutch Anabaptist prophet, David Joris, who found in spiritualism the divine love that displaced the fear and anger he felt at his ongoing persecution. In the case of the Quakers, John Marshall shows how their suffering as Christians under persecution led them to conceive and entertain forms of religious toleration and to openly condemn the slave trade.

Part 3, "Othering" Strategies, focuses on the strategies deployed to generate feelings of exclusion in others through models of social difference or alterity that question loyalty, shared values, trust, and control, and how such models and the feelings of exclusion they generate are maintained through a variety of media and representation. Such strategies are common in the confessional conflicts created by movements for religious reform in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Paola von Wyss-Giacosa demonstrates in her elegant study of a series of Bernard Picart engravings just how subtle and nuanced these strategies could be, employing sequence, size, style, and placement within a pictorial programme—what Wyss-Giacosa calls 'con-visualisation'—to elicit feelings of sympathy or rejection among viewers. Similar strategies, if often more crude and confronting, were deployed in interactions between Christians and Jews. In his analysis of the *Toledot Yeshu*, a parody of the life of Jesus, Daniel Barbu clearly demonstrates, however, how the arousal by Jews of negative feelings among Christians in response to such crude parody frequently also represents a way of feeling and maintaining Jewish identity in a hostile Christian world. Charles Zika, on the other hand, focuses on the exclusionary policies directed against the fictive figure of the witch. He argues that the increasing prominence given to witches' dances from the later sixteenth century helped identify witches as members of a wholly alien society, governed by insatiable lust and frenzied zeal to destroy Christian communities—which consequently justified their merciless prosecution. Yet by the later eighteenth century, as María Tausiet shows, that world had been turned upside down. In her exploration of a case of possession in a northern Spanish village, those making accusations of witchcraft were now the ones subjected to parody and ridicule by Church leaders and accused of being driven by uncontrolled anger and a superstitious world view that no longer prevailed in an enlightened age.

In his *Afterword*, Nicholas Terpstra draws notice to another important aspect of the various campaigns in early modern Europe directed towards exclusion—whether as a form of segregation, overt persecution, or expulsion—which is sometimes difficult to comprehend and demands closer attention by historians: the 'wilful forgetting' by the victims of one campaign, who themselves turn into victimisers in another. On the other hand, if a "charitable hatred" too often actualized the Augustinian reading of Luke 14:23 (that one should *compel* people to come to the banquet) as a justification for forced conversion to Christianity, pious frauds were not infrequently called for by Christian deists, irenicists, and Latitudinarians. But, as Terpstra aptly argues with reference to Spiritualists and Quakers, 'the consequences of love were simply too fearful'. Some were simply beyond toleration, and those of true faith had to be protected from the contagion they might introduce. The Huguenot sceptic, Pierre Bayle, who was himself a refugee in addition to being an influential theorist of toleration, was deeply suspicious of those who even thought of being able to define "true religion". He believed that any effort to put up fences, however innocuous they

might seem, reflected an underlying attachment to an ideology that would ultimately lead to the erecting of further fences.[9]

Fences, or indeed walls, both physical and cultural, have become one of the defining features of early twenty-first century political discourse and experience—only a little more than twenty years after one of the defining walls of the twentieth century, the Berlin Wall, was brought down. Alternative legal walls can also be created—such as by excising a whole national territory from the right of refugees to apply for a visa there, as the Australian government did in 2013, which then enabled them to send such refugees to detention centres on Pacific Islands between one and four thousand kilometres to the north. *Feeling Exclusion* provides a critical historical context for us to understand the current global migration and refugee crises as well as the intensity of emotional responses on the part of those displaced and the communities they orbit and join.

We have certainly learnt many of the lessons of those times: the need for co-existence, social inclusion, and religious toleration. And we know how deeply enriched and enlivened host communities can become from an influx of refugees of conscience, as American historian of the Roman Inquisition John Tedeschi once remarked, with reference to sixteenth-century Italian religious refugees. He went on to note:

> The small but elite band of scholars and scientists, who were compelled to find new homes in northern and central Europe, were no less a channel for the diffusion of learning than their twentieth-century counterparts, the Barons, Gilberts, Kristellers, Kuttners, Lowinskys, Panofskys and many others who revitalised American studies in their fields.[10]

However, it is clear every day that we have not yet abandoned many of the attitudes we find in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, the fear of those with world views different to our own, the mistrust of the displaced and refugees, the lack of sufficient compassion to feel the stress and pain of those experiencing exclusion. Edward Said aptly noted in his reflections on exile:

> Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted.[11]

No doubt reflecting on his own experience, Said considered later moments of heroism and triumph as little more than attempts to overcome deeply felt sorrow and estrangement. The pain of exile was not only deep, but it lived on through some kind of continuing emotional scarring: 'The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind for ever.'

Notes

1 "From Pope John Paul II's discourse during his visit to the Rome Synagogue on 13 April 1986," *Tertium Millennium* 5 (November, 1997): n.p. http://www.vatican.va/jubilee_2000/magazine/documents/ju_mag_01111997_p-42x_en.html.
2 Carlo Ginzburg, "Pope Wojtyla's Slip," in *Wooden Eyes: Nine Reflections on Distance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 173–80.
3 See the recent review essay: Johannes Lang, "New Histories of Emotion," *History and Theory* 57 (2018): 104–20. As well as many of the chapters in this collection, see Erika Kuijpers, "Fear, Indignation, Grief and Relief: Emotional Narratives in War Chronicles from the Netherlands (1568–1648)" and Sigrun Haude, "Experiencing the Thirty Years War: Autobiographical Writings by Members of Religious Orders in Bavaria," in *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400–1700*, ed. Jennifer Spinks and Charles Zika (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 93–111, 135–53.
4 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).
5 For emotional practices, arenas, and communities, see especially Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220; Mark Seymour, "Emotional Arenas: From Provincial Circus to National Courtroom in Late Nineteenth-Century Italy," *Rethinking History* 16 (2012): 177–97; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).
6 Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 845.
7 Some examples are Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Lyndal Roper, *The Witch in the Western Imagination* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Jesse Sponholz and Gary Waite, eds, *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014); David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Peter Burke, *Exiles and Expatriates in the History of Knowledge, 1500–2000* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2017).
8 See Giovanni Tarantino, "Feeling White in the Pre-Modern Western World: Beneath and Beyond," in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe, 1100–1700*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch (London, New York: Routledge, 2020), 303–19.
9 Pierre Bayle, *De la tolérance. Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ 'Contrains-les-d'entrer'*, ed. Jean-Michel Gros (Paris: Presses Pocket, 1992), 271–72.
10 John Tedeschi, *Intellettuali in esilio. Dall'Inquisizione romana al fascismo*, ed. Giorgio Caravale and Stefania Pastore (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012), 349.
11 Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 173.

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PART 1

Belonging and displacement

1

EMOTION, EXCLUSION, EXILE

The Huguenot experience during the French religious wars

Penny Roberts

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Exile, in particular the so-called refugee crisis, is the headline issue of our time. The mixed emotional response of host communities, including compassion and suspicion, sympathy and fear, loom large in the discussion. As I write, BBC Radio 4 is having its 'World on the Move' day, featuring specialist broadcasts on the topic, including historical precedents. One of those being considered is the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which effectively made the practice of Protestant worship illegal in France and prompted a significant Huguenot diaspora known as the Refuge. This event and its consequences have been widely studied; such works are mainly concerned with the communities of exiles that established themselves abroad, primarily in England and the Dutch Republic, as well as further afield.[1] Another focus of scholarly attention has been the clandestine churches of the so-called *Désert* up to the Revolution, which marked a partial return to the time prior to the Wars of Religion, before public worship was first permitted by the crown in 1562. Less consideration has been given to the exiles from the sixteenth-century French religious wars, whose communities were not so established, not least because persecution was much more sporadic and interspersed by lengthy periods of official toleration. It is also notable that such studies tend to look at the issue from the perspective of the host communities, or at least from the other side of the border.[2] With the presence and increasing influence of John Calvin and other French ministers in Geneva from the 1540s, and the predominantly merchants and artisans from France who followed them there, not to mention the contribution of other important refugee centres such as Strasbourg and Lausanne, the exile experience was at the heart of the Reform movement.[3] Essentially, too, Geneva was the French Reformed Church in exile, and this fact profoundly shaped the approach of Calvin and his fellow ministers to the situation in France.[4] Yet, the variable

contours of the exile experience in these circumstances have hardly been explored by historians, especially with regard to the practical and emotional impact on individuals and the clandestine activities in which, as a consequence of their displacement, they inevitably became involved.

Despite the intense focus on the violence and brutality of the French religious wars, which has shaped so much of our understanding of the conflict, a specifically emotional history is yet to be written. That is not to say that historians have been disinterested in the impact of the wars both on the kingdom and on individuals. From the anguish of a whole nation to personal trauma during the St Bartholomew's Day massacre and the self-examination of Montaigne, the psychological experience of elements of the conflict has been closely analysed.[5] But these partial contributions need to be expanded further. The emotional language and tone of many such accounts is palpable, such as the fifty-page remonstrance from the Protestant nobility of Maine to the King and the Marshal de Vieilleville, listing the atrocities and 'horrible excesses' that their coreligionists in the region had suffered during the two years following the 1563 edict of pacification, which should have protected and safeguarded their interests.[6] Nevertheless, the resulting catalogue of heinous crimes and official connivance deals largely with second- or third-hand accounts. A more sensitive approach can, however, extract evidence of more nuanced experiences. The record, of course, can only ever be partial, since few participants wrote down how they felt during, and as a consequence of, these disturbing acts. Perhaps, then, we might look elsewhere for direct experience of the emotional impact of the wars, but in doing so we may have to look in unexpected places, as Susan Broomhall has demonstrated with the petitions of paupers for poor relief describing the distressing effects of the wars.[7] Another source of trauma, to be considered here, is the displacement and loss felt by those who were forced to leave their homes to seek an uncertain future in exile.

Nicholas Terpstra has recently reminded us that 'the Reformation stands out as the first period … when the religious refugee became a mass phenomenon'.[8] The burgeoning interdisciplinary field of memory studies also draws our attention to the resilience and fortitude of the survivors of traumatic episodes, which seems peculiarly apt for a volume dealing with the issue of emotion and exile.[9] From many accounts, it is clear that the sorts of ordeals experienced by Huguenots must have had severe emotional repercussions: some became exiles after they witnessed such actions, others struggled to deal with the knowledge of them from afar. In turn, this must have led to a sense of guilt, as well as justification or affirmation of their departure. Frustratingly though, we know very little about what the responses were to such experiences as witnessing the brutal death of relatives and friends; surviving an attack themselves; having a child torn away to be baptized; they themselves being forced to abjure. Of course, these were the very experiences many exiles sought to avoid by fleeing from their homes. As already noted, such trauma is often reported at third hand in chronicles and memoirs or in the correspondence of noble leaders with each other

and the crown. Reports of tears and laments, courage and defiance, but also shame and fear emerge, but the descriptions are often quite generic in form. Ultimately, therefore, there is very little to be heard of the voices of the exiles themselves. Nevertheless, while reconstruction may be difficult, it remains both worthwhile and instructive. Exiles were more likely than most to reflect on their circumstances and, indeed, to provide the vital written record needed through correspondence with family, colleagues, and friends. While letters are the most direct primary source we have for evidence of the emotional impact of exile, other documents also need to be examined for the effect of persecution on the emotions of not only those who left, but also those who stayed, and those who eventually returned once the conflict had subsided.

It should be emphasized that, although there was much shared emotional experience in the ordeal of exile, it was often evoked in very individual and personal ways. The trauma was deeply felt and internalized as well as publicly expressed. It involved both physical hardship and psychological stress, as well as a sense of abandonment and betrayal, and the questioning of an individual's identity. Staying put or going back was not a simple choice; after a time, exiles might feel that they belonged nowhere, treated with sympathy but also suspicion in their place of refuge, but fearful of what response awaited them if they went home. The experience of exile both changed and marked those who left, so that returning could be fraught with anxiety, due as much to the ambivalent response of others as to their own sense of displacement at the changes that had occurred in their absence. While exile was a refuge from the threat posed by the actions of the authorities that might compromise one's faith, others might look askance at the decision to leave family and friends behind. Often believing that they had no choice but to leave, exiles had to justify this important decision continually to themselves as well as to others.

The reluctance of those forced to flee across the border of the French kingdom, by land and by sea, was aroused by fear of the possibly imminent adversity and misfortune on leaving their homeland. On 3 August 1595, the lawyer and memoirist Nicolas Pithou, aged seventy-one, wrote his last will and testament.[10] He had recently returned to his native town of Troyes in Champagne after twenty-seven continuous years abroad in exile. As a committed Huguenot, he had been forced to choose between his home and his faith at the age of forty-four. Like many others, he had brief spells away, initially as waves of persecution ebbed and flowed in 1560s, and finally leaving at the beginning of the third war in 1568. While lamenting the time and money he had spent moving around here and there for more than three decades, he thanked God for keeping him safe, conserving him from 'so many perils and dangers, misfortunes and calamities'. Finally, he gave tribute to the two people who had been closest to him in his life, his 'well-loved' twin-brother Jean and his 'dearly beloved' wife Perrette, 'constant companion' on his travels. He entrusted Perrette to Jean's care, trusting that he would extend to her the same 'intimate friendship' the brothers had shared. Of course, being so close to a twin or to a spouse was not unusual, but

such emotional familial ties must only have been reinforced and strengthened by the adversity and hardship of exile. Nicolas's experience, like that of other exiles, torn between his native and adopted homes, was reflected in his endowments, which were divided between the poor of the Genevan Church and the poor of Troyes. He would die three years later in 1598, leaving behind him not only his grieving brother and wife, but also a 500-folio-plus memoir chronicling the history of the Reformed Church in Troyes.[11] His twin, Jean, died four years later in 1602, still in exile in the Swiss town of Lausanne.

A period of exile could, however, afford fortuitous opportunities, not only to the individuals concerned, but to those they had left behind, in building networks and seeking external support. Another refugee from the third war was Odet de Coligny, Cardinal of Châtillon, elder brother of the better-known Huguenot leader, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, first victim of the 1572 St Bartholomew's Day massacre. His was a very high-profile exile indeed, as reflected in a number of letters he wrote to King Charles IX in the days during and after his flight. The first was written on 5 September 1568, as he made his way to the Channel coast to take a boat to England, and two others repeated much the same information in the days following his arrival (suggesting, as for many such correspondents, that he was anxious about the information getting through):

> Having received several warnings one after another of the plots against me, and the traps to surprise me in my home… and knowing that those who have long declared themselves the enemies of me and mine… (5 Sept).[12]
>
> To my very great regret, I have been forced at my age [he was fifty-one] to abandon my house, my homeland and your realm, where I have always been honoured to have been well treated by its kings, in order to conserve my life and to keep myself from injury and oppression from those who have always shown themselves to be enemies of the public peace, and particularly of my whole House (14 Sept).[13]

Conscious of the rebellious appearance of such an act, the Cardinal assured Charles that 'no plots, intelligence or sharp practice have led me to this country where I had never even thought of coming three hours before my departure from my house and the warning I received that I should move out immediately' (14 September). In particular, he emphasized that he remained the young king's loyal servant: 'believe that, in whatever place I am, I would never fail in any way to uphold the obedience, fidelity, subjection and loyalty I owe you', and that his only purpose was 'to serve God, pray for your prosperity and health, and to deliver your kingdom from the miseries, calamities and desolation' it was facing (5 September). He wrote to express his extreme distress, tinged with not a little resentment, at being so treated. Nevertheless, six months later, Odet was condemned in his absence for 'rebellion, felony, (and the) crime of lèse-majesté',

deprived of all his honours and possessions, and fined a hefty 200,000 *livres* for 'common offence' against the king.[14] He would die, still in exile in England, on 30 March 1571, as he waited at Canterbury for a suitable boat to take him back to his native France.

Unlike Nicolas Pithou, Odet was protected by his aristocratic status and royal favour, and after only two and a half years of this first experience of exile, he was heading back to France on the resumption of peace. Like Pithou, his wife (his former mistress whom he had married in 1564 after his excommunication by the pope) accompanied him, as well as a formidable entourage of some thirty people who made up his aristocratic household. During his enforced exile, he maintained regular, if often clandestine, correspondence with his family and followers back in France, and was warmly welcomed at Queen Elizabeth's court. At the same time as he was appealing to the charity of Charles IX, he was writing to convince his new host and protector of the justness of his actions, and indeed how providential the situation was in allowing him to meet and kiss the hands of 'the most virtuous princess of this century'.[15] The flattery did not stop there, as he referred to England as 'the asylum and refuge' for all those persecuted and pursued because of their 'piety and religion', stating that her actions in offering them shelter and hospitality were pleasing to heaven and would be noted by posterity. Indeed, a sizeable Huguenot community, of which Odet de Coligny was only briefly a member, had already established itself as one of the primary 'stranger churches' in London. The support network that they offered to those fleeing persecution was invaluable, for 'they quickly became the institutional centre of the whole foreign community of the city'.[16] Such networks were, indeed, a vital consideration for those choosing whether, and where, to contemplate a future in exile.

During his period of enforced exile, Odet was able to act as an effective go-between for the Huguenots with Elizabeth, successfully seeking both material and financial assistance for them. In doing so, he was able to play on the sufferings of his coreligionists back in France. In a lengthy report he wrote for Elizabeth's chief minister, William Cecil, detailing the mistreatment of the Huguenots, he states that he 'cannot recount without tears the inhumanities (and) barbarities' suffered by them.[17] The 'innocence' and 'loyalty' of the Huguenots in the face of so much injustice and inhumane treatment is repeatedly contrasted with the 'unfaithfulness' and 'cruelty' of their opponents. Amid the accounts of murders, rape, and pillage, the Cardinal made a point of exonerating the actions of his brothers, who might be seen as rebels by some, but who were, he claimed, only acting in self-defence, they and their families having been directly threatened. It was a self-justification for his own actions, too, in fleeing the realm and seeking exile abroad. Odet's was not an experience of isolation or uncertainty to the same extent as other refugees, but, like them, it was detrimental to his wealth and well-being, to his status and influence, as well as arguably to his health. His sudden and unwelcome departure from France, and the arduousness of the Channel crossing, no doubt took its toll on frayed nerves and an ageing constitution. How much worse must it have been for those who

could not afford and were not offered the means of transport, places of residence, and networks of support that Odet's rank was able to secure, and upon which he was able to rely.[18]

As reflected in both the Coligny and Pithou examples, it is worth remarking that the experience of exile during the French religious wars was often brief, sporadic and, therefore, less established than that of other groups, such as the Iberian conversos or indeed the Huguenots' post-Revocation descendants in the 1680s. Individuals and groups headed mainly to Protestant strongholds in the Swiss Confederation and the Empire, but also to England and increasingly, after the establishment of the United Provinces, to the Netherlands. The Genevan *Livre des habitants* and the registers of other refugee centres record this diaspora during waves of persecution, notably in the 1550s before official toleration was introduced, the early 1560s at the beginning of the wars, in 1568 following the outbreak of the third war, and especially after the St Bartholomew's Day massacres of 1572.[19] Listed alongside the names of refugees were their places of origin, their occupations, and sometimes the names and ages of family and household members, including servants, who had travelled with them. In later years, Geneva required witnesses to vouch for those registering, drawn from the existing inhabitants, often relatives or former acquaintances. On arrival, exiles naturally sought out others they knew in the community or those who shared a trade or other status with them. Such groupings often became tight-knit and mutually supportive. Equally, however, we know that while some settled, others returned home as soon as it was safe (at least officially) to do so. In general, it was often unclear how long a period of exile might last, and few probably expected it to be permanent. Common to early modern exile experience were notions of homeland and homelessness: being wrenched away from your home as penance for faith had biblical overtones, as had the desire for, and expectation of, return. As a consequence, stories of the circumstances of an individual's or group's departure or flight accrued an important, even mythological status, to be recounted down the generations and used to solicit sympathy (as in the case of Odet de Coligny) from would-be hosts.[20]

Furthermore, according to Natalia Muchnik, exile 'incarnated the dilemma' between the earthly and the spiritual, between material possessions and faith, with the diaspora seen as a transitory state, a test, an act of penitence, before the return to the promised land and redemption.[21] Only gradually, therefore, did groups of exiles integrate fully into their new surroundings, their host society; traditions and customs were often long perpetuated. The much-discussed Calvinist international, therefore, involved a sense of common destiny, a collective struggle as well as a sense of community, and, through correspondence, a sharing of a 'virtual' diaspora with those left behind. However, views of the homeland could also be conflicted, especially such as in France where persecution intensified, sharpening the contrast with the spiritual and material support of the host country. The many Huguenots who left, but soon after returned to their native communities during the course of the wars, often faced a hostile

reception as town gates were reluctantly reopened to admit them, and resentment towards them continued when their seized property was returned. Sometimes they were forced to allow the rebaptism of their children, and they often experienced continual intimidation and harassment, in the most extreme cases leading to murder. It is notable that several of the victims of the St Bartholomew's Day massacres in the provinces had previously gone into exile, an act perhaps marking them out as targets, and certainly heightening the danger involved in their decision to return.

One of the most high-profile cases of those who escaped and fled into exile during the 1572 massacre in Paris was Gabriel de Lorges, Count of Montgomery, probably best known as the man who inflicted the fatal blow on Henry II during a joust in 1559.[22] He was also a leading Huguenot commander during the wars, and an intermittent exile in England and the Channel Islands. Despite his dramatic escape, he was captured on returning to the wars in France, and subsequently tried and executed for treason in 1574, despite being offered a safe-conduct by the crown. In addition, his many children were subsequently deprived of their noble status and inheritance, which could only have added to the emotional turmoil they already felt at his swift dispatch. The authorities took the view that his continuing presence whether at home or abroad was too dangerous for the polity to allow him to survive. Montgomery's decision to return from exile to continue the fight for the Huguenot cause would cost him his life.

Indeed, it is worth underlining that for many Huguenots, exile abroad was not a feasible or desirable option, certainly not in the long term, and they had to face the many challenges posed by staying put in a hostile environment that, historians have argued, formed its own sort of exile. Christopher Highley discusses the phenomenon of interior or internal exile for those who stayed behind in England but might have felt like strangers in their own land due to their political and cultural (and arguably social) marginalisation.[23] The experience of interior or internal exile is also found in the case of France. Nicolas Pithou's account of the history of the Reformed Church in his native Troyes reveals an often-concealed phenomenon in our record of Huguenot experience when he recounts the story of his half-sister, Ambroise. The story is worth examining in detail. In September 1562, after two months of intense persecution and murders of Protestants in Troyes, Ambroise was registered, together with her husband and sister and many other Huguenots, as a refugee in Strasbourg, just over the border in the Empire.[24] But in 1562 she returned to Troyes with her maid and two daughters in secret, in order to give birth to a third child. Subsequently, she was ejected from her mother's house for refusing to abjure or go to mass, thereby risking the family's safety. In desperation, Ambroise then returned in secret to her own house that had been locked up and where she could stay hidden until she gave birth. However, the midwife informed the authorities (as she was legally obliged to do), who then sent soldiers to take the baby boy to be baptized. Thereafter, Ambroise made it appear as if she had left town, only

going out at night, and sustaining herself and her children by making and selling tapestries. Despite her straitened circumstances, her mother and the rest of her family refused to help her out unless she conformed. She left the town shortly afterwards.[25]

The next time that we meet up with Ambroise Pithou in her brother's chronicle is in 1573, a time fraught with danger for the Huguenots following the St Bartholomew's Day massacres. She had fled this time to Ligny-en-Barrois, on the French border with Lorraine, in order to meet up with some other women from Troyes who, like her, were planning to join their husbands in exile. On this occasion, she was accompanied by two daughters, one only twenty-one months old (it is not stated what had become of the son whose birth she had striven so hard to conceal in 1562). At Ligny, she trusted in the protection of the Count of Brienne, who had provided members of her family with a refuge in the past, but she was refused entry and was abused by guards on the city gates. At great risk, Nicolas Pithou tells us, she had to plead for her life with soldiers who had been ordered to murder her. The courage Ambroise demonstrated in these circumstances is reminiscent of her defiant stance over her child's baptism and her own attendance at Mass in 1562. Her experience, twice left to fend for herself and her children in the face of extreme adversity while her husband was in exile, also reminds us that the widows of the wars were not the only people who had to cope on their own.[26] Ambroise went on to explain to her would-be captors the emotional pain this rejection by her family had caused her, as cited by her half-brother: 'It has deprived me of the company of my husband, the presence of my daughter whom I was forced to abandon and all that is mine'.[27]

Like many such accounts (notably those in the longer compilation of the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*), there is an air of the martyrology about the tale of Ambroise's brave words and fortitude in the face of extreme danger. Women were seen as particularly effective and emotive exempla of the trials of upholding a persecuted faith; the perils for women of both leaving and staying put were highlighted in all cases.[28] One such story is that of a woman known as *la Glée*, who went to her death willingly, indeed joyfully, only pausing briefly to weep when confronted by the sight of the children she was leaving behind.[29] Another involves the extreme and prolonged bouts of torture suffered by a sixty-year-old widow, Castille Rocques, in the town of Sorèze near Castres in Languedoc, when she refused to denounce or waiver from her religion.[30] So, what evidence is there of the real emotion of such experiences rather than simply a cultural repertoire of how such events should be described? In Nicolas Pithou's case, he is at less of a remove than many of his fellow memorialists from his half-sister's experience. The amount of detail and its individual facets lend it an air of veracity that some other accounts lack; indeed, Ambroise's story is in many ways suggestive. It was not unusual for Protestant women to remain behind to maintain the household rather than seek temporary exile alongside their husbands. Like Recusant women in England, they could find themselves in a hostile environment, viewed as suspect within their

own communities.[31] As a result, they were forced to rely on the safety net provided by existing ties and support networks, the resilience of which was repeatedly put to the test in an increasingly uncertain world. The Pithou family's rejection of Ambroise and subsequent withdrawal of protection and support was no doubt painful for Nicolas to have to recount. Separation from a spouse and children was not unusual but was clearly painful to endure. In addition, the regulations of French synods prevented women from marrying again even if their husbands were away for years. Indeed, they were obliged to follow their husbands into exile if they were to be absent for a prolonged period, just as men were forbidden to abandon their wives—to prevent couples from using exile as a convenient excuse for a separation.[32]

This discussion of the effective 'internal exile' of Huguenots might be expanded still further. It is unclear whether others remained cowering in their apparently empty houses as Ambroise did. Certainly there are references to houses locked up and left for long periods by Huguenots whose neighbours did not know when or if they would return, including several in Troyes during a house-to-house poll conducted by the municipal authorities in 1563.[33] Even during periods of official peace, while Huguenots were not to be molested for matters of conscience or private prayer within their homes, they were forced out far beyond the town gates for the more public acts of collective worship and reception of the sacraments. This effective expulsion from the community made them vulnerable to attack at the gates themselves or elsewhere on their journey to and from services. The Huguenot sense of ostracization and marginalization was reinforced by being forced to worship far away from the heart of the community. When fighting between the faiths broke out at the designated site for worship in January 1566, the authorities at Tours locked the gates and the returning Huguenots were even forced to spend the night outside the town.[34] Furthermore, refugees would leave and return through the town gates during periods of temporary exile with each declaration of war or subsequent peace. Those who had left, later to return once the persecution they had been fleeing died down, might find that their coreligionists who had stayed behind and suffered viewed them with resentment. Reference to the place of refuge might also be a cause of friction, as Nicolas Pithou was to find when he returned from his first visit to Geneva in 1561. When his intervention was rebuffed in a consistory meeting, and it was stated that what he had said 'would be very good in a Genevan church but we do not govern that way in France', he retorted, 'Please God, that all things went as well in all French churches as they do in those of Geneva'.[35] Exiles in some senses were always caught between two places, home and refuge, as well as between two communities, challenging both their sense of belonging and their identity.

The letters, wills, petitions, chronicles, and other documentary sources used here demonstrate that exile was far from an easy choice. The emotional impact of persecution was not displaced, but often added to, by the turmoil of leaving possessions, loved ones, and homeland behind. Weighing up the relative balance

of the danger to be faced at home with the unknown adversity to be found in a place of refuge was itself a leap of faith as well as a leap for the preservation of faith. During the French religious wars, many returned when that balance seemed to shift, notably in the 1560s, while others fled for good when hope of lasting toleration had faded, especially after 1572. New waves of diaspora ensued with the rise of the Catholic League forcing royalists out, while Henry IV's reign, even after his conversion, offered a new reprieve. Thus, we should recognize more openly how fear, hope, guilt, remorse, grief, and anger formed a fraught emotional backdrop accompanying the fluctuating fortunes of the politics of the religious wars.

However, as we saw in the case of Odet de Coligny, exile could also offer opportunities to those abroad set on continuing to support their coreligionists at home, especially when they were of such high rank. Before his period of exile, while his brothers were chiefly employed in Huguenot military affairs, Odet acted as a mediator with the monarchy and had a prominent role as a royal diplomat. He and his brothers had worked hard to gain official recognition for their cause and actively sought a peaceful reconciliation with the French crown. Notably, in 1568, Odet was central to the negotiations of the edict of pacification between the Huguenots and the monarchy, holding secret meetings with the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, with whom he seems to have had mostly good relations. From exile he also acted on her behalf as a go-between for the proposed marriage between Elizabeth of England and a French prince, the duke of Anjou (later Henri III), or possibly the Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre.

But what of Odet's involvement in unofficial activities during his period of exile, for which, fortuitously, his forced departure provided him with the perfect platform? Making the most of his connections and status while in England, Odet was actively raising money and securing supplies in support of the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle in its campaign against the crown. Various exasperated reports from the French ambassador indicate the frustration with the favour shown to him when it came to supporting Huguenot troops with arms, gunpowder, and ships. The English ignored all French efforts to place a trade embargo on La Rochelle, as well as their complaints that French ships were being seized by authorization of the Cardinal. In particular, Odet requested that passports be provided for those carrying packets of correspondence and memoirs for him and his brothers, as well as for others on Huguenot business, including the wife of his minister who was intending to join her husband in exile in England.[36] He sought to retrieve intercepted packets of letters, assuring the English authorities that there was nothing sinister in them, but that they all concerned the Huguenot cause. Considering his connections with the leadership at La Rochelle, all this clearly and unsurprisingly points to Odet being closely involved with a clandestine network of information-gatherers, and perhaps even spies, operating between France and England.

Mark Greengrass has emphasized the importance of correspondence for nurturing a sense of belonging and vitality for French Protestantism, as well as

reinforcing and sustaining its unity and identity, and the emergence of a common purpose.[37] The French religious wars of the late sixteenth century provided a ready platform for the use of secretive means by which all parties transmitted messages and news across France and to their allies abroad. As has long been established, the nobility and foreign ambassadors played a key role in such activity; so, too, did high-ranking exiles like Odet. The crown was particularly concerned during the first decade of the wars with the activities of the Huguenot leadership and their allies abroad. Thus, their movements were spied upon and, in turn, their agents were arrested and their correspondence with coreligionists both within and without France intercepted. A crucial concern of the authorities was plots against the crown—in the case of France, not just by the Huguenots, but also by discontented Catholics opposed to the royal policy of toleration. It is unsurprising that exiles were particularly watched for evidence of conspiracy with associates abroad. In France itself, evidence of covert operations by Huguenots led to suspicion that they were fomenting sedition: meeting in synods, raising funds, and gathering intelligence. Several Huguenots were arrested and imprisoned because the documents they were in possession of linked them to the Protestant camp or to French exiles, most often in England. The fact that Huguenot ministers and nobles in exile were welcomed at the English court only reinforced Catholic fears. Nevertheless, the contents of the letters and packages intercepted seem to have been for the most part concerned with information and intelligence-gathering rather than plot-making. The survival of a cache of correspondence, like that Susan Broomhall discusses in Chapter 2 of this volume, is highly unusual. Yet, there are several parallels with that case, although it deals with exiles from the Dutch Revolt rather than France, including the search, detention, and interrogation of the individuals concerned.

In thinking about the exile experience, what should we make of Odet de Coligny's role and that of others like him? He was certainly a peacemaker and a pragmatist. As we have seen, he was instrumental in peace negotiations between the Catholics and Huguenots in France as well as diplomatic relations between the French and English crowns. He continued to protest his loyalty to the French crown even from exile. On the other hand, while in exile there is substantial evidence from intercepted letters that the Cardinal was at the centre of a clandestine operation, a communication network with his brothers, reporting on events in France. This is not itself evidence of treason *per se*, but was he working in the interests of his faith rather than his *patrie,* perhaps? The securing of funds and supplies from Elizabeth in support of the Huguenot forces against the crown appears still more damning. Yet, as peace was once again clearly being negotiated between the faiths in France by the spring/summer of 1570, and Odet showed a clear desire to return, he might well have been expected to have had his feet back under the royal council table as conspicuously as would his brother Gaspard. The peace of 1570 was much more robust than that hastily negotiated in 1568, but with the 1572 massacre, it is fairly certain that if Odet

had escaped with his life, he would have followed many other leading Huguenots, like Montgomery, once again into exile. Or, if captured, he might perhaps have been forced to reconvert like the princes of the blood, Navarre and Condé. Certainly, the tension between Odet's aristocratic expectations, his loyalty to his homeland, and the demands of upholding his true faith, would have continued. His experience, in effect, encapsulates much of the exile's dilemma. But it also highlights how essential social status was to that experience, and how many of the real dangers and risks were in fact run by others in the service of figures like Odet, as well as those left behind to fend for themselves in the face of persecution and ostracization. The emotional impact of exile and exclusion on those caught up in the sixteenth-century French religious wars, as for many such conflicts, was to be profound and long-lasting.

Notes

1 Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2000); Myriam Yardeni, ed., *Le Refuge Huguenot. Assimilation et culture* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds, *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003); Jane McKee and Randolph Vigne, eds, *The Huguenots: France, Exile and Diaspora* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2014); David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).
2 Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563* (Geneva: Droz, 1956); Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564–1571* (Geneva: Droz, 1967); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Andrew Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and Their Church in Southampton, 1567–c.1620* (London: Huguenot Society, 1997).
3 See Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming*; Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation*; William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).
4 On Calvin as a refugee and Geneva as a place of refuge, see Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 150–52, 171–73.
5 Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion (c.1525–c.1610)*, 2 vols (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990); Mark Greengrass, "Hidden Transcripts: Secret Histories and Personal Testimonies of Religious Violence in the French Wars of Religion," in *The Massacre in History*, ed. Mark Levene and Penny Roberts (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 1999), 69–88; Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, 1st ed. (Bordeaux, 1580), which was followed by multiple revised editions. The most commonly used translation is Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, trans. and ed. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003).
6 "Remonstrance envoyée au Roy, par la Noblesse de la Religion Réformée du Païs & Conté du Maine …," in *Mémoires de Condé ou Recueil pour servir à l'Histoire de France; contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable dans ce Royaume, sous les règnes de Francois II & de Charles IX*, ed. Denis-François Secousse (London, The Hague: 1743) v: 277–327.
7 Susan Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France," *French History* 27 (2013): 1–20, esp. 5–7.

8   Terpstra, *Religious Refugees*, 4. See also Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 2, citing 'the first generation of religious refugees'.

9   Philip Benedict, Hugues Daussy and Pierre-Olivier Léchot, eds, *L'Identité huguenote. Faire mémoire et écrire l'histoire (XVIe–XXIe siècle)* (Geneva: Droz, 2014); Jacques Berchtold and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, eds, *La Mémoire des guerres de religion. La concurrence des genres historiques XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Geneva: Droz, 2007); Jacky Provence, ed., *Mémoires et mémorialistes à l'époque des Guerres de religion* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015).

10 For the following, see E. Berthe, ed., Le testament de Nicolas Pithou," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 15 (1866): 109–10.

11 Nicolas Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes et de la Champagne (1524–1594)*, ed. P-E. Leroy, 2 vols (Rheims: Presses Universitaires de Reims, 1998–2000). The original manuscript is also preserved: manuscrit Dupuy 698, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BNF).

12 Reproduced in Ernest G. Atkinson, "The Cardinal of Châtillon in England, 1568–1571," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 3 (1892): 260–61.

13 Letter to Charles IX, 14 September 1568, MS Schickler 759, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.

14 "Arrest de la Cour de Parlement contre le Cardinal de Chastillon," [19 March 1569], MS français 2758, fol. 67, BNF.

15 Atkinson, "The Cardinal of Châtillon," 261–62.

16 On the establishment and consolidation of the churches in London, see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 3; R.E.G. Kirk and Ernest F. Kirk, eds, *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to That of James I* (Aberdeen and London: Huguenot Society Publications, 1900–1908).

17 Atkinson, "The Cardinal of Châtillon," 262–75.

18 On the material and personal sacrifice many faced, Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 225–29.

19 *Livre des habitants de Genève*, ed. Paul-F. Geisendorf, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1957–1963); "Liste des réfugiés français à Lausanne de juin 1547 à décembre 1574," ed. E. Chavannes, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 21 (1872): 463–78; Roger Zuber, "Les champenois réfugiés à Strasbourg et l'église réformée de Châlons: échanges intellectuels et vie religieuse (1560–90)," *Mémoires de la société d'agriculture, commerce, science et arts du département de la Marne* 79 (1964): 31–55.

20 On the construction of such narratives in the seventeenth century, see van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*, 171–76; see also Terpstra, *Religious Refugees*, 289–94.

21 Natalia Muchnik, "'S'attacher à des pierres comme à une religion locale … ' La terre d'origine dans les diasporas des XVIe–XVIIIe siècles," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 66 (2011/12): 481–512, quotation 508.

22 For a full account of Montgomery's life, see Alain Landurant, *Montgommery le régicide* (Paris: Tallandier, 1988).

23 Christopher Highley, "Exile and Religious Identity in Early Modern England," *Reformation* 15 (2010): 51–61.

24 Zuber, "Les champenois réfugiés à Strasbourg," 53.

25 Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes*, 1:471–79.

26 See also Merry Wiesner, "Nuns, Wives, and Mothers: Women and the Reformation in Germany," and Diane Willen, "Women and Religion in Early Modern England," both in *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds*, ed. Sherrin Marshall (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 15, 154.

27 Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes*, 2:762–68.

28 On women martyrs, see Terpstra, *Religious Refugees*, 147–49.

29 Theodore de Bèze, comp., *Histoire Ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France*, ed. G. Baum and E. Cunitz, 3 vols. (Paris, 1883–1889; repr., Nieuwkoop: B de Graaf, 1974), 2:699–700.

30 De Bèze, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 3:216.

31 Willen, "Women and Religion in Early Modern England," 154.

32 For example, see John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: Or the Acts, Decisions, Decrees and Canons of Those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France*, 2 vols (London, 1692), 1:77 and 86–88. Also, on the issue of separation, Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 225–26.

33 Penny Roberts, "Religious Conflict and the Urban Setting: Troyes during the French Wars of Religion," *French History* 6 (1992): 259–78, esp. 273, 276–77.

34 David Nicholls, "Protestants, Catholics and Magistrates in Tours, 1562–1572: The Making of a Catholic City during the Religious Wars," *French History* 8 (1994): 27–28. For further discussion of this issue, see Penny Roberts, "One Town, Two Faiths: Unity and Exclusion in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Multi-confessionalism in the Early Modern World*, ed. Thomas Max Safley (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 265–85.

35 Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes*, 1:318.

36 For examples, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 70/105, fol. 41 (9 January 1569); 70/109, fol. 44 (13 December 1569); 70/107, fol. 72 (1 June 1569); discussed in Atkinson, "The Cardinal of Châtillon," 211–12, 224, 228, 231–33.

37 Mark Greengrass, "Informal Networks in Sixteenth-Century French Protestantism," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 78–97. For the vital role of correspondence for migrants in general, see also, Bruce S. Elliott, David A. Gerber and Suzanne M Sinke, eds, *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

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2

CROSS-CHANNEL AFFECTIONS

Pressure and persuasion in letters to Calvinist refugees in England, 1569–1570

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On Sunday 26 February 1570 (NS), Henry Fléel and his ten-year-old companion Jehan Desmadry were stopped by the Captain of the Fort and Château of Hénuin (now Hénin-Beaumont, in the department of Pas-de-Calais, to the east of Lens) in a small boat as they were making their way to Calais. Despite Fléel's initial claims that he was simply a poor man from Laventie seeking to earn his living in the fields near Marck, it was soon discovered that his basket filled with cheese, jams and onions contained a false bottom with an additional compartment holding seventy-nine letters addressed to family and friends in England. Fléel confessed that he had been asked to deliver these letters to a certain Donnèrque Olay at the Three Kings tavern in Calais. Fléel claimed that he did not know any of the authors of the letters, which had been given to him by a certain du Buis between Hondschoote (in present-day France) and Reningelst (today, in Belgium). Fléel declared he was neither a Lutheran nor an Anabaptist but admitted that he no longer attended mass and recognized only two sacraments: baptism and communion. Although Fléel's fate is not known for certain, his case was transferred to the Council of Troubles (1567–1574), a special tribunal designed to investigate those involved in the religious and political turmoil within the Habsburg Netherlands. In its files, he was named as one of 'two obstinate heretics', a term that often ended with a death sentence and thus boded ill for the carrier of the clandestine letters.[1]

This chapter concerns the textual and social experiences of a group of people who were excluded from practice of their faith where they lived, communicating with others who had decided to go, into or had been forced, into exile from their homes and loved ones. Their letters, written in French and Flemish by both men and women, employ an explicit emotional vocabulary to describe their traumatic experiences as individuals in dire need and to express their identity as members, despite separation across the space of the Channel, of

a shared confessional community. They did so in many cases in order to place pressure on those already abroad to assist them. As such, they offer a rare resource to analyse the gendered and emotional experiences of Calvinist persecution, and insights into both expectations and experiences of exile in the later sixteenth century. Through them, we see the heavy practical and emotional expectations placed on friends and family who had become part of the Calvinist diaspora abroad.

The stranger communities of early modern England have been the focus of analyses of their integration, religious beliefs, working practices, and cultural, religious, and economic impact within England.[2] More recently, scholars have analysed the relationships that French-speaking refugees forged on their arrival in London. The fledgling sixteenth-century French community at Threadneedle Street in London looked to support its members financially, socially, and emotionally in its initial formation, as parishioners and elders tried to manage the provision of charity and social relations internally, across the Channel, and with the wider London population. These were challenging and complex issues, and the documentary sources of the Church express frustrations, anger, and fears, both of the elders who expected parishioners to conform to particular moral, sexual and social behaviours, and of those who did not accept the Church's capacity to regulate their lives in such ways.[3] But what of those who did not or could not flee persecution, or live where they could practise their faith freely? What of those who remained behind in their homelands? What were their hopes and fears? How did they experience dislocation from families and friends and the disintegration of communities now living apart?

This chapter explores how these letters, as objects and texts, produced social identities and constituted feelings. As performativity, gender, and new materialist scholars have argued, humans and objects are co-constitutive and socio-material assemblages; that is, specific combinations of people, things, and places in time are ontologically productive.[4] I argue that these letters, by virtue of their nature as material objects embodying both communicative practices and textual content, created feelings and identities for those in the geographically dispersed network through which they passed. Their productions of selves and emotions were intertwined. Emotional displays were not only informed by pre-existing social identities but were dynamic components in the creation and articulation of forms of selfhood appropriate to specific contexts.[5] As such, the letters were emotional and social transactions that managed sentiments and fostered intimacy, and a socio-material assemblage that situated far-flung individuals within a common faith community.

Materialising family and faith communities

These letters were the product of covert communicative practices among a marginalized Calvinist community that extended, in this case, from the southern Netherlands and northern France to England. The location of the authors

who indicated where they were writing included towns in relatively close prox-imity: Valenciennes, Tournai, Lannoy, Nieuwkerke, Armentières, and Ypres. While the author's location was rarely stated, most of the letters were dated and show that they had been written between November 1569 and mid-February 1570. Dates were important when the ability to correspond was so irregular and uncertain. Additionally, only two letters were not signed. Did this perhaps attest to the authors' belief in the security of a secretive communication network? Certainly, the act of writing and of signing one's name carried very real dangers to the authors who risked their lives to create this correspondence. Indeed, some indicated that they had destroyed previous correspondence they had received for safety. A letter by Caterienne Glouquette to her husband Nicolas Herman indicated how the letter he had sent a year ago had been 'received by little Nicolas, and sent on to his wife and after she had had it a good five weeks, she burned it'.[6]

These letters were all intended to be transmitted across the Channel, and in some cases were addressed to towns where recipients were expected to be found, such as Norwich and London. All carry the name of the intended recipi-ent on the back of the letter or on the cord tying the papers together. A number were addressed to third parties, who were, it seems, presumed to know the whereabouts of the intended recipients: 'To be given to Martin du Val, a young man living in London in the house of the son of Terroeuvre'.[7] The sister of Mary Orman asked that her letter 'be given to Jacque Gelle to pass on to Mary Orman, living in the town of London'.[8] Others were addressed purely by name, implying (or perhaps hoping) that knowledge within the Eng-lish migrant communities would be sufficient for the letter to find its owner. A niece sent her letter 'to my uncle, Pierre Gruelz, wherever he may be'.[9] The letter of Magrite, the wife of Jan Lecoup, was labelled simply 'I am to Jan'; that is, 'I [the letter] am [to be sent] to Jan'.[10]

The authors may not have shared a common language. The majority wrote in French but other letters were in Flemish. However, the letters displayed evidence of strong community connections that enabled this communication practice. Some appeared to have been scribed by a third party on behalf of their senders. The investigation of documents of Fléel and his companion also reveal other elements of the network. Fléel explained that he had received the letters from du Buis and was intending to pass them on to Olay at the designated tavern in Calais. The barque in which they were stopped belonged to a Jehan Rouzée, who worked between Saint Omer and the port at Calais. The evidence of young Jehan Desmadry revealed that a woman whose name he did not know supplied the basket with the double bottom to Fléel and other unidentified women had brought cheeses to go in it. Desmadry himself was, rather like the letters, expected to find his father, who had taken refuge in England a year before from his home of Lille.[11]

Fléel claimed that he knew none of the letter writers personally, but what bound the group was their shared distance from Catholic beliefs. Fléel, for

example, declared that 'he did not know what is to be a calvinist or papist'. His ambiguous responses on faith, lack of attendance at mass, and recognition of only two sacraments were sufficient to place him under investigation by authorities.[12] The religious upbringing of his young companion, Desmadry, was equally ambiguous. Jehan had declared that his father had eaten eggs and meat on Fridays and Saturdays, but said that his mother, Marie de le Ruelle, continued to observe Catholic feast days and regularly attended mass. Her own letter to her husband included in the basket, however, suggested firmly Calvinist beliefs.[13] From Desmadry's testimony and the letters themselves, the roles of other women and men in transcribing and transmitting the documents and preparing Fléel's basket were revealed. A far wider group of people with complex but nonconformist religious sympathies shared the risks to enable this epistolary communication pathway to function. As they moved through these networks that they helped create and maintain and through their content, these letters became active agents in the production of emotional and faith identities of these individuals, practices and objects.

The vast majority of the letter writers appeared to be relatives of the intended recipients—fathers, wives, siblings, most commonly, but also uncles, nieces, and nephews as well as in-laws. The relationship of a further group of authors to their recipients is less clearly identifiable although some appear to be business colleagues and friends. Thirty percent of authors were female, but only fifteen percent of the recipients were women.[14] Some were men whom we know were banished in preceding years. In this sense, the letters provide a rare opportunity to see how religious persecution in the Low Countries was experienced and, to some extent, articulated by women who were not the usual political dissidents listed as banished or executed in the archives of the Council of Troubles.

A number of letters indicated that the authors were enclosing goods with their letters. Foodstuff and clothing were offered by wives and daughters to men who would once have been part of their household. Marinne's letter to her husband Parin enclosed two shirts for him.[15] The daughter of Willame le Roy sent a pot of cream on behalf of her sister and asked her father to thank her sister Susaenne for sending needles.[16] A number sent fabric, usually accompanied by discussions of business transactions. Alongside the seventy-nine letters discovered by the authorities were a series of items including 'two and a half ells of blue cloth; item, four shirts for a small boy; item two shirts of some little girl; item, three men's shirts; a bonnet; two gingerbreads, two cheese, pots of jam, two ells of white cloth', as well as money.[17] These gifts were not all intended to sustain business relations. Some were meant to reinforce ties within families by demonstrable attendance to generally female household duties. These acts and objects were behaviours with strong emotional resonances, aimed at situating typically distant men within a series of familial affiliations and obligations to female relatives.

Evidence of a broader set of sociabilities was also to be found in the content of the letters themselves. Many informed their recipients of not only personal and familial events and feelings, but also those of a wider community. Jan Bacler told his brother Eloy, 'Know that my sister Jacquelinne wishes to be remembered to Piere le Gay'.[18] Frans Baeke wrote to Willem and Pieter van der Schoore and Frans de Berre, mentioning in closing that he had spoken to 'Daneel's wife who sends her greeting, Daneel is in Ypres, and Kalleken his sister was fine and Frans too'.[19] Most letters delivered information from the wider community in which both authors and recipients were embedded. In reverse, a few made clear how the authors themselves learned of their relatives and friends abroad. The daughter of Willame le Roy revealed that she had heard 'from Jan Haudoux that Jacquet Rousel had told him' that her mother had died.[20]

Shared religious beliefs were explicitly articulated in most letters. Statements of faith frequently opened and sometimes closed the letters by both women and men, thus framing the entire correspondence within the context of shared religious beliefs. Many were brief: 'Praise be to God' or 'Greetings with Jesus Christ'.[21] Jacob de Smit commenced his letter to Maertyne Godscalcs and his son Jan de Bus: 'Psalm 46: God is my refuge in the time of pressure'.[22] Two included short prayers in Flemish.[23] These expressions assumed authors and recipients were joined together in a shared community of faith. Victor Kirstelot went further in describing the 'brothers and sisters bidden to come together with Christ in all his glory as we hope to come into God's grace', and concluded his letter with his wishes not only to named individuals but 'to all brothers in the Lord'.[24]

Only a few, however, made longer religious statements connected directly to their own experiences or those of their recipients. These articulations were often messages of comfort in the context of addressing difficult topics likely to upset their readers. Marie Lengilon announced the death of her husband's mother to him, assuring him that

> the Lord God called your mother and took her from this vale of misery, and one must not be upset about what pleased the Lord, for, as we say every day, his will be done. And since it is his will, we must not complain. She is very happy, for we have only pain in this valley of misery and when the Lord God calls us close to him and we are drawn from this vale of misery, we can be at peace.[25]

Resignation to God's will was paramount, affective expression consistent with contemporary Calvinism.[26] The brother of Jehan de Denain asked the latter to resign himself to his fate of being an exile by comparing his sufferings to those of the apostle Peter.[27] Jan Bacler explained to his brother that their cousin Paul asked to be remembered and recommended he practise patience in his affliction, for nothing else was promised 'to true Christians in this world'.[28] Few were

explicitly celebratory in tone, as was Philippe Caulier, writing to his friend Jacques De Le Haie, who expressed his gratitude to God that he was able to live in peace thus:

> And praise be to God, until now he has given us food and despite our enemies, has let us rest in grassy fields and walk alongside running waters, for we have hope that at the end of our days we will enjoy salvation, gained for us by Jesus Christ.[29]

In the context of the challenging feelings that distress, death, and distance provoked for both authors and recipients, these expressions were articulations of faith that aligned, shared, and assuaged. These epistolary articulations were thus both emotional responses to their experiences and aimed at affective connection and support to others. They were emotional performances that were key to individuals' socialization within this faith community.

   In their material and textual aspects, these letters and the communication practice in which they were embedded were part of complex, ongoing interactions and engagements between individuals. As the communication network was practised through these articulations, and as the letters were prepared, scribed, and carried, they fostered connection, cohesion and intense feeling among members who were tied together as a close-knit, albeit far-flung, community. These documents were not simply products of a network with faith, social, and emotional dimensions; they were active agents in shaping and sustaining that community and transcending the geographical distance between its members.

Feelings in circulation

The letters were written, it seems, because an opportunity had arisen for them to be carried to loved ones abroad. About a third concluded with some statement that they were written 'in haste', 'in very great haste' or 'because the messenger is hurrying'.[30] What were the most important things for authors to communicate in such a context and in this form? While the letters varied in length and detail, they followed a common pattern, expressing good wishes for the health of the recipient, then documenting the health of those around them. Many noted letters they had received or sent, while others lamented a lack of communication from the recipient. Discussion of family affairs ranged from instructions on children's education, queries about marriage arrangements and dowry sums to pregnancies, births, deaths, and marriages among wider kin. Family affairs provoked the expression of mixed emotions in senders, celebrating the joy of a newborn child or the development of a toddler, grieving the loss of loved ones, particularly when they had died without the presence of the recipient, frustration sometimes at the lack of support from a husband or father, but also sorrow at the long parting and lack of knowledge about family members

over the ocean. They employed an explicit emotional vocabulary that was purposeful to their objectives. It reflected gendered power dynamics between authors and recipients but also aimed to enact and shape feelings and actions between individuals.

Authors of both sexes expressed a strong sense of loss and longing for their loved ones, generally as members of the immediate family unit: mothers, fathers, wives, brothers, and sisters. The mother of Benoy de le Court emphasized grief at his absence, 'for which I cry many times a week', and her fears: 'now I have no one and it seems that I will never see you again, nor my two daughters, nor your children'.[31] Isabeau Parent told her husband: 'I would like to be there for I promise you that my body is here but my heart is with you very often'.[32] If he had received the letter, Martin du Val would have learned that:

> as to your father and mother, they pray most affectionately that you write back home some news as soon as possible, for, because they have had no news of you, it seems to them that you are dead, even though all they desire is to be given news of you to know of your state and how it is for you, in doing so you will give them joy and jubilation.[33]

Marie Lengilon wrote to her husband, that although

> it has pleased God that we be far away from one another, he does not make us forget one another in our hearts… not a day goes by when my heart does not weep. I pray God that he gives you great patience.[34]

These authors grieved at the loss of family and friends who were far from them in the very documents in which they were also enacting and maintaining these networks and reducing the emotional distance between them.[35]

Significantly, the articulation of feelings claimed to be experienced by women was foremost in these letters. Thomas Le Den wrote to his sister Jenne of their mother's desire for her daughter to return, 'for since the hour and day that you went, her eye has never been dry and she is always crying, praying to God who watches over you to return you to her and us all'.[36] The wife of Martin Plennart told him: 'your daughters Annette and Marie keep asking when their father will come, your daughter Marie says that you cannot come because you have sore feet'.[37] Authors who reported on the feelings of others, usually of women and children, perceived, it seems, that these lamentations and sorrow of the vulnerable would be most effective in achieving the aims they sought.

Not only women's sadness and grief filled the pages of these letters. The letters of wives and sisters could also express frustrations and even anger, insofar as these feelings stemmed from a lack of communication with their loved ones. Hennette wrote to her husband Antoine Renier, 'I am most surprised how you did not write a letter back sooner than to write on the back of the letters of Jan

Desmadry'.[38] Chatelinne Boudiffart's letter to her brother Jan contained a complaint that she had not heard from their cousin:

> I am most stunned that I have no news of him; there are several who manage it; it seems to me that if he wanted to write back, he would have been able to send a letter, if it pleased him.[39]

In a similar vein was the letter from Jacqueline Leurent to her husband Jehan Dambryne:

> I am completely amazed that two years have passed and I have no news of you, I marvel at it, I do not know if you do not write to me because you are mad at me or not. If it has suited you to leave me, that was not my doing and I am most mad about it. I am in great pain at night, to have had no news of you, even though I have written to you several times.[40]

Women expressed not only surprise but hurt and anger at men's apparent silence and, as the latter two letters show, they represented the absence as a considered personal slight that reflected these individuals' feelings for them.

Frustrations were apparent in some men's letters but in a different way. A lack of information on how to proceed in business dealings provoked Pierre Taiart to comment to his friend Hernoul de le Rue:

> This letter will serve to let you know that I am most surprised that I have had no news of you, for I sent you several letters in the last four months. And I have no response from you, I do not think that you would be so ungrateful as to not write at all. So I beg you to do everything in your power to send me the money that you owe me from the merchandise that I sold you and delivered to my brother and to you.[41]

These were clearly matters of some feeling for Taiart, but his letter focussed on the specific practical objectives and funds desired from de le Rue rather than consideration of what the deficit might indicate about their personal relationship.

The specific language of feelings that were explicitly referenced in these letters was gender-specific. It was primarily women's emotional experience that was discussed, whether by themselves or by others. Furthermore, these were often dramatic and forceful expressions about feelings that were designed to move their readers. With such limited means of communication, these emotional performances were intended to be effective in producing the results to which authors aspired. They were combined, most commonly in the letters of or about mothers, daughters, or wives, with lamentations concerning their impoverished circumstances and pleading for help of some kind. One letter to a husband reported that 'this is to let you know that Marinne has no income, because the

king expects that wives will go to their husbands, and so His Majesty confiscates all their goods'.[42] Marinne enclosed shirts for her husband, perhaps indicating her willingness to fulfil her wifely duties towards him in turn.

The letters were carefully crafted for maximum emotional effect. Chatelinne Boudiffart wrote to inform her brother Jan that her husband had died, and asked him to pray to God 'that I can be both a good father and good mother to my four children'.[43] Likewise, the niece of Pierre Gruelz announced the sudden death of her mother, and her father's decision to remarry, taking all that remained to his new marriage. She described her siblings' status as 'now seven poor children, without a mother', hoping for Gruelz's support. The letter closed with a reminder of her uncle's obligations to a niece and 'my sister Katelin without a mother'.[44] In such ways, women's strong emotional and repeated reinforcement of their difficult circumstances seem designed to apply pressure on their relatives. They emphasize male responsibilities to them and their own expectations of assistance.

Some women were blunt in their need for support, which they constructed as both financial and emotional. Barbe Detelus insisted to her husband Louy du Bois: 'I would like you to reside in a town where we could come with you. I have great trouble earning my living; I have assistance from no one'.[45] The letter of Jenne Géguenter combined a request for advice on how to raise funds, with a plea for direct financial assistance from her recipient. She explained to Jacque Coutrerie le jeune, her brother: 'I will not have the money that you spoke of … I have a great shortage, and right now, I have no means to earn my living', 'I do not know how to cover my costs and pray you send it to me as soon as you can'.[46] Some women were not afraid to express their anger, as did the widow Jonneviel to Nicaise Frappes, about a debt between them:

> I never received from you any response, it's like a joke, Nicaise, for you
> can well imagine that I do not have the thousand *écus*… You are the
> cause that my daughter refused several good marriages, for if a good hus-
> band came along, even a prince, it would not be possible for her to marry
> him, for the custom is such that one does not ask for girls for their know-
> ledge but for their money.[47]

Although the financial challenges that women faced were rarely expressed in such ardent terms, their supplications were embedded within a rich emotional discourse of marital, familial, and occasionally social obligations designed to be persuasive to male recipients.

Such strategies were by no means unique to these letters. Both Catholic and Protestant relief bureaux regularly supported women in need, who were seen as less able to support themselves, particularly without male assistance. This was consistent with the charitable practice of the very Calvinist communities in England to which these letter recipients were contributors. The specific difficulties of families left behind across the Channel was a particular concern for the elders

at the Threadneedle Street French Huguenot community at this period, for example, and they provided funds to support communities in difficulty abroad and recommended the reunification of families in one location as soon as possible.[48]

By contrast, fathers provided instruction to sons about finances, education, and good living. Paternal admonition in one letter came with advice for a son Arnoult on the education of the author's grandson: 'I beg you to hold the hand of your son Jehan, have him taught Latin, to write numbers well and then afterwards to put him to learning languages, for he is ready, make sure he does not waste his time'.[49] Creton gave firm advice regarding his son's conduct before God, to never abandon the Temple and to keep away from bad company. Money 'earned through hard work should never be uselessly dissipated', he added.[50] Where women rendered service through sending items of clothing and food, father figures expressed care for their recipients through the provisions of finance and discussion of moral and educational expectations. Philip Grace has recently conceptualized the late medieval paternal role as one of 'affectionate authority', in which their powers were safeguarded by responsibilities of care for their charges, in multifaceted relationships demonstrated through repeated performance.[51] The ability of paternal and other authority figures to exert control over family members or broader faith communities was, however, severely challenged in practice by situations such as exile. Yet letters, alongside more traditional instruments such as the consistory, formed part of a wide network of surveillance and information that aimed to enable men in the Huguenot hierarchy in England to both discipline and support community members.[52]

Both men and women used emotive language to re-balance familial and social power dynamics in their favour, often leveraging familial identities to remind relatives and friends of their duties. Gender as well as family roles and hierarchies shaped both emotional expression and the expectations of how recipients should respond. The letters of women typically employed more explicit and forceful emotional language and more commonly articulated 'negative' emotions such as grief, sorrow, anxiety, and anger. Their letters also more frequently connected recipients' failure to act or respond to authors' own feelings and sense of worth rather than possible difficulties in recipients' lives. This was a strategic deployment of ideas about authors' personal value to recipients, likely designed to oblige the latter to demonstrate their care for these women. By contrast, the letters of male authors tended to speak more concretely of events, financial transactions, and business matters, and were more emotionally indirect, even to the point of articulating the feelings of women around them rather than whatever they might have felt themselves. Yet, in their different ways, all these letters were emotive, in the sense that their choice of words, tone, and topics of discussion aimed to evoke particular feelings in the recipient that would achieve their objectives.

The experience of exclusion

The practical and emotional weight of not participating in Catholic faith culture was palpable in many ways in the letters. Two mentioned the presence of Spanish soldiers in Tournai, who had been billeted in homes. The brother of Jehan de Denain described how 'we are tormented by Spanish soldiers' who had to be provided with linen and candles and the right to sit at the master's fire in lodgings.[53] Marie de le Ruelle, the mother of little Jehan who accompanied Henri Fléel, indicated that, in Lille, she had been obliged to take in four Spaniards despite the confiscation of her goods.[54] Gillis vanden Keere noted the rising cost of living and the expenses of timber, butter, and meat.[55] The downturn in the textile trades was sketched by a number of authors who were not able to fulfil obligations to recipients. In these letters, wives, brothers, or business colleagues often justified their inability to assist in a requested transaction by their lack of funds or capacity to do so.

A number of authors mentioned loss of goods and properties and the hardships they had endured. Elizabet Lot told her husband: 'we do not know how to receive anything, we suffer so much and others as well. So much so that we cannot help each other, and we are not the only ones in danger'.[56] The departure of those who had been targeted could end in the confiscation of their goods. Magrite explained to her husband that she did not want to sell anything, 'for if I sell, the King would want to take it'.[57] Philippe Caulier signalled the persecution of Calvinists obliquely to his friend Jacques De Le Haie: 'to write to you again of the ravishments, the pillaging, and the danger would take a long time'.[58] Marinne mentioned the execution of a co-religionist in the briefest of terms to her husband: 'As for Lambert, he died by the sword'.[59] Others, though, prayed for better times. The father of Arnoult wrote to his son of his hopes that 'with time the princes will find agreement together so that people can live in peace. We pray to God that he puts them in agreement'.[60] Gillis vanden Keere judged the repression was lessening except for 'one here and there' caught 'listening to sermons and being from a consistory'.[61] The father of Thomas le Oustfriet told him to 'take courage, it will all change for the better, if it pleases God'.[62] Generally, letter-writers used their opportunity to communicate positive messages of hope and, in the meantime, acceptance of God's will.

While some authors instructed their recipients to stay put, many others expressed their desire for loved ones to come home and judged the situation to be improving. Jacque Desrumaulx, for example, visualized the day of his brother's return: 'We would be most joyous, if you returned … for the country is at peace at the moment, if you wanted to return to visit or stay, you would be very welcome'.[63] The wife of Martin Plennart begged him:

> not be melancholy for, at present, nothing is said in Valenciennes… it is true that they confiscated the goods of some who were banished but there

is no word about it at the moment. My desire is that you be near your wife and your children, for you would be as safe as the others who are coming back every day now.[64]

A father recommended to his son Pierre that he should 'return here, there is nothing to fear for things are not in such upheaval as you have heard … you would be in as much safety here as where you are at present'. He even gave advice how to do so via Calais, on a Saturday, by boat with others returning from the market.[65] Isabeau Parent told her husband that she was 'most annoyed that he had been so long from the country, there are others that you know well, who are like us, and who are not so far apart'.[66] Clearly, many imagined, or hoped at least, that the escape or migration of their loved ones was temporary and that they would one day be able to practise their faith where they lived. Few authors wrote of what they imagined those in exile were experiencing. They largely articulated their own feelings and assumed that their desire for reunion and return to homelands was shared.

Conclusions

Exclusion operated in spiritual and spatial terms for writers and their recipients respectively. Excluded from practice of their faith where they lived, individuals took to letters to lessen their geographical, faith, and emotional distance from others who were excluded from their homelands, families, and friends. This analysis suggests the intense pressure on these documents to do emotion work, transcend distance, and sustain community in the absence of alternative forms of contact among many of the authors and their recipients. As objects and as texts, these letters created strong sentiments. They materialized the powerful feelings of their authors, who put their lives at risk in composing and signing their missives. Letters attested to, and indeed made, community for these individuals, not only as letter-writers and recipients but also as scribes, deliverers, and others who put themselves in danger to carry the letters. It seems probable that Fléel died for his part in their transmission. Furthermore, the marginality of this community both at home and abroad intensified emotional relations among its members. The selves that these documents could articulate emerged through explicit and gender-specific emotional expression to describe distressing experiences of individuals in dire need—authors who had been left behind in homelands and who placed high expectations on refugees and migrants to support them practically and emotionally.

Notes

1 'deux hérétiques obstinez', Order to the Secretary of the Council, Brussels, [after 16 April 1570], Conseil d'État et Audience, 1177[18], Archives générales du royaume à Bruxelles (hereafter AGR). Reproduced in A.L.E. Verheyden, "Une correspondance inédite adressée par des familles protestantes des Pays-Bas à leurs coreligionaires

d'Angleterre (11 novembre 1569–25 février 1570)," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire* 120 (1955): 231. All dates have been adjusted to new style.

2 Key literature includes Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603–1642* (Leiden: Brill, 1989); Marcel F. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich During the Reign of Elizabeth I (1561–1603)* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, 1995); Randolph Vigne and Graham C. Gibbs, eds, *The Strangers' Progress: Integration and Disintegration of the Huguenot and Walloon Refugee Community, 1567–1889: Essays in Memory of Irene Scouloudi* (London: Huguenot Society, 1995); Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996); Andrew Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and Their Church in Southampton, 1567–c.1620* (London: Huguenot Society, 1997); Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (1995; repr., Brighton: Sussex Academic Press repr., 2001); Nigel Goose and Liên Luu, eds, *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

3 Susan Broomhall, "Authority in the French Church in Later Sixteenth-Century London," in *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), 131–49; Broomhall, "From France to England: Huguenot Charity in London," in *Experiences of Charity, 1250–1650: Revisiting Religious Motivations in the Charitable Endeavour*, ed. Anne M. Scott (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 191–212.

4 Karen Barad, "Posthuman Performativity: Towards an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter," *Signs* 28, no.3 (2003): 801–31; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Daniel Miller, ed., *Materiality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Diana Coole and Samantha Frost, eds, *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

5 I am drawing from insights developed by Judith Butler concerning the construction of gendered selves through the ongoing practice of acts legitimate to that culture, as "performativity". Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999).

6 'dont que peti Nicolas ele receu et la renvoiier a sa femme et quant elle leu bien cin semaine elle le brula', 2 February 1570, Conseil des Troubles (hereafter CdT), 96: doc. 8r, AGR.

7 'Soit donne à Martin du Val jonne filz demourant a Londres a la maison du filz Terroeuve', Valenciennes, 1 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 36v, AGR.

8 'Soit donne a jacque gelle pour adrecer a mary orman demoran en la ville de Londre', 2 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 77v, AGR.

9 'A mon oncle pierre gruelz demourant ou quil soit', 2 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 4r, AGR.

10 'Je suis a Jan', 10 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 89v, AGR.

11 "Interrogations, Saint-Omer, 28 February to 9 March 1570," CdT, 91: docs. 139–44v, AGR, quoted in Verheyden, "Correspondance," 226.

12 'il ne scoit ce que c'est d'ung calviniste, ny de mesme d'ung papiste', "Interrogations, Saint-Omer," quoted in Verheyden, "Correspondance," 225–26.

13 Lille, 8 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 58r–59r, AGR.

14 Twenty-five of seventy-nine letter-writers (one jointly by a man and woman); twelve of seventy-nine recipients (two jointly directed to men and women).

15 6 January 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 38r, AGR.

16 20 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 88r, AGR.

17 'Item, deux aulnes demye de toille bleuwe. Item, quattre chemises d'ung petit garson. Item, deux chemises de quelque fillette. Item, trois chemises d'homme. Ung Bonnet. Deux pains d'espiches. Deux frommaiges. Des esceulles de confiture. Deux aulnes de toille blanche'. "Interrogations, Saint-Omer," quoted in Verheyden, "Correspondance," 223.

18 'Sachies que ma seur Jacquelinne se recommande de bon coeur a piere le gay', CdT, 96: doc. 31r, AGR.

19 'Ende weet noch dat ic daneels wijf ghesproken hebbe en zy doen u zeer groeten en daneel was naer yper en kalleken haer zuster was noch al fraey en frans ooc', CdT, 96: doc. 22v, AGR.

20 'iay ouir dire a Jan haudoux que Jaquet Rousel luy avoit dict', 20 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 88r, AGR.

21 'Louange a Dieu', Hennette to her husband Antoine Renier, n.d., CdT, 96: doc. 41r, AGR; 'Salut par Jésus-Christ', the daughter of Willame le Roy, 20 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 88r, AGR.

22 'psalm 46: God es mynen toevlucht an den tyt des druckx', 25 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 17r, AGR.

23 Victor Kirstelot to De Conick, 5 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 28r, AGR; Gillis vanden Keere to his brother-in-law Jan de Keyzere, 14 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 30r, AGR.

24 'al ons bemynde broeders en susters so biddet voor ons alle te saemen dat my moeghen commen alle te saemen met Cristus in syn gloerie al daer wy verhopen te commen met Gods graessye hier', 'de alle broeders die in de heere syn', CdT, 96: doc. 28v, AGR.

25 'Saisies comment que le seigneur dieu a appelle votre mere et la retiré hors de chey vale de misere et partan il ne fault point prendre dennuy de che quil play au seigneur car comme nous disons tous les jours que sa volonte soit faicte et partans puis que che est sa volonte il ne nous en doibt desplaire elle est bien heuruge car nous navons que paine en seste valee de misere et partans tant que le seigneur dieu nous aura tous aupres de soit et nous aura tire hors de val de misere nous ne povont estre a repos', Armentières, 10 February 1570, CdT, 96: docs. 53r–v, AGR.

26 Costas Gaganakis, "Stairway to Heaven: Calvinist Grief and Redemption in the French Wars of Religion," *Historein* 8 (2008): 102–7.

27 Valenciennes, 3 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 33r, AGR.

28 'aux vrais crestien en che monde', CdT, 96: doc. 31r, AGR.

29 'et loenge a dieu jusques nous a donne nourriture et maulgre nos ennemis nous a faict reposer au parcs herbeux et conduict du long des eaux coies par quy nous avons esperance que en la fin de nos jours que aurons joisance du salut quy nous est acquis par Jesuchrist', 16 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 39r, AGR.

30 Twenty-four of seventy-nine letters. 'gheschreven met zeere grooten haesten', Frans Baeke to Willem and Pieter van der Schoore and Frans de Berre, 18 February 1570; 'a cause que le messaiger estoit haste', Justinne Ploiart to her brother Guillame le Myeulx, Tournai, 3 February 1570, CdT, 96: fols. 22v and 44v, AGR.

31 'je pleure mainte fois la sepmaine', 'maintenant je nay personne et il me semble tousjours que je ne vous voiray james plus ny mes deux fille ne vos enfans', 3 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 42r, AGR.

32 'je y vouldroye bien estre car je vous promet que le cops est ychy mes mon coeur est aupres de vous bien souvent', Lannoy, 3 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 64r, AGR.

33 'touchant vre pere et vre mere ils vous prient tresaffectueusement que vous leur renvoiez de voz nouvelle le plus briefvement quil vous sera possible car daultant quil nont nulle nouvelle de vous Ilz leur semble avoir que vous este mort parquoy tout leur desir est que doner de voz nouvelle pour scavoir de vre estat et comment il vous est en cela faisant vous leur donnerez joie et liesse', CdT, 96: doc. 36r, AGR.

34 'puis quy a pleu a dieu que nous soions eslongie deu leun lautre il neu nous fait pouin prouque oublier leun lautre de ceur … il nes jour quen mon ceur ne pleure je prie dieu quy vous veille toujour donne bonne pascience', CdT, 96: doc. 53r, AGR.

35 This is a pattern that can also be observed in the correspondence of other communities in exile. See Broomhall, "Tears on Silk: Cross-Cultural Emotional Performances Among Japanese-Born Christians in Seventeenth-Century Batavia," *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies* 1, no.1 (2016): 18–42.

36 'depuis leur et le iours que vous et en vois, son oeil na poinct este secq et tousiours pleure prian Dieu quy vouus veille retourner envers luy et nous tous', 1 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 6r, AGR.

37 'vostre fille annette et marie demandent tousiours quant leur pere viendra vostre fille marie dict que vous ne scavez venir et que vous avez mal a voz pieds', 1 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 37r, AGR.

38 'Je suis forte esbahie comment vous naves point aussy tot recry une lettres que de necrire sus la lettres de Jan Desmadry', CdT, 96: doc. 41r, AGR.

39 'Et ie menmerveil bien coment ie not nulle nouvelle de luy il en ia pluseur quy rescript bien il me semble sil avoit volunte de rescrire il trouveroit bien pour renvoyet une lestre sy luy plaisoit', n.d., CdT, 96: doc. 84r, AGR.

40 'Je suis fort esmerveillies que a passa deulx ans je nay nulles nouvelles de vous me donnant de merveille/je ne scay sy este courouche contre moy ou non que vous ne mescrives point Sil vous a convenu departier arriere de moy ce ne a este par moy et en suis bien mary Je suis de nuict en grande paine que nay nulles nouvelles de vous combien que je vous ay rescript par plusieurs fois', Valenciennes, 3 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 35r, AGR.

41 'ceste present servira pour vous avertir que je suis bien emervielies comment je nay nulle nouvelle de vous car je vous ay envoies plusieur lestre de puis quatre mois et je nay eu nulle reponse de vous dont je ne pensoie point que fusies si ingra de ne point recrir dont je vous prie que faict tout devoir de menvoyer largent que me deves a cauge de marchandige que je vous ay vendu et livre a mon frere et a vous', 4 January 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 90r, AGR.

42 'pour vous advertir comment que marinne ne a plus nulles revenuees cest pourtant que le roy a entendu que les femmes assistoyent leurs hommes/par le moyen de quoy/il a pleut a sa M^e de tout confisquier les biens/en gnael', 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 8r, AGR.

43 'que je puis estre a mes quatre enfant bon pere et bonne mere', CdT, 96: doc. 84r, AGR.

44 'nous somme a cest heur 7 pouvre enfant sa mere', 'Et est ma seur katelin sans mere', CdT, 96: doc. 3r,v, AGR.

45 'Mon mary je voudroy bien que vous fuschie resider en une ville pour y aller aussi avec vous jay du mal bauco de gainier ma vie je nay point dasitens de person', n.d., CdT, 96: doc. 61r, AGR.

46 'mais largen que mavye adrese je ne laray point … Jen ay gran disette et pour le presen je nay point … a gaigne', 'je ne saroye cy nullement gaigne mes depen et vous pry que me le mande le plus brief que poves', 27 January 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 26r, AGR.

47 'et sy nay Je jamais recus de vous nulle response ce samble a voir unne moquerie car nicaise vous poves bien penser que Je nay point les mille escus … vous estes Cause que ma fille a refuses plusieurs bon mariage car se il y fut venus quelque bon mary voire ung princh il neut point estes possible de le marier car la guisse est telle que on ne demande point les fille pour leur savoir mais pour leur argent', 30 January 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 43r, AGR.

48 See Broomhall, "From France to England."

49 'Je vous prie de tenire la main a vre filz Jehan de luy faire aprendre le latin a bien escripre le chifre et puis apres de le maitre pour aprendre les langaige car il est en poin/fait quy ne pert poin son tamp', 2 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 32r, AGR.

50 'gaingnies a grant labeur ne soit inutillement dissipe', 9 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 66r, AGR.

51 Philip Grace, *Affectionate Authorities: Fathers and Fatherly Roles in Late Medieval Basel* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 9 and 44.

52 See Broomhall, "Authority in the French Church."

53 'nous somme fort tourmentez de souldat espanol', CdT, 96: doc. 33r, AGR.

54 CdT, 96: docs. 58r–59r, AGR.

55 CdT, 96: doc. 30v, AGR.

56 'nous ne savon rien recevoir partant nous soufron beaucop de malle et des oultre ausy par-quoy nous ne pouvon aider leun lautre partant nous ne somme point seulle en dangere', Lot to her husband Tomas le Clercque, 2 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 57r, AGR.

57 'car se je vend le Roy le voroit prendre', CdT, 96: doc. 89r, AGR.

58 'de vous rescripre des ravissement de leurs pilleries et dangier de nos persones seroit long a escripre', CdT, 96: doc. 39r, AGR.

59 'Touchant de Lambert il est mort par lespee', CdT, 96: doc. 38r, AGR.

60 'je espere avecq le tamp que les prinches se trouveront dacort ensamble par ou le peuple pora ettre en paix nous prion tous a dieu quy le maiche dacort', CdT, 96: doc. 32r, AGR.

61 't verbodt hebben hooren preken en die van de consistoorie waeren dootmen noch hier en daer eene', CdT, 96: doc. 30v, AGR.

62 'prendes corages le tout changeras ung bien si plet a Dieu', 15 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 9r, AGR.

63 'nous serieme fors joieus ce vous revenies; …tant pour le pais on il est en paist pour leure ce vous vole revenir pour juer ou pour demore vous cere le bien venus', 11 November 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 70r, AGR.

64 'ne veillez point prendre merancolie car pour le present on ne die rien en Vallench-iennes … il est bon vray que on a conffisquiez les biens daulcun de ceulx qui sont bany ou crie/mais on ne parolle/de rien pour lheure et a la mienne voulente que fusiez aupres de vostre femme et voz enffans car vous seriez le paisible aussy bien que les aultres quy reviennent journellement', CdT, 96: doc. 37r, AGR.

65 'je vous vodre bien consilies le retour suivi ne craiendes riens car le afaier ne sont de sy movemanties a faier com om vous dit', 'vous series en osi grand seurrete la ou je vous dis que la ou vous est a present', 7 February 1570, CdT, 96: doc. 11r, AGR.

66 'Je suis bien marie que vous este alle sy loing du pais il ny a des aultres que vous cognoissies bien qui sont comme nous quil ne sont point sy loing et se font bien leur chose', CdT, 96: doc. 64v, AGR.

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3

A TEARFUL DIASPORA

Preaching religious emotions in the Huguenot Refuge[*]

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Huguenot refugees were big weepers. Take the example of Jacques Pineton de Chambrun (1635–1689), a refugee minister from Orange. When royal dragoons entered his town in October 1685 he gave in to fear and converted to Catholicism, like so many Protestants who abjured their faith after Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes and sent troops into the provinces to force Huguenots to join the Church of Rome. Pineton de Chambrun soon came to regret his conversion, however, and in 1686 he fled to Geneva and returned to the Reformed Church. He eventually moved to The Hague, where he published a tear-jerking account of his unfortunate conversion and subsequent repentance, under the revealing title *Les larmes de Jacques Pineton de Chambrun*. As he explained in the preface,

> ever since my unfortunate fall my heart has dissolved because of the sighs from the midst of my bowels, & I have had no need to make Jeremiah's wish that it should please God that my two eyes change in two vivid sources of tears, because these tears already were on my cheeks day and night, running from my eyes not drop by drop, but as torrents.[1]

Such emotional episodes of confession, repentance, and spiritual rebirth were not exceptional within the Huguenot diaspora. In exile centres across Europe, refugees time and again recounted the horrors of the persecutions in France and pleaded forgiveness for their temporary lapse into Catholicism—a ritual known as *reconnaissance*. French exile churches devised clear procedures for such born-again

Huguenots, who had to beg God's forgiveness in front of the entire community and sign a confession before they were welcomed back into the Protestant fold.[2] In February 1686, for instance, Pierre Aislé, a seventy-two-year-old refugee from Sedan, repented of his conversion in the French church of Nijmegen. The consistory acts report that during a highly emotional service he was encouraged 'to acknowledge his sin with bitter tears and to beg God for pardon, which he did facing the Church, and this wonderfully edified our community'.[3] Pineton de Chambrun likewise recalled that upon arrival in Geneva he had appeared before the church elders, 'showing them the sentiments of my heart, and by my tears gave them so many marks of my repentance, that they could not help mixing theirs with mine'.[4]

As this chapter will argue, feelings of loss, abandonment, and contrition were crucial to the Huguenot exile experience. On the one hand weeping in church and recounting dramatic stories of suffering and rebirth conferred on refugees a sense of pride and election. Precisely because they had abandoned hearth and home for the sake of religion, Huguenot exiles were able to fashion themselves as devout believers and to turn their traumatic escape from France into a glorious exodus ordained by God. Yet the emotional experience of exile was far more complicated than the biblical trope of fall, flight, and repentance might suggest. The many tales of courage and rebirth that permeate the Huguenot diaspora in fact mask a deep-seated unease among the refugees, who were also grappling with feelings of abandonment and anxiety. Why, for example, had God allowed the destruction of his churches in France? If the Huguenots were God's chosen people, why did he make them suffer persecution and force them into exile? And when would they be able to return home?

To analyse these emotional pressures, this chapter explores the sermons preached by Huguenot ministers in exile. Although early modern sermons have often been regarded as a rather dry and tedious genre, helpful at best to understand the consolidation of church doctrines in the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, in recent years historians have emphasized the many political, cultural, and literary dimensions of preaching, in particular in the British Isles.[5] Research on the emotionality of the early modern sermon is still sparse, but existing studies suggest that preachers indeed used the pulpit to mould the religious feelings of their flock. Margo Todd, for example, has found that Reformed ministers in Scotland regularly mixed straightforward exegesis with an evocative preaching style, instilling the fear of divine wrath in the hearts of believers, just as Arnold Hunt has shown that Puritan ministers did not shy away from stirring up the emotions to obtain a sincere repentance.[6] Susan Karant-Nunn has demonstrated that in post-Reformation Germany, Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist preachers relied on sermons to shape the feelings of their audiences—what she calls 'emotional scripts'.[7] Contributors to a special issue of *English Studies*, 'Rhetoric, Emotion and the Early Modern English Sermon', likewise stressed that early modern sermons were not simply a learned form of biblical exegesis, but also served to change the hearts and minds of believers, and to provoke an emotional response from audiences.[8]

This chapter adopts a similar approach, analysing the sermons preached by exiled Huguenot ministers to uncover the emotional experience of exile. It argues that sermons were a powerful medium to counter the worries of Huguenot refugees, to channel their emotions, and to offer a message of hope and comfort. Rather than statements of doctrine, sermons facilitated an emotional dialogue between a preacher and his audience. As such, they were crucial for the construction of what Barbara Rosenwein has called 'emotional communities': groups of people who value and devalue the same emotional norms.[9] Rosenwein's concept is particularly useful for understanding religious emotions and the emergence of diasporic identities in the early modern period. Through their sermons, Huguenot ministers were able to address the many anxieties of the refugees and bind them together as a suffering yet strong-minded community, while in printed form they also reached refugees in other exile centres, as well as Protestants who had stayed behind in France. Preaching thus allowed ministers to re-constitute the dispersed Huguenots as an emotional community across borders.

Because it falls outside the scope of a single chapter to offer a comprehensive overview of Huguenot exile sermons, this essay will focus on the Dutch Republic, one of the major destinations for Huguenot refugees and ministers and by far the most important centre for the production of printed exile sermons. The chapter has been divided into four parts. The first section explores the Calvinist tradition of religious emotions and analyses how Huguenot ministers in the post-Reformation period relied on emotional arguments to comfort the refugees. The second part focuses on the recurrent theme of penitential tears as an emotional strategy to touch the hearts and minds of those Protestants who had not gone into exile, but had converted to Catholicism and remained in France. The two last sections will address ministers' emotional preaching styles and audience responses, asking to what extent refugee ministers succeeded in forging an emotional community among the dispersed Huguenots.

The emotions of the exiles

Calvinism has often been viewed as a stern faith averse to emotions, but in truth it was deeply marked by the medieval tradition of moving audiences to repentance through vivid preaching. From the fifteenth century onwards, preachers had begun to heighten the emotional tone and style of their sermons: they increasingly focused on the suffering of Christ in all its gory details, hoping that audiences would identify with his agony, understand that he had willingly endured these pains to atone for mankind's sins, and as a result be moved to repentance. The Tridentine reforms of the sixteenth century only intensified the emotionality of Catholic sermons, as new monastic orders and reform-minded prelates such as the Milanese archbishop Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584) stressed the importance of preaching to inspire piety and penance. What was initially an Easter time phenomenon—emotional sermons to exhort audiences to an *imitatio Christi*—thus became a continuous feature of Catholic preaching.[10]

Although Protestant reformers differed in their appreciation of religious feel-ings, it is important to note that they continued to rely on emotional strategies in their sermons. Luther and Calvin only sought to dampen the outward dem-onstration of religious fervour, as they argued that reliving Christ's suffering and doing penance could not in itself merit God's forgiveness, which was a gift freely conferred upon Christians. Luther believed that by focussing on the agony of Christ, believers missed a crucial point: God's compassion in offering up his only son to atone for the sins of man. Yet Lutheran preachers never eliminated the emotions from their sermons; rather than preach on the agonies of Christ, they stressed God's love, mercy, and comfort.[11]

Calvin also condemned the emotionality of the old Church: instead of making a show of their emotions, he argued that believers should quietly con-template their sins. Calvin nonetheless acknowledged the power of religious feelings, as he stressed that Protestants are stirred by the Holy Spirit, who moves them to accept God's word, and to recognize their mistakes.[12] Preaching on the story of the apostle Peter, who had wept bitterly after renouncing Christ, Calvin noted that Peter was overwrought with grief, which should inspire believers to follow his example. Still, the apostle only cried when he was alone: 'He clearly shows that he's touched by his mistake, because he doesn't seek witnesses among men to make a show of his repentance, but weeps alone before God'. Here was a powerful lesson for Protestants, according to Calvin: 'If we cry only before men, we show our hypocrisy; but if someone privately engages in prayer, & examines his mistakes & sins, if he's thus touched by anguish, that's a sign that he's not feigning'.[13] Far from eliminating religious sentiments, then, Calvin believed they played a key role in moving believers to acknowledge their sins and convert themselves to a more pious life.

To understand how Huguenot refugee ministers applied Calvin's teachings in their day-to-day preaching, we have a large corpus of exile sermons at our dis-posal. The vast majority were printed in the Dutch Republic: between 1685 and 1700, over fifty titles and as many as 300 individual sermons appeared on the market, most printed as collections. This output was largely the result of the massive influx of Huguenot ministers to the United Provinces in the wake of the Revocation: out of the 680 ministers who left France, at least 405 went to the Dutch Republic. They were drawn in particular by the prospect of continu-ing their clerical career in one of the many French-speaking communities, known as Walloon churches, which had been established by Protestant refugees from the Southern Netherlands in the late sixteenth century. Freed from the constraints of Catholic censorship in France, they proved remarkably prolific in publishing their sermons.[14]

Like any early modern sermon, the main objective of the Huguenot exile sermon was to confirm refugees in their faith and to explain to them the myster-ies of the Christian religion. Yet for refugee ministers the point of preaching on Calvinist doctrine was not simply to instruct believers. Once in exile, sermons gained additional meaning, as ministers sought to address the worries of the

Huguenots, and to offer them a message of consolation and hope. For this, the-
ology provided a useful starting point: ministers found that they could use Cal-
vin's teachings to explain why the Revocation had happened and to reassure the
refugees that as God's chosen people they would eventually be able to return to
France. Emotional strategies thus became a key feature of Huguenot preaching
in exile.

The most appropriate doctrine on which ministers relied to comfort the refu-
gees was that of providence, which taught Huguenots that God's hand was
behind every event on earth. As Calvin had explained in his *Institutes of the
Christian Religion,* philosophers may argue that sheer chance is responsible for
unfolding events, but true believers know that it is God who 'sustains, nourishes,
and cares for everything he has made'.[15] Refugee ministers argued that because
events on earth were the result of divine interference, it stood to reason that the
Revocation was also a product of God's omnipotence: he had unleashed the
Revocation to punish the Huguenots for their sins. In their sermons, ministers
indeed often lamented the state of their communities before 1685, condemning
the vices that had corrupted them. It was only fair that God had punished the
Huguenots by destroying their churches, they argued—the Revocation was
nothing less than a wake-up call to better their lives. In 1686, the consistory of
the Walloon church in Delft even ordered its ministers to preach on God's
anger and the necessity to repent, noting that 'all pious and Christian duties shall
be employed to calm God's ire, which is so strongly inflamed against His
Church'. Each minister was told to exhort the audience to humiliation, and 'to
write his sermon particularly to this end'.[16]

We know that refugee ministers elsewhere in the Dutch Republic also
preached on the sins of their communities to explain the persecutions. In
a sermon held in 1685 in the Walloon church of The Hague, Jean Claude
(1619–1687), the famous Huguenot minister from Paris, asked the question that
was on everyone's mind:

> How come, then, that it seems as if He [God] has let out over all of us
> the fire of his indignation, without sparing his sanctuaries, nor his assem-
> blies, nor the shepherds, nor his flocks, nor the ministry of his Gospel, nor
> even the profession of his truth?[17]

The answer was simple enough: afflictions on earth were the result of God's
providence. Claude told the refugees to look beyond Catholic persecution,
which, he argued, was merely a 'secondary cause' of the Lord's providence, an
'impure channel' through which he sent his afflictions; the true root of all adver-
sity was their own misconduct.[18]

Yet ministers were well aware that explaining the Revocation as a divine
punishment was not much of a consolation to the refugees. Fortunately, the
doctrine of providence also held out the promise of an end to exile. When
Calvin had discussed providence in his *Institutes*, he also noted that 'in times of

adversity, believers comfort themselves with the solace that they suffer nothing except by God's ordinance and command, for they are under His hand'.[19] Although it appeared that God had abandoned them, suffering from persecution and exile thus marked the Huguenots out as God's chosen people. It is not surprising that ministers eagerly seized upon this argument to comfort the refugees: they maintained that despite the destruction of their communities in France, God had still destined a happy few to be saved. He had deliberately put them to the test by unleashing Catholic persecution, knowing that only the devout would persevere in their faith, while the fainthearted would convert to Catholicism. The refugees who had fled into exile were God's chosen people, a community of refugee-elect who could one day replant the standard of Protestantism in France. Persecution and exile, then, could be interpreted as a sign that God's ultimate aim was to sift the true believers from the fainthearted. God's anger was at the same time a sign of his boundless love.

This point was made most persuasively by Jacques Abbadie (1656–1727), a Huguenot minister from the Béarn who preached at the French church of Berlin. When in November 1685 the Elector of Brandenburg sent him on a mission to The Hague to recruit enterprising refugees for his lands, Abbadie was invited to give a series of sermons in the local Walloon church, which were then published in 1686.[20] In one of them, aptly entitled *Le feu des afflictions*, Abbadie argued that suffering served a clear purpose. In times of adversity, believers are forced to show their true colours, either as sincere Christians, or as hypocrites who cannot bear to sacrifice the comforts of their earthly life to follow Christ. As Abbadie put it, 'afflictions are a test, and this test produces patience, and patience creates hope'.[21] He clearly interpreted the tribulations of the refugees as a sign that they were still God's chosen people.

> If the faithful suffer persecution, & if they are exposed to all the furies of this world & its rulers, we should not be surprised, because Jesus Christ teaches us that all those who wish to live a pious life, will suffer persecution.[22]

Suffering, in other words, was part and parcel of the refugees' *condition humaine*, marking them out as a faithful community that enjoyed God's benevolence. It also proved a comforting thought because it kept alive hopes for the future restoration of the Reformed Church in France. Refugee ministers reasoned that because the refugees were God's chosen people preserved in exile, he surely meant for them to return home and restore the Protestant communities in France. Jean Claude, for example, referring to the many refugees among his audience, rejoiced that the Lord 'had still left some grapes, as seeds, and elected residue of his grace'.[23] Abel Rotolp de la Devèze (d. 1709), a minister from Castres who had fled to The Hague, used a similar metaphor. In a sermon preached in May 1687, he presented the refugees with the troubling image of a rotten tree cut down by the Lord and thrown into the fire—yet he consoled

them by explaining that 'God will by His grace secretly preserve some roots from the remains of this tree, which He will bless, & which will one day sprout from the bosom of the earth'.[24] Jacques Abbadie would repeat this argument after he had moved from Berlin to London and began preaching at the French church of the Savoy in 1692.[25] He told the refugees not to lose courage at the duration of their exile and the slim chances of seeing the Reformed Church in France restored. The destruction of their churches was only physical, he argued, not spiritual, because in exile the refugees kept alive the true faith:

> The Church is a spiritual edifice, built by the mercy of God, an indestructible building, even when exposed to the blows of a heavy storm. The winds of God that rattle the vanities of humankind may remove its external ornaments & ravage the outside, but they cannot destroy the foundation that is Jesus Christ, nor pierce the living stones that compose it, which are our hearts.[26]

Penitential tears and shame

Huguenot ministers not only sought to comfort the Huguenots in exile. Once their sermons had made it into print they could reach refugees across the diaspora, and even connect with those Protestants who had stayed in France—scathingly called *nouveaux convertis* (new converts) by the French authorities—and who were forced to practice their faith in secret. The emotional community of dispersed Huguenots that refugee ministers sought to recreate through their sermons thus stretched beyond the boundaries of local exile churches and the states that welcomed them. Indeed, Barbara Rosenwein has argued that emotional communities are significantly strengthened and expanded through the circulation of emotional norms in manuscript and print, allowing people across great distances to become part of the same imagined community.[27] The Huguenot diaspora was precisely that: a dispersed group whose members sought to maintain the bonds of faith and community after persecution had scattered them across the continent.

Scholars of the Huguenot diaspora have long recognized that refugee ministers used Dutch presses to reach out to their former brethren, but they have only situated this point of contact in the many pastoral letters that ministers wrote to convince Protestants in France to go into exile. It is striking, however, that the Huguenot sermons published in the Dutch Republic carried precisely the same message as these pastoral letters. Both types of spiritual literature firmly denounced the practice of Nicodemism—the hiding of one's faith behind a façade of conformity—and called upon Huguenots to go into exile.[28] We know that printed exile sermons circulated widely in France, as royal authorities regularly arrested *nouveaux convertis* in possession of sermons that had been smuggled into the kingdom.[29] The prefaces to sermon collections printed in the Dutch

Republic also reveal the wish of refugee ministers to connect with Protestants in the homeland. For example, when in 1690 Abel Rotolp de la Devèze had twelve of his sermons printed in Utrecht, he explained that his aim was to 'contribute to the consolation of those who are dispersed in places where they rarely hear French preachers, and even more to the salvation of so many Faithful who are absolutely deprived of this happiness in their Fatherland'.[30]

The ministers' call to repentance took on an entirely different meaning within a French context: they hoped to shame the *nouveaux convertis* into exile, telling them to ask God's forgiveness for betraying their faith. The printed sermons of Jean Guillebert (d.1691), a Normandy refugee minister in the Walloon church of Haarlem, are a case in point.[31] Guillebert explicitly directed his sermons to 'our brothers who have been forced to abandon the profession of the Gospel' and condemned their abjuration in the face of persecution. Guillebert nonetheless assured them that God would prove merciful, provided they would repent and go into exile. In a sermon ominously entitled *Le malheur des apostats*, he reminded the *nouveaux convertis* that they had once been zealous Christians—and that now the time had come to repent and reconnect with their Protestant self. 'Humiliate yourselves profoundly in the presence of the Lord, whom you have so deeply offended; moan and weep incessantly when you remember your weakness', he wrote.[32]

As the example of Guillebert's preaching demonstrates, refugee ministers associated repentance with profound religious emotions. Although feeling shame about one's sins and a change of heart were key to a genuine repentance, it also required weeping. Jacques Bernard (1658–1718), a refugee minister from Dauphiné who preached in the Walloon church of Leiden, neatly summarized these notions in his *Traité de la repentance tardive* (1712). Having defined repentance as 'a complete return of a sinful man to his God, resulting from love, duty, hope, & fear', he then cited noteworthy sinners from the Bible who had marked their remorse with tears, such as the apostle Peter and King David.[33] Yet Bernard warned that crying was not a substitute for inner contemplation. Like Calvin, he argued that repentance began with an inner change of heart, and disapproved of gratuitous weeping: 'People think that repentance is simply a displeasure to have offended God, accompanied with some sighs, tears, and promises to their minister, without any real change taking place in their heart, nor in their feelings'.[34] Weeping was merely an accompaniment to repentance, an outward demonstration of one's profound religious turmoil and shame.

The story ministers cited time and again to explain the necessity of repentance and the proper emotional norms that went with it was that of the apostle Peter, who had thrice renounced Christ in the house of the Jewish high priest Caiaphas. When the cock crowed as foretold by Jesus, however, Peter had realized his mistake and left the house weeping bitterly (see Figure 3.1). As we have seen, Calvin already discussed this story to explain the need for an inner reformation, but the theme regularly cropped up again in seventeenth-century sermons. In 1658 for instance, the prominent Huguenot minister Pierre Du Bosc (1623–1692) devoted

an entire sermon to Peter's tears, telling his audience to weep over their sins and repent just as the apostle had done. In a brief aside, he also encouraged a handful of Protestants who had gone over to the Church of Rome to reconsider their conversion, an argument that foreshadowed a comparison frequently made by Huguenot ministers in the post-Revocation period.[35]

The story of Peter was indeed easily adapted after 1685, when refugee ministers argued that the apostle's fall and subsequent repentance were sure signs that God would have mercy on the *nouveaux convertis*, if only they would see the error of their abjuration and leave France. In a sermon published in 1693, Samuel de Brais

Pierre étant sorti dehors pleura amerement.

FIGURE 3.1   *The apostle Peter weeps bitterly after denouncing Christ*, engraving, in Jacques Bernard, *Traité de la repentance tardive* (Rudolf & Gerard Wetstein: Amsterdam, 1712), frontispiece. Leiden University Library, BIBWAL K 49.

(1642–1725), a refugee minister from Normandy, explicitly urged lapsed Protest-
ants to follow in Peter's footsteps by making sincere amends for their abjuration
and leaving France. 'Peter's departure from the court of Caiaphas shows us that it
is not sufficient for us to genuinely repent, to recognize the sins & the errors that
we had the misfortune to get involved in', he preached. The apostle's departure
demonstrated 'that we must promptly leave to follow the rules of a godlier &
more Christian life'.[36] Jean Guillebert preached a similar message of urgency and
optimism. Although in his sermons he harshly condemned the widespread apostasy
in France, he still nourished hopes that the *nouveaux convertis* would follow Peter's
example and go into exile. Guillebert reminded them that when Peter had 'made
amends for his mistake with all those bitter tears that he shed so abundantly, the
Lord, touched by compassion, showed him new marks of His tenderness, &
solemnly re-established him in his office of Apostle'.[37] French Protestants
could thus still count on God's grace, provided they were overtaken by
remorse, wept bitterly, and fled into exile.

Emotional preaching styles

Reading exile sermons for their emotional messages offers useful evidence of
how Huguenot ministers hoped to convince Protestants that exile was worth-
while, but it tells us very little about their level of success. This section and the
next therefore move beyond the message from the pulpit to consider the emo-
tional styles of preaching and the responses of Huguenot audiences, both in
exile and in France. Peter and Carol Stearns have termed this approach 'emotio-
nology': the study of the standards a community maintains towards emotions
and their appropriate expression.[38] Exploring how refugee ministers communi-
cated religious emotions is indeed a useful approach for understanding the
impact of preaching, since ministers were well aware that to get their message
across they had to forge an emotional bond with their audience, not in the least
because the refugees were questioning the wisdom of going into exile. Address-
ing such anxieties required not only a sound knowledge of theology, but also
emotional skills.

   Huguenot ministers disagreed, however, on what should be the proper emo-
tional style for a sermon. Schooled in the ancient oratorical tradition, they had
learnt to appeal not only to the mind, but also to the feelings of their audience.
Aristotle for instance believed that cultivating the emotions could reinforce vir-
tuous behaviour, while Cicero and Quintilian advised orators to combine reason
and emotion in their speeches.[39] The homiletical handbooks that appeared in
France during the seventeenth century also stressed the importance of emotional
strategies. The most influential of these treatises was written by Michel le Fau-
cheur (1585–1657), a Huguenot minister from Paris. In his *Traité de l'action de
l'orateur* he complained that many preachers stood in their pulpit like pillars of
salt, reciting their sermons in monotonous voices that inevitably lulled their
flock to sleep. Although Le Faucheur conceded that invention, arrangement,

and eloquence were crucial to composing a sermon, he warned his readers that 'when it comes to pronouncing it in public, & to effectively touch the minds of all those who listen, they will remain like dead & without effect if the fourth element [delivery] doesn't invigorate them'.[40] Le Faucheur thus devoted most of his treatise to practical suggestions on how to vary one's voice and body language.

Yet Huguenot ministers did not necessarily take his advice to heart. Their objections were neatly summed up by Jean Claude, who rejected what he called 'enthusiastic' preaching. In his posthumously published *Traité de la composition d'un sermon* (1688), he instead advocated a plain style as the best way to deliver a sermon. Rhetorical excesses in voice and gesture would only distract listeners from God's Word, which did not need any human embellishment.[41] Claude's reservations were echoed by Jacques Colas de la Treille (c.1665–1724), who served as a Huguenot chaplain during the Nine Years' War. He tartly observed that highly emotional sermons may 'bring tears to the eyes of listeners, but they won't be able to explain to themselves why they are crying'.[42] Making an impression on believers was one thing, trying to actually have them understand God's word quite another. Jacques Bernard shared these concerns. Before he was called to the Walloon church of Leiden in 1705, he had scraped together a living as a journalist and tutor in mathematics, philosophy, and homiletics.[43] As is clear from the surviving lecture notes made by one of his students, Bernard strongly condemned 'false eloquence that always seeks to touch [*émouvoir*], and turn everything into oratory'. Genuine eloquence, he argued, 'consists of choosing beautiful & useful topics, & treating them in a manner that may inculcate in the hearts of listeners the things they're being told'.[44]

This preference for plain preaching had much to do with Calvinist theology, which held that sermons were merely a conduit for the Gospel and could not in themselves convert sinners to repent. It was only through the workings of the Holy Spirit, who opens up the heart and mind, and because of people's own desire to hear God's Word, that sinners are able to receive his grace. Emotional discourse or expressive gestures, in other words, merely touched believers superficially—for a genuine change of heart they were completely useless. Pierre Du Bosc aptly compared preaching to Christ knocking on the door: ministers may announce the Gospel, but only if people allow him to enter can the message from the pulpit become effective.[45] In his *Traité de la repentance tardive*, Jacques Bernard offered up a similar analogy. Sermons, he argued, are like rays of sunshine trying to penetrate a closed chamber: only when the Holy Spirit opens the shutters can the Gospel illuminate the soul.[46]

Emotional preaching also reminded refugee ministers of the missionary priests in France, who had toured the provinces in an attempt to convert Protestants to Catholicism. In the wake of the Council of Trent, new missionary orders had been established to regain territory and souls lost to the Church of Rome,

including those in France. In the Poitou, for instance, a region densely populated by Protestants, Capuchin friars staged elaborate processions and outdoor masses, convinced as they were that an assault on the senses would provoke an emotional response from Huguenot audiences and win them over to Catholicism. Capuchin missionaries thus delivered their sermons as if they were theatre pieces: services were staged in a public square to accommodate a large audience, and preachers spoke with such empathy that people were reported to be weeping and confessing their sins in public.[47]

Evidence on the actual preaching styles of Huguenot refugee ministers is scarce. The best-documented case is that of Jean Claude's son Isaac (1653–1695), who preached in the Walloon church of The Hague.[48] Isaac's preaching seems to have been a mix of dry exegesis and vivid delivery. His manuscript sermons reveal that he preferred the point-by-point analysis of biblical passages, which was common for Huguenot sermons, but eyewitness accounts also testify to Isaac's capacities as an orator. According to Jean Rou (1638–1711), a refugee lawyer who had become a translator for the States-General, Isaac possessed 'a clear pronunciation, natural gestures, a pure diction, as well as grand and noble expressions'.[49] Apparently, Isaac did pay close attention to how he delivered his sermons. In a sermon held in August 1685, Isaac also reflected on the need for a persuasive preaching style. The faithful, he said, 'mostly imitate, and examples thus make a strong impression upon them. If in their eyes we appear to be exceedingly persuaded of what we announce to them, we persuade them as well'.[50]

Audience responses

The question we are left with, finally, is how effective the preaching of refugee Huguenot ministers really was. Did they succeed in alleviating the sorrows of the Huguenots, and were they able to convince them that exile was a necessary sacrifice? It is difficult to generalize for want of sources, but individual cases do help us understand how audiences responded to exile sermons. What is most striking is that the appreciation for exile sermons varied across the Huguenot community, particularly between those Protestants who had fled and those who had stayed behind in France. This is perhaps not surprising, as Barbara Rosenwein has already pointed out that emotional communities are seldom monolithic, but consist of overlapping subsets.[51]

Surviving evidence from the Dutch Republic suggests that ministers indeed touched the refugees and were able to comfort them in their woeful exile. The most astute observer of refugee preaching was Pieter Teding van Berkhout (1643–1713), a burgomaster from Delft who kept a diary for much of his adult life, in which he also charted the responses of Huguenot refugees to sermons given in the various Walloon churches of Holland.[52] He noted that ministers often emphatically applied the scriptures to the situation of the exiled Huguenots. In February 1688, for example he went to the Walloon

church of Rotterdam to hear a sermon by Antoine Le Page (1645–1701), a minister from Dieppe. The refugees were greatly moved by Le Page's sermon, because he sympathized with their difficult life in exile and tried to alleviate their sorrows. Echoing the familiar argument we have seen in other Huguenot sermons, Le Page preached that it was precisely through persecution that the Lord sifted the devout from the insincere. He also sympathized with the refugees who had abandoned their homes and property, which, Van Berkhout noted, caused the refugees 'to melt away in tears'. Yet Le Page immediately offered comfort, telling them 'that they would miss their lost and fleeting possessions but for a short time, and that their affliction could not be great, since the building of God would shortly be finished'.[53] Le Page's message that the Bible promised the refugees an end to exile and the glorious restoration of the Reformed Church in France was all his audience needed to hear and explains why emotional strategies could be extremely successful in comforting the refugees.

Protestants in France, however, responded very differently to the exile sermons that reached them in print. As we have seen, refugee sermons were packed with praise for the refugees, but they also condemned the *nouveaux convertis* for their religious weakness, which was hardly a comforting message for Protestants who had stayed behind. After all, leaving France was not a decision most people took overnight: whereas Louis XIV had allowed ministers a safe passage into exile, all other Protestants were forbidden to leave the kingdom on pain of imprisonment or serving the rest of their lives on the galleys. Many Huguenots also felt that the departure of virtually all their ministers into exile had robbed them of the clerical leadership that was crucial for the survival of their faith. As a result, self-appointed preachers without formal clerical training, known as *prédicants*, soon began to tour the French kingdom to offer improvised services. Most famous among these men was Claude Brousson (1647–1698), a lawyer from Toulouse who had fled to Holland but in 1689 returned to France to become a lay preacher in the Cévennes, where his sermons attracted huge crowds.[54] Already in 1688, he had accused the refugee ministers of cowardice, arguing that in times of crisis the duty to preach outweighed the dangers of persecution.[55] In a private letter sent to a refugee minister in The Hague in 1698, he again stressed the need to offer comfort to the *nouveaux convertis*, rather than accusations. 'God, who is infinitely wiser than us, has sent me here in this time of distress, to comfort and strengthen his children', he wrote, adding that 'never before were our poor people more in need of consolation. May God regard them with compassion and soon put an end to their misery'.[56] The emotional strategy of shaming the *nouveaux convertis* thus seems to have backfired. Rather than calls to repentance, Protestants in France needed the same comforting message as the refugees in exile: that despite their suffering, God still regarded them as his chosen people.

Conclusion

Exile sermons are a unique source to analyse the emotional pressures and coping strategies of early modern refugees, such as the Huguenots who fled France after 1685. Exiled ministers in the Dutch Republic consciously used their pulpits and pens not only to explain Calvinist doctrine; they sought above all to address the anxieties of the refugees, who had some pressing questions to ask. Why, for instance, did God punish the Huguenots rather than their enemies? Why should exile be preferable to maintaining one's faith in France? And would the Reformed churches ever be restored, allowing them to return home? Refugee ministers responded to these worries by telling the refugees that exile was part of God's master plan to save the Protestants who had been courageous enough to flee. Audience responses suggest that the most popular refugee ministers were indeed those who were not afraid to voice the questions that were on everyone's mind and who relied on vivid delivery to touch the hearts and minds of their audiences. Reading sermons for their emotional messages thus highlights the complex and unsettling experience of exile, rather than the heroic stories told by the refugees.

An analysis of Huguenot exile preaching also shows that the Protestant Reformation did not entirely do away with a conscious focus on emotions as critical to the rhetorical strategies of preaching. To be sure, Calvinists habitually accused the Church of Rome of its predilection for the outward senses and the passions. From their perspective, the Mass had become an emotional show that had little to do with sincere repentance. Yet this dichotomy between Protestant logocentrism and Catholic sensuality was less absolute in practice than it was in theory. Homiletical treatises and audience responses to Huguenot refugee sermons indicate that emotions retained their importance in Protestant services. Just like their Catholic counterparts, Huguenot ministers believed that religious emotions were crucial in moving believers to repentance. The difference was in the detail: when refugee ministers told the familiar story of Peter's betrayal and stressed the need for penitential tears, they were at pains to explain that genuine contrition began with inner contemplation and opening up of one's heart to the Holy Spirit. Yet leaving aside theological subtleties, refugee ministers quickly understood that the uncertainties of exile required an emotional response; they had to forge a bond with their audiences—both in exile and in France—in order to create an emotional community that would serve to bring together the Huguenots dispersed across Europe.

Notes

1 Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, *Les larmes de Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, Pasteur de la Maison de Son Altesse Serenissime, de l'Eglise d'Orange, & Professeur en Theologie* (The Hague, 1687), 2. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

2 David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 17–19.

3 Consistory Minutes Walloon Church Nijmegen, 21 February 1686, Archives of the Walloon Church 3, Regionaal Archief, Nijmegen.

4 Pineton de Chambrun, *Les larmes de Jacques Pineton de Chambrun*, 172.

5 A useful overview of sermon studies in the British Isles is provided in Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

6 Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 50–55; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 81–94.

7 Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

8 In particular the essays by Mary Morrissey, "Exhortation and Sympathy in the Paul's Cross Jeremiads," *English Studies* 98, no.7 (2017): 661–74, and Jennifer Clement, "The Art of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century English Sermons," *English Studies* 98, no.7 (2017): 675–88.

9 Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). For a discussion of Rosenwein's concept and its impact on the field of the history of emotions, see Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 67–74.

10 Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*, 16–60; Thomas Worcester, Jr., "The Catholic Sermon," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3–34.

11 Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*, 65–82.

12 Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*, 101–4. For an exhaustive analysis of Calvin's preaching style, see Olivier Millet, *Calvin et la dynamique du parole: Étude du rhétorique réformée* (Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 1992).

13 Jean Calvin, *Plusieurs sermons de Jehan Calvin touchant la divinité, humanité et nativité de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ* (Geneva, 1558), 130.

14 Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*, 62–69; Van der Linden, "Preaching in Print: Huguenot Sermons in the Dutch Republic, 1685–1700," *Diasporas* 18 (2011): 62–77; Hans Bots, "Les pasteurs français au Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies: Un groupe socio-professionnel tout particulier, 1680–1710," in *La Vie intellectuelle aux Refuges protestants: Actes de la Table ronde de Münster du 25 juillet 1995*, ed. Jens Häseler and Antony McKenna (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 9–10.

15 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. John T. McNeill (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 197–98.

16 Consistory Minutes Walloon Church Delft, 19 August 1686, Archives of the Walloon Church 143, fol. 50, Gemeentearchief, Delft.

17 Jean Claude, *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte, prononcez par Jean Claude, Ministre dans l'Eglise Réformée de Paris* (Geneva, 1693), 519. Claude's life and career are outlined in Abel Rotolp de la Devèze, *Abregé de la vie de Mr. Claude* (Amsterdam, 1687).

18 Claude, *Recueil de sermons*, 500–3, 518–22.

19 Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 200, 218–21.

20 On Abbadie's career, see Ruth Whelan, "Between Two Worlds: The Political Theory of Jacques Abbadie (1656–1727)," *Lias* 14, no.1 (1987): 101–17, and 14, no.2 (1987): 143–56.

21 Jacques Abbadie, *Les caracteres du Chrestien et du Christianisme* (The Hague, 1686), 147.

22 Abbadie, *Les caracteres du Chrestien*, 154.

23 Claude, *Recueil de sermons*, 521.

24 Abel Rotolp de la Devèze, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture Sainte, prononcez à La Haye* (Utrecht, 1690), 88.
25 Whelan, "Between Two Worlds," 105–7.
26 Jacques Abbadie, *L'esprit du christianisme, ou l'excellence de la charité* (London, 1694), 25.
27 Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 25.
28 For the themes discussed in pastoral letters, see Laetitia Cherdon, "La dénonciation du nicodémisme à l'époque de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantimse Français* 153, no.1 (2007): 47–65; Chrystel Bernat, "Chute et défaillance: Dénoncer l'infidélité à l'égard de la foi: Altérités intra-protestantes autour de la Révocation," in *Enoncer/dénoncer l'autre: Discours et représentations du différend confessionnel à l'époque moderne*, ed. Chrystel Bernat and Hubert Bost (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 127–46.
29 Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*, 121.
30 De la Devèze, *Sermons sur divers textes*, preface, sig. *2.
31 Jean Guillebert, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture Sainte* (Amsterdam, 1687). His career is outlined in Sophronyme Beaujour, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'église réformée de Caen* (Caen, 1877), 335–36; Luc Daireaux, *Réduire les Huguenots: Protestants et pouvoirs en Normandie au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2010), 556–62.
32 Jean Guillebert, "Le malheur des Apostats," in *Sermons sur divers textes*, 54.
33 Jacques Bernard, *Traité de la repentance tardive* (Amsterdam, 1712), 14–17.
34 Bernard, *Traité de la repentance*, 78.
35 Pierre Du Bosc, *Les larmes de Saint Pierre, ou Sermon sur ces paroles de l'Evangile selon S. Luc, ch. 22 v. 62, Alors Pierre estant sorty dehors, pleura amerement* (Geneva, 1660).
36 Samuel de Brais, *Le tableau de la repentance* (Rotterdam, 1693), 58.
37 Guillebert, *Le malheur des Apostats*, 32–33.
38 Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90, no.4 (1985): 813–36.
39 Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*, 7–8. For the training of Huguenot ministers, see Karin Maag, "The Huguenot Academies: Preparing for an Uncertain Future," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 139–56.
40 Michel le Faucheur, *Traitté de l'action de l'orateur, ou de la prononciation et du geste* (Paris, 1675), 3–4. On Le Faucheur's manual, see Cinthia Meli, "Le prédicateur et ses doubles: Actio oratoire et jeux scéniques dans le *Traité de l'action de l'orateur* de Michel de Faucheur," in *Le temps des beaux sermons*, ed. Jean-Pierre Landry (Lyon: Centre Jean Prévost, 2006), 117–38.
41 Jean Claude, "Traité de la composition d'un sermon," in *Les œuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude*, ed. Isaac Claude (Amsterdam, 1688), 1:161–492.
42 Jacques Colas de la Treille, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture Sainte* (Amsterdam, 1727), 1:xiii–xiv.
43 For Bernard's career in exile, see Marion Brétéché, *Les compagnons de Mercure: Journalisme et politique dans l'Europe de Louis XIV* (Ceyzérieux: Champ Vallon, 2015), 79–80.
44 "Remarques faites aux Leçons de Mr. Bernard sur l'art de bien prêcher," ca. 1706, BWA MB 26, fol. 209, Bibliothèque Wallonne, University Library, Leiden.
45 Pierre Du Bosc, *Sermons sur divers Textes de l'Ecriture Sainte* (Rotterdam, 1687) 226–32.
46 Bernard, *Traité de la repentance tardive*, 104–6.
47 Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early Modern France* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 85–99; Bernard Dompnier, "Le missionnaire et son public: Contribution à l'étude de la prédication populaire," in *La prédication au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Thérèse Goyet and Jean-Pierre Collinet (Paris: Nizet, 1980), 105–28. On Catholic missions in general, see Louis Châtellier, *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the*

Formation of Modern Catholicism, c.1500–c.1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

48   For Isaac's life and career, see David van der Linden, "Predikanten in ballingschap: De carrièrekansen van Jean en Isaac Claude in de Republiek," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 27, no.2 (2011): 153–56.

49   *Mémoires inédits et opuscules de Jean Rou*, ed. Francis Waddington (Paris, 1857), 1:311.

50   Isaac Claude, "Sermon on Romans 8:18, The Hague, 29 August 1685," BWA MC 7, fol. 1, Bibliothèque Wallonne, University Library, Leiden.

51   Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 23–24.

52   Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 113–87.

53   Pieter Teding van Berkhout, "Journal de mes occupations," 29 February 1688, MS 129 D 16, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

54   Walter C. Utt and Brian E. Strayer, *The Bellicose Dove: Claude Brousson and Protestant Resistance to Louis XIV, 1647–1698* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2003); Léopold Nègre, *Vie et ministère de Claude Brousson, 1647–1698, d'après des documents pour la plupart inédits* (Paris, 1878).

55   *Lettres et opuscules de feu Monsr. Brousson, Ministre & Martyr du St. Evangile* (Utrecht, 1701), 1–54. For the debate on the departure of Huguenot ministers: Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*, 121–24.

56   Brousson to Couët du Vivier, "near Nîmes," 2 March 1698, DB-0367, Brienne Collection, Museum voor Communicatie, The Hague.

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4

BETWEEN HOPE AND DESPAIR

Epistolary evidence of the emotional effects of persecution and exile during the Thirty Years War

Ole Peter Grell

OPEN UNIVERSITY

The representatives of two large groups of Calvinist refugees from the Upper and Lower Palatinate who were exiled in and around the cities of Nuremberg and Hanau during the Thirty Years War kept up a considerable correspondence of several hundred letters with their sister-communities across Europe. These letters are a mix of 'private' and public statements written on behalf of the exiles to fellow Calvinist communities or individuals across Europe and the responses they received, covering a period of more than two decades. They were primarily written in Latin, but include a fair number of letters in French and Dutch too.[1]

The group of writers, not surprisingly, changed over time. Some died, others moved away or found new places of refuge, but a remarkable number remained in place for most of the period. The majority were Calvinist ministers, but a number were laymen who had served the Calvinist churches in the Palatinate prior to their exile. This was the case with the former Palatinate councillor and Doctor of Laws, Johann Jacob Heber from Amberg, who played a major part in the relief work for the refugees from 1626 until his death in 1634, and the former judge from Weissenohe in the Upper Palatinate, Jonas Liebing, who was prominent from 1631 till 1638. The letters are primarily concerned with requests for financial assistance and grateful acknowledgements of support given. Even so, they offer significant insights into the emotional effects of persecution and exile during the Thirty Years War.

The recipients of the letters used here were the members of the consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church in London (i.e. its twelve elders and three ministers). From 1628, more specifically, the recipients were the minister Wilhelm Thilenius and the three elders, Cornelius Godfrey, Abraham Beck, and John de Moncy, who had been given special responsibility for the money collected in the First Royal Collection in England for the Calvinist refugee ministers, schoolmasters, and their families from the Palatinate.[2] Thilenius was by then the

most junior of the ministers to the London Dutch Church, having been appointed in 1623, but he had the virtue of being well acquainted with English society and the Church of England, having attended Thomas Gataker's Puritan 'academy' in Surrey while training for his subsequent ministry in the Netherlands. He was assisted by Cornelius Godrey, who had become an elder twelve years earlier and belonged to the Dutch merchant-aristocracy, which had a virtual monopoly on the London eldership. Godfrey, like his colleague Abraham Beck, was a member of the English East India Company, but unlike Godfrey, Beck was a recent arrival from Germany who had only just been elected to the eldership. John de Moncy had become an elder in 1621 but was a longstanding member of the London congregation and through marriage belonged to one of the wealthiest London merchant families, the Courtens. In 1630, Beck and De Moncy were joined by John la Motte and Dirick Hoste, who had joined the eldership in 1626 and 1628 respectively, to take responsibility for the Second Royal Collection. Like their colleagues, La Motte and Hoste were wealthy merchants but belonged to a younger generation.

The letters, when received by the Dutch Reformed Church in London, were most likely read out either partly or in total in the first meeting of the consistory following their receipt. It is clear from the consistory books that the letters were discussed in detail, and we can safely presume that some of their more dramatic content was brought to the attention of the wider community via the subsequent sermons by the Dutch ministers. Unfortunately, no sermons have survived in manuscript or print. This is hardly surprising, when it is borne in mind that only a few Reformed or Calvinist sermons were published in the early modern period.[3] Some indication of the way the information in the letters is likely to have been communicated to the wider community can, however, be gleaned from a number of the fast sermons that were preached to the House of Commons in the early 1640s and subsequently published.

But how do we go about teasing out the emotions of these individuals and communities from the epistolary evidence, and how was it received and interpreted? In this I find Barbara Rosenwein's book, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, with its concept of 'communities of emotion', particularly useful.[4] Rosenwein underlines the modes of emotional expression that characterized and shaped groups such as high-ranking churchmen in the early Middle Ages. Such modes or shared norms undoubtedly also framed the emotions and the expression of the groups of Reformed refugees with which we are concerned here. The timeframe of twenty-plus years may seem somewhat short compared with both Rosenwein's and Karant-Nunn's, but that is to a large extent balanced out by the wider historical context in which the Palatine refugees located their emotional experience.

The persecuted, refugee Calvinists from the Palatinate shared their experience with fellow Reformed exiles in both historical and biblical terms. This is evident from the first letter referring to the need and misery of Calvinists from the

Palatinate, which reached the Dutch Church in London in September 1624. Asking for financial assistance for exiled students from the University of Heidelberg, the professors of theology in Leiden stated:

> You know that the more Antichrist endeavours to ruin the Church of Christ, the more pious Christians should labour to edify it. God the Almighty will move the hearts of our Dutch and English brothers to that.[5]

This apocalyptic interpretation was typical of how these tragic events in Germany were interpreted by fellow Calvinists across Europe, an explanation, initially at least, shared by the exiles themselves. Writing in the autumn of 1626 the exiles in and around Nuremberg promised to pray and 'heartily request God', who had generously given them both spiritual and material support, to preserve the London Dutch Church 'against the false teachings of Antichrist' that threatened their own existence.[6] It is, however, noteworthy that this apocalyptic interpretation of their situation only seems to have featured prominently at the start and end of their exile. Obviously, the emotionally charged feelings and atmosphere linked to the end of time and the apocalyptic battle between good and evil were difficult to maintain over time.

During the first years of their exile, the Calvinist refugees bore their fate with patience and hope. When writing to the Dutch community in London thanking them for their recent letters and assistance, they not only told them that it 'was to us like bread from heaven', a simultaneous reference to both the physical bread, manna in the wilderness from the Book of Exodus 16:4, and 'the true bread from heaven' from John 6:32, meaning spiritual food. They added that they 'bore the rod of the Lord' (i.e. their persecution and exile) 'with filial patience'. That patience clearly came from the conviction of belonging to God's chosen people who were being tried and tested.

My title identifies two dominant and opposed emotions between which the exiled Calvinists from the Palatinate oscillated: hope and despair. To that should probably be added a third, which often manifested itself in connection with the latter, namely fear. Bearing in mind that the exiles belonged to a group of people who considered themselves to be among the elect, predestined to be saved, it is surprising to what extent their emotions were affected by fear and how much political and military developments shaped their moods.

Initially, in 1628, a certain amount of optimism among the exiles from the Palatinate persisted despite their deprivation and suffering, not to mention the grim prospects for a quick return to their homelands. The refugees from the Lower Palatinate in and around Hanau felt cheered up by the fact that the responsibility for the Royal Collection in Britain had been given to the Dutch Church in London whom they considered kindred to themselves not only in terms of nationality, but also in having shared their experience of persecution and exile.[7] Despite being grateful for the assistance offered, the exiles from the Upper Palatinate in and around Nuremberg found it difficult to muster much optimism, describing themselves as 'miserable exiles of the

Palatinate deprived of everything, assailed by the Papists, and neglected by their Lutheran neighbours'.[8] Their pessimism may well have been generated by the fact that their host, the Lutheran city of Nuremberg, demonstrated a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards them, as on the one hand fellow persecuted Protestants who had to be helped, and on the other as heterodox co-religionists, excluded from the Peace of Augsburg, who might prove a threat to their existence. By the beginning of 1629 their mood had become even bleaker, and to a detailed description of their many sufferings they added:

> To aggravate our misery we have to seek refuge among those who differ from us in religion and whose treacherous favour we must beseech and buy. And yet we do not escape mockery and calumny.[9]

The situation obviously looked bleak for the Reformed refugees at this stage when the Emperor and his Catholic allies had more or less defeated all Protestant forces within the Empire. They were evidently aware of the rumours circulating about proposed legal measures against members of the Reformed faith within the Empire, who had not been included in the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. Their fear of being expelled from the Empire was to some extent realized with the publication of the Edict of Restitution a couple of months later on 6 March 1629, which banned all Protestant denominations apart from Lutheranism within the Empire.[10]

The elders and ministers in London realized that something had to be done in order to help lift this growing despair among the refugees from the Upper Palatinate in particular. They quickly responded with extra funds and supportive words, stating that 'one hope, the hope of Israel, binds us all together, though we live far apart', while adding in another letter the following day that 'it is the duty of Christians not only to sympathize with the evil lot of their brethren, but to relieve the want as much as possible'. This statement that the godly were united irrespectively of where they resided also emphasized the obligation to realize the emotional bonds between these communities through physical and financial assistance.

The unity of the godly and the shared experience of persecution and exile was emphasized by the ministers in Hanau who oversaw the distribution of the help for the refugees from the Lower Palatinate. They pointed out to their London colleagues that they, of course, were familiar with 'what inconveniences an exile of this kind brings with it, as the remembrance of the afflictions which befell the churches of your country last century is still fresh in your memory'.[11] This was to be the first of many references to the significance of the Marian exile that served to establish "a community of emotion" between Calvinists based in England and their suffering brethren within the Empire.

Even so, the letter from Hanau had an air of despair about it, emphasizing the misery the exiles suffered, having lost all their worldly possessions and being forced to flee only to find that their new neighbours showed them little or no charity.[12]

1629 proved a particularly difficult year for the Palatine refugees with more exiles arriving daily in Nuremberg and Hanau. The pressure on the refugees' meagre resources was growing exponentially, while political considerations meant that they could not stop providing some assistance to refugee Lutherans from Austria and Bohemia for fear of antagonizing local Lutherans on whose goodwill they depended. A sense of fear and foreboding permeates the letters written during 1629, and as the leaders of the refugees from the Lower Palatinate put it, they clearly lived in fear of worse to come.[13] The ministers and elders in London were repeatedly reminded of the hospitality offered to the Marian exiles in the previous century in the Palatinate. The refugees used all the emotional pressure they could mobilize in order to influence their benefactors in London, reminding them of their distress and suffering, while claiming to 'pray daily to the Lord that He may lead us back to our fatherland'.[14]

The autumn of 1629 proved particularly traumatic for the refugees. Their resources were virtually exhausted, many were starving and ill without any prospect of medical assistance, while the Catholic armies made it impossible for the exiles to seek shelter anywhere else.[15] Sympathy was readily available in London. The Dutch ministers and elders grieved over the 'vastness' of the exiles' misfortunes and identified with their 'fear' of worse to come.[16] Throughout 1630, the stress and fear of the Palatine exiles showed no sign of abating. Their letters emphasized their growing distress caused by extended exile and poverty, and as they wrote to their Dutch friends in London in February 1631: 'After God our chief hope is fixed on you'.[17]

In August 1631, the exiles from the Upper Palatinate described their sufferings in detail in an open letter to the people of England, an initiative closely linked to the fundraising for the Second Royal Collection begun in the previous year. Having been 'despoiled and robbed by the hirelings and soldiers of Antichrist', they had been reduced to extreme poverty. They were despairing, seeing 'popery' growing in strength while fearing that 'the pure Gospel' would be extirpated or banished. They pointed out that God and the charity of the foreign churches now remained their only refuge, adding that they hoped the English would remember the hospitality and welcome the Palatinate had extended to those who fled the persecution in the time of Queen Mary. This appeal to shared experience and reciprocity of charity was clearly built on the assumption of the existence of a community of emotion and understanding between donors and receivers, even if the former needed constant reminding.[18]

Some optimism and hope among the Reformed refugees began to materialize during the autumn of 1631 as a consequence of the intervention on the Protestant side by the Swedish King, Gustavus Adolphus. This was especially so when Gustavus Adolphus crowned a string of victories over Catholic Imperial forces with the crushing defeat of Tilly's army at Breitenfeld on 17 September 1631.[19] Optimism, however, initially appears to have been confined to the refugees' benefactors in London, who when they expressed the hope that God would restore the refugees to their homeland, added that there now seemed to be hope

this would shortly come to pass. A fortnight later they expressed the hope that God would 'favour the sword of the King of Sweden and restore you to your country'.[20]

Even if recognizing the military success of Gustavus Adolphus, the refugees from the Upper Palatinate did not share the optimism and hope of their benefactors in London. Instead they emphasized the increased dangers and suffering to which the large armies now operating around Nuremberg exposed them. They concluded that 'even if there were any hope, which is now faint, of our being restored to our country, we should find nothing but ruined homesteads and destitution'. Their fellow exiles from the Lower Palatinate were only marginally more optimistic, admitting that they now had more hope of being able to return home than before.[21] However, by February 1632, hope was rapidly gaining ground among the refugees. The exiles from the Upper Palatinate thanked the Dutch Church in London for their support and expressed the hope that it would continue, for even though they expected to be freed from their long exile and to see their country delivered from 'the enemy and Papal darkness', their deliverance had yet to begin, while Catholic armies were still devastating their homeland. The exiles from the Lower Palatinate evidently felt more exuberant about the prospect of a return to their homeland, comparing it with 'the joy which the captives of Babylon felt at their unexpected delivery'.[22] By May, the refugees from the Upper Palatinate felt similarly hopeful for an immediate return, thanks to the victories of Gustavus Adolphus over the Duke of Bavaria.

This optimism and hope for an immediate restitution, however, proved short lived. Already by the first weeks of May, the exiles from the Lower Palatinate were once again despairing, despite all the splendid victories of the King of Sweden and the arrival of their ruler, the Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia. They claimed that their 'evils' had been augmented rather than alleviated, and while the King of Sweden was fighting in Bavaria, Imperial armies were devastating the Palatinate. The refugee community was also badly affected by disease and high mortality rates. This was all the result, as they put it, of 'a most righteous God avenging the apostasy and faithlessness of the people of the Palatinate'.[23] God was in other words punishing his chosen people, but that recognition gave little cause for cheerfulness at this point. Praising the Dutch community in London for its 'liberality and zeal for the exiles of Christ', which it demonstrated by adherence to the apostolic precept of assisting the Saints in times of need (Romans 12:13), the refugees from the Lower Palatinate highlighted their sad condition. They were not only 'oppressed by the tyranny of the Imperial forces, but the licentiousness of the Swedish soldiery was so great that they hardly knew who their friends were'. As they put it, 'hence there is no security; the fields are lying uncultivated and the ministers, who have returned to their churches, do not receive their stipends, the Swedes taking possession of everything'.[24] Their London benefactors expressed their sympathy, stating that 'blessed are those that suffer persecution for the sake of righteousness'.[25]

The sense of fear and despair grew during the second half of 1632. The refugees in and around Nuremberg thanked God for still remembering them 'in this city of woe'. They wanted to send their benefactors in London a special letter of thanks,

'unless famine and pestilence, which is raging in the midst of our civil war, should prove fatal to us'.[26] Little changed among the Reformed exiles from the Upper Palatinate during 1633, and what hopes they might have had after the Swedish intervention in the war had evaporated. As the Nuremberg refugees expressed it: they desired rather than expected a restitution, but their situation remained doubtful and sad, threatened as they were on all sides and exposed to 'freebooting and incendiarism'. The countryside around Nuremberg was devastated and they felt exposed to Imperial, as well as Swedish troops, who all intended to rob them (Figure 4.1). Nor for that matter, were they convinced that the Swedes, as Lutherans, were fully committed to assisting the Reformed.[27] They lingered, as they put it, between hope and fear.[28]

The refugees from the Lower Palatinate proved more optimistic, especially since some of them had been able to return to their home country by mid-1633. As God's chosen people, they felt this was like the Israelites returning to Canaan after their stay in Egypt, viewing the charity they had received from England as 'Dew of Manna'. They claimed that they would always remember

> the awful and wonderful Justice, Goodnesse, Truth and Power of God. For just wee found God in punishing the sinnes of his sonnes; good in defending and maintaining them; true in keeping his promises; wise in leading and guiding wonderfully all his Saints; potent also in bowing and turning not only the hearts of all our neighbour churches, but likewise of them in the whole world dispersed, to be beneficial towards us poore, miserable, exiled Palatine men'.[29]

The refugees from the Upper Palatinate despaired and by mid-July 1634 reached a new low. After ten years of exile in Nuremberg, they were on the verge of giving up all hope for a return to their homeland and felt so upset by having to look out for a new abode that they struggled to write to their benefactors, referring them to Jeremiah 4:20–30 as a description of their condition. Evidently, Jeremiah's lamentation for Judah, which described God's judgement upon the Jews, provided an apt description of the situation of the godly refugees living under the New Covenant.[30] The defeat of the Protestant forces in the battle of Nördlingen in September 1634 added further to their misery.[31]

Gradually towards the end of the 1630s, hope rather than fear and despair eventually got the upper hand among the refugee, Reformed communities, even if the Dutch community in Hanau still lamented in April 1638 the condition into which

> the Lord had allowed His people in Germany to fall; how small the number of the righteous were; what famine, dearness, diseases, wars, bloodsheds have assailed the little ship of Christ; and what a sharp north-wind has blown through this pleasure-garden of the Lord, all on account of men's sins.[32] (Figure 4.2)
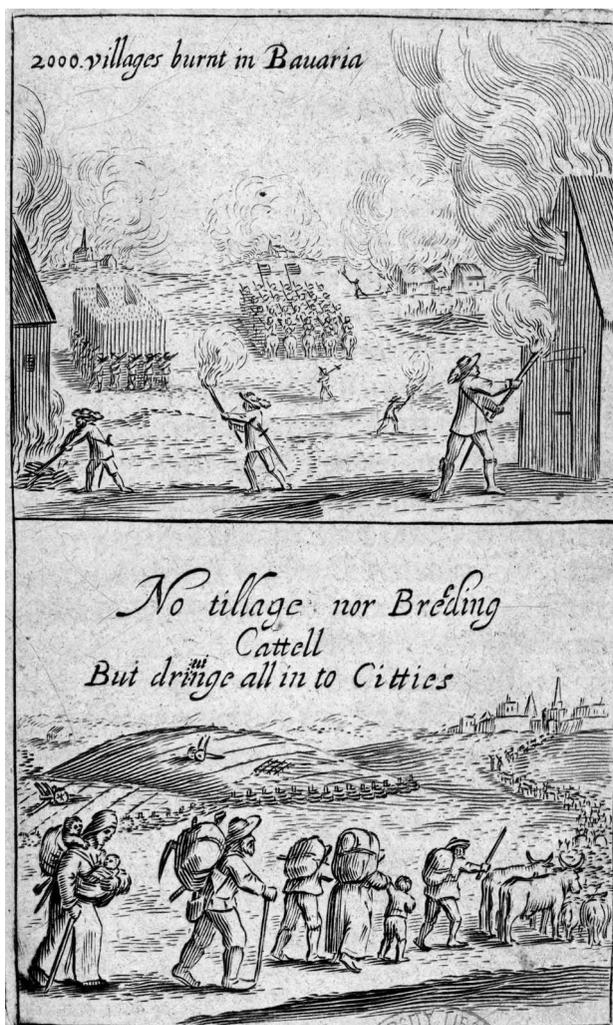
**FIGURE 4.1** *The devastation of the countryside by soldiers forcing civilians to flee to the cities,* woodcut, in Philip Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany. Wherein, as in a Glasse, We May Behold Her Miserable Condition, and Read the Woefull Effects of Sinne. Composed by Dr Vincent Theol. An Eyewitnesse Thereof; And Illustrated by Pictures, the More to Affect the Reader* (London, 1638), 32. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library, Acton.d.sel.61.

Though the refugees in Nuremberg still thought they lived 'between despair and hope', by January 1640 they had to admit that they now experienced 'that the Lord watches over us'. Similar positive notes were struck by the minister Peter Crugoth, who wrote on behalf of the exiles from the Lower Palatinate a month later:
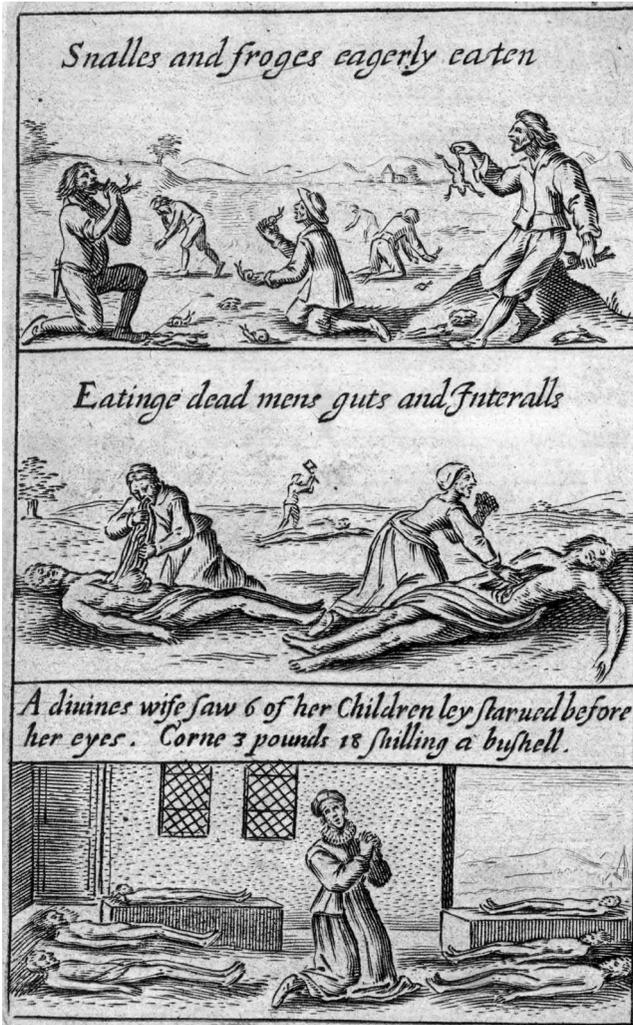
FIGURE 4.2 *The desperate effects of famine*, woodcut, in Philip Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany. Wherein, as in a Glasse, We May Behold Her Miserable Condition, and Read the Woefull Effects of Sinne. Composed by Dr Vincent Theol. An Eyewitnesse Thereof; And Illustrated by Pictures, the More to Affect the Reader* (London, 1638), sig.A1v. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library, Acton.d.sel.61.

Whenever we look at the varied condition of the church fighting under the banner of Christ, we cannot help wondering at seeing it exalted in one place, humiliated in another. Our own Church of the Palatinate is an example: formerly it flourished, now it is depressed and prostate. But we realize that the Lord's dispensation is most salutary, as, by humiliating his faithful, He prepares them for greater honours.[33]

God's punishing rod was evidently easier to bear with a more hopeful outlook for the future, but less salutary when prospects were bleak. A feeling that things had changed for the better by the late 1630s is illustrated by the number of requests for support that reached London for rebuilding Reformed communities and churches in places such as Hanau, Frankenthal, and Frankfurt.[34]

Together with a hope for better things to come, the letters written by the Reformed refugees from the summer of 1640 onwards also demonstrate a growing concern for the political and religious developments in Britain. Thus, the refugees from the Lower Palatinate, when thanking the Dutch church in London for its continuing generosity, ended their letter by expressing this wish: 'May the Lord reward you and settle the Scottish affair'. This was a reference to the outbreak of the Second Bishops' War, in which the Scots had just crossed the river Tweed and were marching on Newcastle. Evidently, the shared emotional community had not only biblical and historical roots to draw on but gained added importance and strength when they felt themselves linked to political events in Britain as well as Germany.

The exiles in Nuremberg expressed the firm hope in December 1640 that their 'afflictions' were finally coming to an end, while they referred to the peace negotiations between the Scottish Covenanters and King Charles, started a couple of months earlier, and joined their English benefactors in praying to God that the good beginnings lately observed in Great Britain might come to a happy conclusion. Rather inconsiderately, they added that such an outcome would be very much to their own benefit.[35]

Somewhat prematurely the exiles from the Lower Palatinate praised King Charles for having acted prudently 'by extinguishing the sparks of the dangerous flame' that could have led to civil war, pointing out that had their own princes done the same 'Germany would not be in such a plight'.[36]

By February 1642, the Reformed refugees in Nuremberg were aware of the growing confrontation between King Charles and Parliament, which would develop into a full blown civil war later in the year. They expressed their sorrow for the 'disturbed state of your country' and their concern over 'the cruel persecutions of the members of the Faith in Ireland'.[37] Evidently, news of the rebellion of Irish Catholics in October 1641 and the accompanying atrocities committed against Protestant settlers in Ulster travelled fast among the Reformed communities, fed by the stream of lurid and sensationalized broadsheets that were published in London from November onwards.[38]

While deeply preoccupied with their own difficulties and their apocalyptic significance for which they found evidence in the Book of Daniel, the exiles from the Lower Palatinate still found space and time to mention that they prayed to God that 'He may pacify your Kingdom and Ireland'. They would have agreed with the Reformed refugees congregated around Zweibrüggen who wrote a couple of months later: 'While in your England after the example of our own Country, preparations for war are made, and Ireland contrives something wicked against the brethren of our Faith'.[39] Shared

misery and exposure to war served to emphasize the existence of an emotional community.

When in July 1642, the refugees from the Lower Palatinate wrote one of their last letters to their benefactors in London, they wondered why the Reformed Church now found itself in such a deplorable condition and why the preaching of the Gospel was no longer conducted as it had been at the start of the Reformation. They concluded that the darkness that was closing in on the godly had been brought about by sin, that had destroyed so many kingdoms and communities throughout history. However, they added the positive observation that 'what is a plague and punishment to sinners is a probation and exercise of virtue to the true Christian'. They obviously saw themselves in this light together with their benefactors and supporters in England. Quoting both Isaiah 66:12 and Daniel 4:24, they explained that they not only prayed to the Lord to reward the English for their sustained benevolence towards them, but also 'to calm the unrest and discord in England'.[40]

Such views and emotions were reciprocated by English Calvinists, as can be seen from a number of pamphlets published in the 1630s but in particular from some of the fast sermons preached to the House of Commons from the end of 1641 through the first months of 1642. Pamphlets such as *The Lamentations of Germany* by the minister Philip Vincent emphasized the emotional impact the suffering of the godly in Germany should have on their co-religionists in England:

> Behold here, as in a Glasse, the mournefull face of a sister Nation, now drunke with misery; according to what God threatened by the Prophet Ieremy. Should I endeavour by all the memorable particulars, which might be accumulated, to amplifie this sad theme, the third part would bee sufficient to weary thee or blinde thy eyes with teares, if thy heart were not domant.[41]

In December 1641, the Presbyterian minister Edmund Calamy (1600–1666) preached a fast sermon to the House of Commons. Entitled *England's looking-glasse*, the sermon contained a stern warning to the MPs. Calamy held up events in Germany in general and in the Palatinate and Bohemia in particular, as a warning to the people of England to mend their ways before it was too late. The recent 'bloody' rebellion in Ireland emphasized that action was needed because the sword of the God was now hanging over England as a warning. Calamy emphasized the seriousness of the situation when he concluded:

> Some Nations are chastised with the sword, Others with famine, Others with the man-destroying Plague. But poore Germany hath been sorely whipped with all these three iron whips at the same time, and that for above twenty years space. Oh, let us make use of this Bucket, and draw out water, and poure it out before the Lord this day; let us send up our

> cries to Heaven for Germany. It is a signe that we are not true members
> of the body of Christ, because we have no fellow-feeling of the miseries
> of the same body. A dead member hath no sense of its own misery, or of
> the bodies distemper. If wee be living members we will sympathize with
> the calamities of God's people.[42]

Evidently, only by feeling directly emotionally involved with their brethren in
Germany could the English demonstrate that they too belonged to the godly.

Calamy was able to return to this subject a few months later when he
delivered yet another fast sermon to the House of Commons, this time entitled
Gods free mercy to England. He reminded the MPs that repentance was urgently
needed:

> First the judgements of God upon England: may wee not say who gave
> up England for a spoyle and Ireland unto Robbers? Hath not the Lord
> against whom we have sinned? Therefore hath he powred upon us the
> fury of his anger, and the strength of the Battell, it hath set us on fire
> round about, yet we carry ourselves as though we knew it not, and
> though it burnes we lay it not to heart and these shaking Judgements may
> the rather move us because this concussion is first universall, the disease is
> Epidemicall, this shaking began in the Palatinate, Bohemia, but it hath
> spread it selfe over France, Spaine and all the Christian World, the Lord
> seems to have a controversie with all Nations, & to plead with all flesh,
> giving up a wicked World to the sword, as hee threatened before the
> ruine of Ierusalem.[43]

Similar sentiments were expressed by his colleague Stephen Marshall
(1594–1655), who preached yet another fast sermon to the MPs on that day.
Marshall had, however, already given similar, if somewhat more circumspect,
warnings in a fast sermon to the House of Commons more than a year earlier.[44]
This time round Marshall emphasized that sympathy alone for the suffering of
their brethren in Germany fell well short of what was required. Such 'empty
and barren wishes', according to Marshall, could easily be extended to anyone
in distress and were of little or no value. More was required from the godly;
feeling sorry for suffering fellow Calvinists in Germany and Ireland without any
action fell short of what was required. Direct physical assistance was called for,
be it in person or through a financial contribution—only in that way could the
Saints prove their sincerity.[45]

Apart from demonstrating that English Calvinists sympathized with and shared in
the persecution and suffering of the exiles, these fast sermons also exemplify how
such news was communicated from the pulpit. As such, they are probably similar to
sermons preached by other Calvinist ministers in the 1620s and 1630s, be they Eng-
lish or the ministers to the Dutch and French Reformed communities in England.

Evidence of true godliness demanded not only emotional commitment, but direct action also. The behaviour and engagement of the Dutch elder and merchant, John la Motte, who was responsible for the Second Royal Collection, was clearly a model for the godly. John la Motte's extraordinary commitment to the 'Church of God' and his never-ending charity for suffering brethren in Christ featured prominently in his funeral sermon, as did his exceptional ability to inspire others to join the cause, by setting all who encountered him on a 'fire of compassion'. Every year, La Motte celebrated the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation by having his friends for dinner, not only to celebrate the mercy God had shown England on that day, but in particular to celebrate the 'grand Deliverances' of the godly, especially after the Reformation. Particular mention was given to:

> … the great sufferings and bloody Persecutions in France, and the Low Countries, whereof he would often discourse in so punctuall and feeling manner, as if he had been an eye-witness, yea a sharer in them, taking many arguments thence of encouraging himself and others to be still mindfull of them in bonds and miseries, as being themselves in the body; saying, why, their case might have been ours, or may yet, who knows?[46]

In other words, good Calvinists did not have to have experienced persecution and exile personally to feel part of the emotional community of those who had suffered. Second-generation immigrants like La Motte, who was born in Colchester, could be just as deeply involved emotionally in the suffering and persecution, thereby possibly making their commitment even more impressive and convincing to others.

Life as a religious refugee during the Thirty Years War in Germany was a harrowing experience, and the emotional effects were serious. The Reformed exiles were seldom able to find sanctuary among co-religionists; instead, they had to seek shelter within Lutheran communities where they were at best reluctantly tolerated. The fact that the Reformed faith had not been included in the Peace of Augsburg meant that they had no legal protection within the Empire. In 1629, their situation was further undermined, when the Emperor issued the Edict of Restitution, which banned all Protestant denominations apart from Lutheranism. This severely aggravated their situation, putting them in danger of being forced to leave Germany while simultaneously putting pressure on their Lutheran hosts who by giving them shelter could be considered in breach of Imperial law.

The tenuous relationship between the Reformed refugees and their Lutheran hosts constantly fluctuated, driven by external political and military developments as much as by internal tension. The fact that their exile proved an extended one—lasting more than a couple of decades—undoubtedly served to make the situation of the exiles even more difficult, putting them under further strain. It certainly added to the fear and insecurity of the exiles who increasingly depended on the financial and moral support they received from foreign Calvinist communities. Not

surprisingly, the exiles swung emotionally between hope and despair, with anxiety and despondency dominating their outlook for prolonged periods. The length of their exile combined with repeated disappointments made the refugees weary. Thus, it took them considerable time before they were prepared to share the optimism of their benefactors in London generated by the victories of the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus. They did so only to face renewed disappointment when it turned out that the Swedish soldiers did them just as much damage as their Imperial enemies, and their hope for a return to their homelands proved premature.

Biblical examples of the Egyptian sojourn from the Book of Exodus, and of the Babylonian captivity of the Israelites from The Book of Daniel, provided the refugees with spiritual sustenance. For God had always tested his elect or chosen people. To that, they could add recent historical events such as the persecutions and exile of the Reformed in the Netherlands and France, not to mention the experience of the Marian exiles from England. By drawing on both biblical and historical examples, they were able to assure themselves that they shared a community of emotions with their brethren abroad. This shared community was further enhanced by the religious and political confrontation that was mounting in Britain from 1640 onwards. The fact that the battle between the godly and the ungodly once more came to be seen as 'universal' endowed these events with renewed apocalyptic significance. It would seem that a sense of election, of belonging to God's chosen people at the centre of the last apocalyptic battle between Christ and Antichrist, could not thrive without hope. Obviously, it proved difficult, if not impossible, for the refugees to maintain their optimism and hope of a return to 'the promised land'—their home country—as time went by, especially when their suffering dragged on or even took a turn for the worse. In that situation, anxiety and despair overwhelmed them and their letters were characterized by a deep pessimism and little if any indication of belonging to the elect. Even for Calvinists, who believed in predestination and their own election, it proved virtually impossible to maintain hope and a positive outlook when faced with prolonged displacement, intolerance, extreme poverty, and deep anxiety.

Notes

1 For these letters and their authors, see O.P. Grell, *Brethren in Christ. A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 178–228. All quotations from these letters below that are in modern English are my own translations.

2 Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, 178–228.

3 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 101–32.

4 Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

5 J. H. Hessels, ed., *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, vol 3 in 2 parts (Cambridge, 1887–1897), no. 1833.

6 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 1858.

7 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 1919.

8 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 1987.

9 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 1953.

10 O. P. Grell, *Brethren in Christ. A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 152.

11 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 1963.

12 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, see also no. 1964.

13 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 1981.

14 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 1994; see also nos. 1985 and 1987.

15 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, nos. 2000 and 2003.

16 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2005.

17 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2069.

18 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2100.

19 Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, 160.

20 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, nos. 2128 and 2138.

21 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, nos. 2134 and 2141.

22 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, nos. 2148 and 2155.

23 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2170.

24 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2193.

25 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2212.

26 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2203.

27 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, nos. 2223, 2225, and 2228.

28 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2230.

29 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, nos. 2239 and 2276.

30 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2301.

31 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2326.

32 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2469.

33 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2534.

34 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, nos. 2529, 2576, and 2585.

35 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2598.

36 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2616.

37 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2660.

38 O.P. Grell, "Godly Charity or Political Aid? Irish Protestants and International Calvinism, 1641–1645," *The Historical Journal* 39, no.3 (1996): 743–53, especially pages 743–46.

39 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, nos. 2661 and 2672.

40 Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae*, no. 2678.

41 Philip Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany. Wherein, as in a Glasse, We May Behold Her Miserable Condition, and Read the Woefull Effects of Sinne. Composed by Dr Vincent Theol. An Eyewitnesse Thereof; And Illustrated by Pictures, the More to Affect the Reader* (London, 1638), To the Reader, sig.A3r. See also L. Brinckmair, *The Warnings of Germany. By Wonderfull Signes and Strange Prodigies Seene in Divers Parts of That Country of Germany, Betweene the Yeare 1618 and 1638* (London, 1638).

42 E. Calamy, *Englands Looking-Glasse* (London, 1642), 33–34; see also 3.

43 E. Calamy, *Gods Free Mercy to England* (London, 1642), 24.

44 S. Marshall, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, Now Assembled in Parliament, at Their Publike Fast, Nov. 17 1640. Upon 2 Chron. 15.2* (London, 1641):
    And secondly let mee beseech you all in this your great National Councel, and Assembly, to take seriously into your thoughts, what may be the best way of lengthening out our tranquillity. Beloved, all the Nations in Christendome have been in grievous perplexities many years round about us: we have been hitherto kept as another Land of Goshen, where light has still shined, when all others have been in darkness (p.19). Goshen was where the Israelites had lived while in Egypt and which had been exempted from the last seven plagues which hit the rest of Egypt, Exodus 8:22.

45 S. Marshall, *Meroz Cursed* (London, 1642), 50.
46 Fulke Bellers, *Abrahams Interment* (London, 1655), F4r–4v, and F2v–F3r. See also O. P. Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1996), 20–21.

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PART 2

Coping with persecution and exile

5

THE EMBODIMENT OF EXILE

Relics and suffering in early modern English cloisters[*]

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In May 1688, Mary Wigmore of the English Carmelite cloister in Antwerp wrote to Mary of Modena, Queen of England and wife of James II, sending the nuns' good wishes for the English queen's imminent confinement. She praised the queen's 'example and Illustrious vertues [which] are sufficient to reduce to the waie of truth & Sanctity the whole Nation', before reminding Mary of Modena that the nuns prayed 'incessantly' for her preservation, that of her husband, James II, and for 'a Prince to Inherit your Crownes and vertues'. But the Carmelites did not simply proffer prayers for a safe confinement, they also sent a gift. Noting the queen's devotion to 'our seraphique Mother S[t] Teresa', Wigmore enclosed a

> Relique a peece of her flesh I presume to present, beseeching your Majesty to weare it in your labour, it working daylie in effect miracles giving happy deliveries & preservation of the mother & child in like cases.[1]

The Carmelite relic proved a double-edged sword. While the queen was safely delivered of a healthy son and heir in June 1688, by December the royal family was itself in what would become a permanent exile in France.

Enforced or self-imposed exclusion for religious or political reasons was not uncommon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the expatriation of kings was unusual, Protestant and Catholic minorities regularly sought refuge

abroad from persecution and prosecution at home. While Calvinist migrations have been extensively documented, Catholic exile has received significantly less scholarly attention.[2] However, recent research has revealed that thousands of Catholics left their homelands for permanent or temporary respite in other territories, leading Geert Janssen to assert that 'the experience of exile should therefore be regarded as an integral part of the history of the Catholic Reformation'.[3] In the historiography of post-Reformation English Catholicism, some groups have received more consideration than others. The emigration of men and women to found and join religious communities was documented in Peter Guilday's survey, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558–1797*, published in 1914. The Catholic Record Society progressively printed these institutions' registers, obituaries, and chronicles over the course of the twentieth century. Despite this evidence, scholarship on post-Reformation English Catholicism has focused predominantly on the experience of Catholics remaining at home, largely to the exclusion of the expatriate community—a lacuna that is being redressed in the twenty-first century.[4]

Earlier studies centred on the English exiles' subversion as pensioners of the Spanish and French crowns and as writers, plotters, and activists in favour of the overthrow of the Protestant church and state.[5] While the political activism of religious émigrés rightly continues to attract attention, scholarship is expanding to investigate the expatriates' experience of exile, including the relationship between migrants and their host communities.[6] The role of émigrés in disseminating Tridentine devotions and thereby connecting Catholics in England with the wider Church provides just one example of connections between Catholics on either side of the Channel and their joint participation in shaping the parameters of their faith at home and abroad.[7] Thus, there has been a shift away from considering the exiles and stay-at-home Catholics separately and towards a tacit acknowledgement that they belonged to a single, albeit geographically dispersed and not always united, English Catholic community.

It is principally through the English émigrés' literary production that we can discern the mental world of exclusion, including the emotional dimensions of expatriation.[8] Catholics, Protestants, and political exiles alike characterized dislocation from their homeland as a state of intense suffering, even something akin to 'Martyrdom', as Sir Edward Hyde termed the royalists' separation from their country in the 1650s on account of their loyalty to the monarchy and loathing of the Protectorate.[9] Alison Shell's analysis of exile literature in the century from the accession of Elizabeth I identifies grief, consolation, and hope as common motifs in the verse, hymns, and drama of Catholics residing abroad in religious institutions and colleges.[10] These are nicely encapsulated in Thomas Hide's *Consolatorie Epistle* of 1579, in which the seminary priest assures his readers that although exiled from home, income, and comfort, 'God … turneth this temporal punishemente to your spiritual benefite'.[11] Implicit in such consolatory literature was the exiles' inevitable return to their homeland. The biblical models suggested the righteous would be rewarded, and there were the more recent

historical examples. The Protestant Marian exiles had returned to England, as had the royalists in the 1660s, so there was every reason to hope that Catholics suffering exile from kin and country would do likewise.[12] The motif of exile as a temporary state infused the writing of the English Catholic émigrés and underpinned their identity. Individuals and institutions alike saw themselves first and foremost as English Catholics who, although living abroad and practicing their faith as members of the universal Church, would ultimately return to their homeland, once their religion was restored there, or at the very least, was tolerated.[13]

Yet it is not only through the exiles' personal and institutional writings that we can understand their experience of dislocation, and the consolatory narratives constructed to endure it. The exile experience was also expressed through the material objects the émigrés used to adorn themselves, furnish their residences, and perform their religious devotions. David Morgan asserts it is through 'things' that 'human beings feel their way into their worlds, feel themselves, feel the past, anticipate the future, feel together'.[14] If this is the case, then physical items constituted markers of identity for émigrés separated from the people, places, and things that defined their previous lives. As the psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi has suggested of worldly possessions, artefacts shape a sense of the self and stabilize identity. While operating as symbols of social status and relationships, they further provide continuity in time by offering 'foci of involvement in the present, mementos and souvenirs of the past, and signposts to future goals'.[15] For religious exiles considering their expatriation as temporary, such objects grounded them in the present, while offering tangible evidence of England's religious past and hope for its Catholic future.[16] One might even suggest they performed a consolatory function.

In this chapter, I want to examine the religious relic and what it can tell us about the emotional experience of exile in English convents located in France and the southern Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Founded by the daughters of England's Catholic minority, these cloisters encapsulate many elements of the exile experience I have outlined. They were fiercely English, often to the point of excluding women of other nationalities, including the Irish, and their *raison d'être* was to preserve the monastic tradition for their countrywomen with a view to returning the convents to England, once it was possible to do so.[17] Several cloisters embedded the narrative of temporary exile within their chronicles, liturgies, and ritual life. Women taking the veil in the Bridgettine convent in Lisbon vowed obedience to their monastic rule and superiors both in exile and upon their anticipated return to England.[18] Intelligent, articulate, politically engaged, and above all respected for their piety, the nuns embraced the early modern enthusiasm for collecting saints' body parts and fostered devotions centred upon them. I want to argue, however, that convents' relics performed a much deeper spiritual and emotional function. Relics connected the nuns intimately with their homeland, kin, and patrons, their perceived spiritual potency was employed to achieve the exiles' hope for repatriation, and

importantly, they provided models and narratives by which individuals and communities could explain, perform, and overcome the desolation of exile.

English nuns, exile, and relics

Scholars agree that relics performed a range of functions in post-Reformation Europe. Many reflected the roles sacred artefacts had assumed since they became important in the early centuries of Christianity—as conduits of divine intercession, symbols of political authority, and signifiers of confessional and regional identity. Their stature was even enhanced amidst the emotionally charged debates between Protestants and Catholics surrounding their legitimacy. Sanctioned by the Council of Trent as valid objects for veneration by the faithful, relics were distinctly Catholic. As Simon Ditchfield has said of saints, 'in a confessionally-divided world, devotion to saints was a highly visible badge of Catholic identity'.[19] The same can be said of saints' and martyrs' remains and material items associated with them. These religiously charged artefacts became 'sacred commodities' to be sold, purchased, gifted, or stolen.[20] Possession of such items endowed their owners with spiritual capital that might be put to a range of pious, political, and confessional uses. Philip II bolstered his authority and promoted Catholic Spain's victory over Protestants and Muslims via a large relic collection, located with his ancestral mausoleum in the palace monastery of the Escorial.[21] If sacred objects legitimated the power of one of Catholic Europe's leaders, they also raised the spiritual and civic profile of convents. Helen Hills draws a connection between the holiness of enclosed nuns incarcerated behind convent walls in Naples and the spiritual power of their relics encased in elaborate reliquaries.[22] Nuns in other parts of Europe recognized the material, political, and spiritual advantages conferred by the possession of significant relics and did their utmost to secure them for their cloisters.[23]

The remains of saints and martyrs became important symbols in areas reconverted to the Catholic faith and in those bordering Protestant territory. Alex Walsham has described them as 'a vibrant hallmark of baroque piety in regions that remained loyal or were reclaimed to the faith of Rome'.[24] Trevor Johnson argued that in the re-catholicization of the Upper Palatinate, entire skeletons of catacomb saints became vital markers of confessional identity because of their 'antiquity, martyrdom and Roman provenance'.[25] Relics performed a similarly restorative function in Bohemia.[26] It follows, therefore, that relics were significant for Catholic minorities, particularly for religious exiles. Through the relic, a Catholic community, whether an institution, local area, state, or even fragmented diaspora united in the belief that the holy matter connected them to the saint's intercessory power, which could potentially resolve inter-faith conflict in their favour. It might even breach the geographical divide between émigrés and stay-at-home Catholics. Liesbeth Corens has suggested that the mobility of relics around Europe and across the English Channel and back connected a fragmented

Catholic community spiritually.[27] But, as Csikszentmihalyi's argument about the capacity of objects to evoke emotional connections to the past implies, antique remains collapsed temporal as well as geographic boundaries.

Corens argues that by sending parts of pre-Reformation saints from England to the expatriate community abroad, Catholics established a material connection with the past while preserving ancient remains that would be part of England's Catholic future, once the Protestants were vanquished.[28] There is evidence that exiled English cloisters engaged in such practices, collecting objects with direct links to their country's pre-Protestant past. Some members of the pre-Reformation Bridgettine monastery of Syon Abbey went into exile after the dissolution of their house and spent several peripatetic decades in the Low Countries and France, before finding permanent refuge in Lisbon in 1594. They reportedly transported 'Reliques and trinkets beyond the Seas into Flanders' when they left England. These included the arms of St Thomas Beckett, two heads from St Ursula's thousand virgins, and relics of St Bridget and St Augustine, as well as some of the Virgin Mary's milk and some of the Blood of Hales.[29] In 1737, the Poor Clares of Rouen were given 'a noble present of ancient antiquity' found 'inn the ruines of an old abbaye of Catholick times'.[30] The Augustinian cloister in Louvain possessed a more recent relic, but one no less representative of England's Catholic heritage, Sir Thomas More's hair shirt. The mother of the convent's former prioress was More's adopted daughter, Margaret Giggs, who had received the treasured relic from him on the eve of his martyrdom.[31]

Yet, as More's hair shirt suggests, the English expatriate community's relationship with relics extended beyond connections with pre-Reformation holy figures, their bodily remains, and items linked to them. The convents accrued sacred objects that spanned the centuries from Christ to contemporary professors of the Catholic faith. The Poor Clares of Rouen owned a piece of the 'true cross', part of St Joseph's cloak, and bone fragments of 'all the apostles & several other saints'.[32] The Lierre Carmelites possessed relics of the Virgin Mary and St Joseph.[33] The Antwerp Carmelites' extensive cache of holy objects included a reliquary containing 'fragments of the true cross, the veil of the Blessed Virgin Mary and bone fragments of St Paul the Apostle, St Teresa, St Francis Xavier, St Charles Borromeo, St Ignatius Loyola, St Joseph and St Peter the Apostle'.[34] This eclectic compilation not only affirmed an unbroken Catholic succession from Christ to early modern religious leaders, but it also encouraged devotees to embrace religious reform and missionary zeal in a new age of persecution. It further inspired them to fashion devotions to potential new 'saints' and 'martyrs', as we will see in the next section.

The wider question remains, however, as to what these relics meant. Did they perform the kinds of roles suggested by Morgan and Csikszentmihalyi? A closer analysis of certain items and their placement and use in the cloisters reveals how nuns subsumed material artefacts into their communities' quotidian and spiritual environment. The holy bones and objects in convents were part of

the communal fabric of the cloister: physically, through interment, display, and ritual use, and metaphorically, through the nuns' connections with secular kin and patrons as well as with the convent's spiritual family of founders, saints, and martyrs. They also performed a significant role in monastic devotions, many of which were directed towards the repatriation of the nuns, their convents, and their faith.

Relics and the communal fabric of exiled convents

The most obvious example of a relic's explicit connection with exile is the devotion surrounding St Justin the Martyr in the Paris Augustinian convent. Queen Mary of Modena gifted the second-century martyr's remains to the nuns in 1694. They accordingly instituted an annual feast, which over the course of the octave included public exposition of the relics and masses in the convent church, as well as a procession of the holy bones through the cloister grounds and private liturgical services in the nuns' choir. The archbishop of Paris made explicit the celebration's political intent, granting an indulgence to anyone who visited the church and, before the jointly exposed relics and Eucharist, prayed for 'ye extirpation of heresie, ye exhaltation of ye Faith, for ye peace and union of Christian Kings & Princes, for ye health & prosperity of ye sacred Parsone of His Majesty and all ye Royall familie'.[35] The nuns capitalized upon the indulgence, turning the feast into a Jacobite event that attracted large numbers of British Catholic exiles.[36] Given by the exiled queen, and previously housed in the royal chapel at St James, St Justin's relics were exactly the kind of holy matter that helped to orientate the nuns' sense of their place in Christian history. Other saints with explicit connections to England's Catholic past were similarly invoked to end the exile. The Augustinians celebrated the feast of St Edward the Confessor with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and that of St Gregory (whom they termed 'the apostle of England') with a High Mass. The liturgies for both saints were similarly dedicated to 'the conversion of England'.[37]

The agenda to reconvert England, spearheaded by the clerical mission, provided another kind of relic. Robin Malo has argued that the torture and execution of priests 'occasioned *new* relic making' and their bodies became 'both wonder-working sacred objects and … communicative signs' with the potential to return England to the Catholic fold.[38] The nuns, unable to participate physically in the mission, accessed its suffering by collecting the hagiographic narratives of executed priests and sometimes their body parts and clothing. The Bridgettines had wood from Tyburn, presumably stained with literal or figurative martyrs' blood.[39] The Antwerp Carmelite archive contains, in a box labelled 'English Martyrs', at least twenty-nine relics (bone fragments, cloth dipped in blood or other fabric, or straw associated with them) of priests executed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, along with linen relics of aristocrats executed during the Popish plot and Jacobite rebellion.[40] The nuns also possessed miniature oil portraits of ten English martyrs and bone fragments of them.

Painted in the 1640s, the images and relics were combined in an extravagant frame in the early nineteenth century. In another frame, the nuns mounted martyrs' relics, both clerical and lay, from the seventeenth century, combined with St Thomas of Canterbury and some soil from their burial ground.[41] They also retained a letter reassuring them that the Jesuit, Henry Morse, had remembered them at his execution in 1645.[42] While the relic compilations dated from a later period, the convent's earlier acquisition of these priests' remains, with pictorial and written mementos of them, suggests that they considered recent martyrs as important as earlier confessors of the faith. Malo has proposed that English Catholics who collected such relics at Tyburn and other sites of execution 'might themselves become sanctified through martyrdom'.[43] As exiled (and enclosed) religious women and thereby too distant from the missionary field to die upon the scaffold, the nuns accordingly framed dislocation from their homeland as a sacrifice for the Catholic cause and embraced monastic discipline as an alternative form of martyrdom. Convent relic collections, combined with individual and corporate narratives of suffering for Christ and the Church, intimately linked the nuns with the English martyrs and encouraged them to establish genealogies of present-day confessors of the Roman faith.

The imperative to connect with contemporary martyrs led some cloisters to seek relics of people whose eligibility rested more upon the political exile of the Stuarts than execution for the faith. The Paris Augustinians had the heart of James Radcliffe, Jacobite earl of Derwentwater, executed for his part in the 1715 rising. Derwentwater bequeathed the 'precious guift of his Noble hart' to the convent, although the sisters did not gain custody of it until 1732 when they ceremoniously placed it in a monument in their choir.[44] Although dying for the Jacobite cause might not qualify him for Christian martyrdom, the nuns considered him as such and established what might be considered a shrine in their choir. They similarly revered the royal family, installing a piece of James II's arm, embalmed by the prioress, in their choir in 1701.[45] When Maria Clementina Sobieska, the wife of James Francis Edward Stuart (whom the nuns called James III) died, various cloisters sought objects associated with her to venerate 'her Magestys memory'.[46] Locks of Clementina's hair were accordingly added to the relic collections of several cloisters.[47] The placement of these objects within the parts of the cloister deemed most sanctified—the church and nuns' choir—suggests that they performed a devotional function, but it also points to their metaphorical standing as markers of exclusion. Nuns attended mass and performed their religious obligations in these 'emotionally heightened spaces' where the relics were tangible reminders of exile and the causes that united the sisters with those who had suffered for it.

To enhance the physical and spiritual connection between the convents and their saintly patrons, holy matter was literally embedded in the physical structure of monastic buildings. When in 1719 the Rouen Poor Clares extended their chapel, dedicated to St Michael the Archangel, the abbess placed 'some relicks' in the new foundations, along with the saint's picture, all the nuns' names, and

those of important benefactors, 'to put ourselves anew under the protection of that glorious Archangel'.[48] Likewise in 1724 during further renovations, the sisters consecrated the four corners of their new cloister with relics and holy medals of the house's patron saints, and they placed a piece of the 'true cross' and other sacred objects under a crucifix.[49] Like the body parts of English martyrs, such relics became part of the material structure housing the exiled religious community and formed what I would term its 'holy fabric'. Like other medieval and early modern concealed objects, these items might have had an apotropaic, or protective, function.[50] However, they were also significant for the cloister's spiritual identity. David Morgan has argued that 'religion happens not *in* spaces and performances as indifferent containers, but *as* them, carved out of, overlaid, or running against prevailing modes of place and time'.[51] By incorporating holy matter within the architecture of the convent, the exiled religious women united with Christ, and his saints and martyrs, as constant adherents to Catholicism, bound by a tradition of suffering for the faith, which was entombed in the very foundations and walls of the convent.

A strong sense of attachment to family, both natal and spiritual, appears to be at the core of the nuns' relationship with their relics and their desire to assimilate them within their enclosures. Helen Hills has noted that the '"domestication" of conventual devotional life assumed the form … of desire for the ancestral body'.[52] The nuns commonly possessed relics of their founding fathers and mothers. In 1741, the Poor Clares in Rouen installed a relic of St Francis's cloak, enclosed in a 'cristal hart' in their choir. A piece of linen 'dipt in the blood of his sacred stigmats' in a little gold reliquary was placed 'upon the image of our Blessed Lady' at the altar of St Francis.[53] The nuns' relic of Francis's cloak 'enchas'd in a crystall hart', had been bequeathed by the brother of the duke of Norfolk in 1723. This sacred cloth fragment adorned the saint's statue, which went on procession on his feast day. They likewise had a cloth relic of St Collette's habit in a silver reliquary.[54] The Antwerp Carmelites had been given a piece of St Teresa of Avila's heart in 1642, which was encased within a new gold reliquary in 1644.[55] Prioress Mary Augustina More of the Augustinians in Bruges bequeathed to her cloister a vertebra from the neck of her ancestor, Sir Thomas More, along with his rosary.[56] Many nuns were noted for their devotion to these saints in obituaries, pointing to a close emotional relationship with their spiritual forebears.

Religious communities also sought to establish similar familial ties with saints and relics not immediately related to them or their order. The Paris Augustinians connected St Justin's relics with their patrons, St Augustine and the Virgin Mary (the convent was called Our Lady of Sion), via the annual procession of the martyr's relics through the convent garden that stopped at their shrines.[57] They likewise merged objects obtained from the Stuarts with their order's saints. In 1705 the nuns ceremonially hung a picture of St Monica (St Augustine's mother) in their choir 'betwixt ye monument of ye late King James of happy & holly memory, & ye picture of St John drawn by ou^r present young King James ye 3^d'.[58]

Patrick Geary suggested that medieval monastic communities formed a familial relationship with their saints, who as *paterfamilias* protected them and supported their prosperity.[59] We can see the same imperative at work in the English cloisters where the order's saints were prominent in personal and communal piety. The acquisition, display, and devotional function of such sacred matter also illustrated the nuns' production of a devotional aesthetic in which 'convent, relics, and the bodies and names of apostles and nuns were closely identified with each other … to deploy new holy identities across place and time'.[60] Such practices were particularly significant for exiled religious women, separated from former worlds and selves not only by enclosure walls and grilles, but also by confessional difference and geographic and cultural distance.

Yet feelings of exclusion were not only the province of the exiled nuns. Their families, likewise expatriated for religious reasons, sought similar solace by donating relics to the religious houses. Lay and clerical Catholics gifted holy remains to female kin and their monastic communities. The Lierre Carmelite, Catherine Stanislaus Joseph of the Mother of God Thorpe, was given '31 Holy Relicks' in the 1770s (presumably for the jubilee of her 1728 profession) by her cousin, the Jesuit John Thorpe.[61] Relics of the 'true cross', apostles, and saints were given to the Rouen Poor Clares by their confessor but were said to have previously belonged to James Francis Edward Stuart.[62] We might consider such gifts evidence of the desire of families and patrons for a presence in cloisters. Along with the chalices, monstrances, candlesticks, and other ornamentation for use in the sacred space of the choir and church during liturgical ceremonies, fellow exiles provided relics and other sacred objects for stimulating communal and personal piety.[63] They were also investments in the sanctity of cloisters, which like the relics themselves, remained in a liminal space between England's religious past and its anticipated Catholic future. These artefacts were employed in formal and private devotions directed towards the end of exile and the re-establishment of the faith, its objects, and rituals, across the Channel. It is possible that gifting such things to the convents for this purpose might also have performed a consolatory function for families dislocated from their homeland.

If the convents, with the nuns and their sacred objects, functioned as repositories of English Catholic piety, actively maintaining the faith in exile, they were also spaces of refuge where other expatriate co-religionists might reside to await their homecoming. Many cloisters accommodated lay boarders, who were commonly relatives and almost invariably English exiles. These women attended the nuns' public religious services and assisted the convent with gifts of church plate, linen, and ornamentation to enhance devotion.[64] But guests sought refuge with their monastic kin in death, as well as in life. Convents provided the final resting place for many expatriates. In 1714, the Nuns of the Immaculate Conception in Paris (known as the Blue Nuns) had a plot in their garden blessed as a burial ground. Various benefactors and pensioners were interred there, including Lady Catherine Melfort, who died suddenly in 1735 when visiting the convent in order to receive the sacrament of confession. The Blue Nuns'

confessor, John Massey, was buried in their church in 1715. Massey had lived at the convent for seventeen years and had asked to be laid to rest among the sisters.[65]

Other cloisters similarly welcomed deceased exiles into their community. Indeed, they integrated family and patrons within the monastic environs in much the same way as they incorporated relics. The Paris Augustinians embalmed body parts. In November 1718, the heart of the prioress's deceased niece was given to the nuns to embalm. After a requiem mass, the heart was set into the wall of the choir. Nine years later, similar ceremonies prefaced the interment of Lord Teyhnam's heart.[66] The Blue Nuns likewise entombed the heart of Lord Stafford in the wall of their choir in 1734.[67] While monastic establishments had long been popular burial sites for family and patrons, the fervour with which the English nuns sought and interred the remains of martyrs, kin, and patrons suggests that exile fostered a strong desire for the presence of compatriots within the enclosure. Their exiled relatives similarly craved permanent refuge in spaces identified as English and Catholic. The relics of holy men and women connected them with not only contemporary martyrs and saints, but also monastic ancestors, the holy family, and their own flesh and blood.

Relics, exile, and the performance of martyrdom

Surrounded by the bones, flesh, and artefacts of saints and martyrs, and versed in the stories of those who made the ultimate sacrifice for the faith, the monastic environment provided the ideal material setting for the performance of martyrdom and its prototype, Christ's passion, in the devotions of individual sisters. Pascal Eitler, Bettina Hitzer, and Monique Scheer have called for an examination of the 'concrete emotional practices that were instrumental in shaping the religious self', such as confession, conversion, prayer, and so on.[68] Rituals linked to the narratives and materiality of martyrdom encouraged women to embrace suffering as a core element of their religiosity. It is not surprising then to find nuns embracing the rigours of monastic obedience and mortification of the self and passions as a medium by which they practiced piety. They similarly adopted the physical discomfort of illness or separation from kin and country as forms of martyrdom.

Elizabeth (in religion, Teresa of Jesus Maria) Worsley, who was professed a Carmelite at Antwerp in 1620, later becoming prioress at Alost, practiced a piety steeped in the language and physicality of martyrdom. She would take physical discipline on the feast days of martyrs, flagellating herself so harshly that 'the place where she stood would be all swiming in blood'. In her final illness she likened her pain to being 'stretchd upon a Glowing gridiron', being pierced with nails, and as if her 'flesh and internals were pulld to peeces'. Nearing death, she fully embraced martyrdom. The end she most feared was by choking. She was unable to breathe, and her confessor encouraged her to liken herself to a priest being hung in England, thus fulfilling her wish to die a martyr.[69] David

Morgan reminds us that 'forms of materiality—sensations, things, spaces, and performance—are a matrix in which belief happens as touching and seeing, hearing and tasting, feeling and emotion, as will and action, as imagination and intuition'.[70] In a cloister amassing relics from the English mission, the spiritual formation of Sister Teresa of Jesus Maria was grounded in the artefacts surrounding her, in the rituals that focused on those objects, and in the stories of sacrifice they imparted. She accordingly dreamt of martyrdom, performed it, and felt its pain.

Teresa of Jesus Maria's older sister, Anne of the Ascension Worsley, presents an even starker example of the centrality of suffering in the exiled nuns' quotidian and devotional lives. The daughter of English Catholic parents who were forced into exile in Antwerp, Anne was conscious of the difficulties inherent in separation from country and kin. In an autobiographical account, she recalled at the age of fifteen or sixteen: 'I was troubled that my Parents could not maintain me as I desired and that we were in a Strange Countery [and] had no friends nor kindred as I saw others had'.[71] She entered a Carmelite cloister in Mons, where she was professed in 1610, her dowry provided by the Infanta Isabella. A year later, Anne of St Bartholomew, one of Teresa of Avila's companions, became prioress at Mons. Anne of the Ascension formed a close attachment to her and later went with her to establish a Spanish Carmelite house in Antwerp. In 1616, after successfully opposing the Carmelite friars who sought to change the convent's original Teresian constitutions, she was separated from her beloved mentor. Following three years in Mechelen, she became a founding sister in the first English Carmelite convent established in Antwerp, where she was elected prioress.[72]

Anne of the Ascension's writings emphasize her suffering at these key junctures in her life and point to 'separation' as the consistent trigger for anguish. Her early attachment to Anne of St Bartholomew was so intense that being parted from her would be 'harder then any Martirdome I could think of'. When her worst fears were realized, she described 'being in extremity of grief'.[73] Yet she settled in the Mechelen cloister, only to suffer the pain of separation anew when sent to found the English cloister in Antwerp. She embraced her distress as crosses, yet struggled to overcome the poverty of the new convent and to negotiate with its irascible lay founder, Lady Mary Lovel, whose plans did not sit easily with Worsley's understanding of Teresian government. As if these issues did not cause enough difficulty, she engaged in another battle with the Carmelite friars who again sought to change the nuns' Constitutions.[74]

Anne of the Ascension Worsley did not willingly embrace suffering. When elected prioress in Antwerp at a youthful age, her anguish stemmed largely from the fear of failure. She wrote, 'the most grief I had for being Superiour, did proceed from pride and fear of Suffering'. After encouraged by a Jesuit to resign herself to God's will, she determined that she would do her best 'tho I should Suffer disgrace for it'.[75] Worsley's acceptance of affliction emboldened her for the fight to preserve 'the custome and practice of our Blessed Mother', which

she believed had been passed to her from Teresa of Avila through Anne of St Bartholomew. Although trained in the principles of monastic obedience to superiors, Worsley was adamant her nuns would not to be separated from the direct inheritance of St Teresa, despite feeling 'much conflict in nature' to defy the friars.[76] She wrote

> I knew if the fryers did prevail that I should suffer all my life for what I did, of which I had no apperhension [sic], because God made it seem delightfull to me if I might have sufferd for the mantaining of our Blessd Mothers Institution, for this was the only Inclination I had in the business.[77]

In her final years, she similarly embraced the agony of illness. A devotee of Christ's Passion, she had a vision of him 'with a heavey Cross upon his shoulders and [he] told her that before she dyed she should feel something of what he Sufferd in that misstery'. Before her death, she was 'seased with a violent pain in her Shoulder, and then said to the Religious now I am certain I shall not be long'.[78]

   The prioress's application of the suffering motif to explain difficult moments in her life implies it was a central plank in her spirituality but also in her understanding and resolution of daily trials and tribulations. Apart from her vision of Christ, which suggests that she overcame her fear of affliction through devotion to the Passion, the rationale for the motif is never explained. It is possible that this Christological piety was inspired and supported by the collection of images, crucifixes, and relics of it in her convent. The nuns had a reliquary supposedly containing fragments of the table from the last supper, column of the scourging, scourge, Holy Sepulchre, nails, shroud, towel, purple garment, crown of thorns, sponge, two bones of Mary Magdalene, and clothing of the Virgin Mary, St Joseph, and St Teresa.[79] Moreover, Anne of the Ascension's appropriation of suffering was also grounded in her feelings of exclusion. Her formative experience was exile. It propelled her into the cloister and ultimately shaped her ongoing narrative of exclusion from homeland, parents, mentor, religious communities, and potentially her good name and reputation. Yet, just as martyrs' relics encouraged the expatriate nuns to labour towards a Catholic future for their homeland, so the anguish of separation empowered Worsely to struggle for what she felt was important, namely the constitutions of St Teresa. For the prioress, this document, the heritage of her spiritual mothers, Teresa and Anne of St Bartholomew, was a blueprint for surviving exile. It bound her to her new religious family, in which the past wisdom of the founder guided the spiritual travails of present sisters towards a future in which exile would be vanquished and they could transport the Carmelite order to England.

   In the meantime, the nuns directed their efforts towards expediting that much-hoped-for moment, and their relic collection was integral to ending their exile. Just as the Paris Augustinian canonesses in the eighteenth century would

employ their relics of St Justin in an explicitly Jacobite liturgical feast, the Antwerp Carmelites strategically dispatched their 'peece' of St Teresa's flesh to England in 1688 to assist the safe delivery of a Catholic heir. The export of a Teresian family relic, which was such a crucial piece of the cloister's holy fabric, suggests that it was exactly the type of marker of space, temporality, and identity discussed by Morgan and Csikszentmihalyi. Like so many other relics, it was gifted by a cherished patron and displayed in the convent for communal and individual devotion. It linked the sisters with their order's founder, legitimated their religious life within the convent, and inspired them to resist the friars' efforts to change Teresa's constitutions. The relic also consoled the émigré nuns and, through prayer and devotion focused on it, connected them to their secular and spiritual families beyond the enclosure walls. It also performed a vital mnemonic function. As Alexandra Walsham observes regarding Catholics, 'Hallowed remains operated … as mechanisms for establishing the legitimacy and authenticity of their religion, for demonstrating its material and institutional continuity from antiquity to the present, and for keeping alive hope for a glorious future'.[80] As the embodiment of exile, relics were strategically significant in confessional politics, and accordingly the nuns deployed them to precipitate the recatholicization of England.

Notes

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6

FEAR AND LOATHING IN THE RADICAL REFORMATION

David Joris as the prophet of emotional tranquillity, 1525–1556

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Emotions in the Reformation

For centuries, historians of the Reformation have argued, sometimes vociferously, over the exact meaning and significance of the theological reforms of Protestant leaders for the crystallization of religious and political identities in the sixteenth century.[1] Since the 1970s, scholars have explored how these ideas were also expressed orally, received aurally, and interpreted differently by various individuals and groups.[2] Much more recently, historians have found ways to uncover how parishioners utilized their senses in worship.[3] Similarly, current attention on emotions in the sixteenth century has revealed much about how Europeans experienced the Reformation.[4] Much of their behaviour has often belied both official dogma and historical explanation.

An explanation for this apparent anomaly can perhaps be found in the work of the great Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga, who in 1924 described the hyper-emotionality of late medieval people as a distinction of the era, as people oscillated between 'despair and distracted joy, between cruelty and pious tenderness'.[5] If correct, then we need to examine how or if the Reformation moderated such emotional extremes. The evidence of the religious violence of the sixteenth century alone would suggest it did not.[6] Instead, it appears that the Reformation period was even more emotionally charged than the late medieval, as efforts to live up to new doctrinal and behavioural standards caused escalated levels of ecstasy and anguish.[7] The passions aroused by religious antipathy encouraged the use of demonizing rhetoric against various groups of dissenters, as well as populist uprisings and mob violence.[8] The fear of God and his punishments for sin were behind both the religious persecution and the large-scale witch-hunting of the century.[9] Churchmen may have justified the prosecution of heretics in rational terms as excising a cancer from the body politic or

cleansing a community from the pollution of blasphemy,[10] but behind it all was a profound dread of God's wrath.[11]

Some major actors in the Reformations have left behind a record of their feelings, most famously Martin Luther who constantly reported on his anxieties over the Devil and death, and on joys over his pleasure in his dear Katie.[12] Most did not. Both Luther and Calvin encouraged an interiorized faith, while Calvin's followers pursued a process of self-examination to gauge their spiritual health and standing. Some Puritans took this to the extreme of searching agonizingly for signs of being among the elect, such as feeling sorrow for sin and fear of damnation. Many alternated between deep despair and thoughts of suicide and intense joy, leading Paola Baseotto to suggest that the difference between Elizabethan 'puritans' and Anglicans was not so much one of doctrine but of 'emotionology'.[13]

The Puritans were not alone in confronting extreme emotions arising from spiritual self-examination. For instance, in 1524, a South German, Jörg Haugk von Jüchsen, described how believers needed to climb the seven steps towards spiritual conformity with Christ that would overcome the 'spirit of fear' of humans and instil the perfect 'fear of God'.[14] This true fear, he continued, leads to 'anxious questioning, to an examination of oneself and of God in all things', and ultimately to full understanding. Composed during the height of the German Peasants' War and printed by the mystical Anabaptist Hans Hut, this tract reveals the intense dread felt by dissenters and their desire to quell it. Such a quest was even more prominent for the Dutch Anabaptist and spiritualist David Joris (1501–1556), who advocated a similarly stepped program of spiritual examination and progress and who experienced tremendous emotional extremes. In his case, however, these came first and foremost from the external pressures of persecution, and his scheme of spiritual development emphasized achieving peace and tranquillity by means of 'rising above' the 'fear of man' that led to emotional instability, and relying solely on the perfect 'fear of God' to achieve calm. In this way, he offered a solution by which the devout could rest assured that they were part of God's chosen, while avoiding the unceasing turmoil experienced by later Puritans.

Dutch Anabaptists and David Joris

Joris and his Anabaptist colleagues were the most severely persecuted religious group in the sixteenth century. Catholic and Lutheran polemicists produced volumes of hate literature linking Anabaptists to the Devil and sedition, while Calvinists used less demonizing language to condemn their sectarianism. Luther thought they were mad, not only for their irrational beliefs and ecstatic behaviour, but also for their willingness to die for their beliefs.[15] All of this confirmed the Anabaptists' self-image as the persecuted children of God, encapsulated in their many martyr books.[16] Without political allies, Anabaptists faced extreme levels of insecurity and turmoil as they sought refuge in foreign lands or endured

harsh punishment if they stayed in their territories. At least 2,000 died for their beliefs, most of them in the Catholic Habsburg domains, but they were prosecuted in Lutheran and Reformed territories as well. In the Habsburg Netherlands, hundreds of Anabaptists were executed and hundreds more accorded lighter punishment or forced into exile, most of them between 1535 and 1570.[17]

Of all of these Anabaptists, Joris inspired the greatest hatred from opponents, as well as intense devotion from followers.[18] He was forced into exile three times, the first a three-year banishment from Holland in 1528, the second a move to a noble manor near Antwerp in 1539, and finally a hurried flight to Basel in 1544 after Joris's locale was revealed by an associate in the torture chamber. In Basel, Joris resided with his noble patrons until he died of natural causes in 1556. These latter moves coincided with Joris's transition away from Anabaptism and towards spiritualism and to a scheme of inner spiritual development that made spiritual perfection possible. By defeating the lusts of the old Adam within, believers could reach a state where they would be unaffected by temptation. As the Holy Spirit moved within them, they would be so caught up in the love of God that they would not fear humans, but instead express that divine love in the love of neighbour. Religious externals, including doctrine, rites, and sacraments, were, moreover, of little consequence compared to their inner significance. Joris also chided governmental officials for persecuting people for such inconsequential matters. His supporters were completely devoted to him, many dying to keep his whereabouts secret. To support them, Joris wrote and published well over 200 tracts and books and hundreds of letters. Here we will focus our efforts on exploring only a few key works, especially an extraordinary biography that recounts Joris's life up to his flight from Holland in 1539. During this period, Joris struggled to maintain his sanity while experiencing feelings of apocalyptic excitement and anxiety so powerful they produced ecstatic, visionary episodes. This biography reveals that these were not so much self-induced from intense introspection, but the result of the truly frightening persecution and fugitive existence that pushed him to a form of inner exile. The spiritually renewed individuals would be so filled with the love of the divine that they would achieve a state of freedom from sin and of tranquillity in the face of external turmoil. Joris was not unique in seeking emotional calm during this tumultuous century, as other spiritualists came to similar conclusions. As detailed recently by Mirjam van Veen, Dirck Volckhertsz Coornhert struggled with sorrow, loneliness, and nearly constant fear for his and his wife's safety when in his exile from Haarlem, and experience of these emotions helped push him towards a greater emphasis on toleration and Stoic-like calm.[19] In other cases, religious zeal and exile combined could lead to madness, as seen in Hans de Waardt's portrayal of the spiritualistic humanist and self-acclaimed prophet Justus Velsius Haganus.[20]

Spiritualism was particularly prominent in the Lower Rhineland region, thanks to the influence of mysticism and Erasmian humanism, and Dutch Anabaptism became a prime carrier.[21] Inspired by the South German apocalyptic prophet Melchior Hoffman, Dutch Anabaptists listened for the voice of the Spirit while awaiting the return of Christ in the Last Days.[22] In 1531, Hoffman

suspended baptisms to halt governmental persecution, but two years later his self-acclaimed successor Jan Matthijs proclaimed Christ's return would occur in 1534 in the Westphalian city of Münster. To experience the joy of seeing Christ descend to earth, thousands of Melchiorites sold their property, left their homes, and endured privation and governmental prosecution. One can only imagine their emotional turmoil, as well as that of the orthodox, who feared divine retribution should heresy be tolerated.[23] These were the actions of people caught up in excitement, hope, and fear. An example of the power of such emotions occurred on the evening of 11 February 1535, when a small group of eleven Anabaptists, including four women, were inspired by their prophet Heynrick Heynricxz to remove and burn their clothes in an upper room of an Amsterdam house and then run out onto the streets of the city, crying 'woe, woe over the world and the godless', proclaiming the 'naked truth'.[24] Even in prison, the defendants refused the offer of clothing and behaved bizarrely in the courtroom, leading the president of the Court of Holland, Gerrit van Assendelft, to contemplate demonic possession as the cause.[25] In the end, he determined they were neither possessed nor mad, and they were punished as heretics. To be caught up in the apocalyptic moment was, therefore, not seen as inherently insane, but the humanist Van Assendelft certainly regarded it as allowing the emotional faculties to overwhelm the rational (Figure 6.1).

After a debilitating two-year siege, Anabaptist Münster fell in June 1535. Governmental prosecution of Anabaptist heresy understandably escalated, as the authorities feared further insurrections. For those Anabaptists who remained in the movement, the persecution raised the level of despair and anger to the boiling point, as seen in the retributive violence of the Batenburgers.[26] For those who recanted their beliefs, we can only guess at their feelings, since most have disappeared from the historical record. But they undoubtedly included disillusionment at the failure of the prophecies, guilt at abandoning fellow believers, and fear of God's anger over their apostasy. One exception is Obbe Philips, who recorded his feelings some twenty-five years after Münster. Having long since abandoned his Anabaptist identity, Obbe blamed the debacle on the overzealousness of its self-acclaimed prophets and on their tactic of condemning all opponents as godless and devilish in such 'frightful' terms 'that the hair on a man's head would stand on end'.[27] From their naiveté they unquestioningly accepted dreams and fantasies, 'with no little joy and expectation'.[28] They were, he concludes, driven to desperation by persecution and more easily caught up in the apocalyptical excitement:

> O how many times were some of us so distressed to death that the heart in our bodies turned cold, and we did not know where to turn, nor what best to do; the whole world pursued us to death with fire, water, sword, and bloody tyranny for our belief. The prophecies deceived us on all sides… Were it not for the love I felt for the simple hearts who were daily misled by the false brethren, I would long ago have left them and
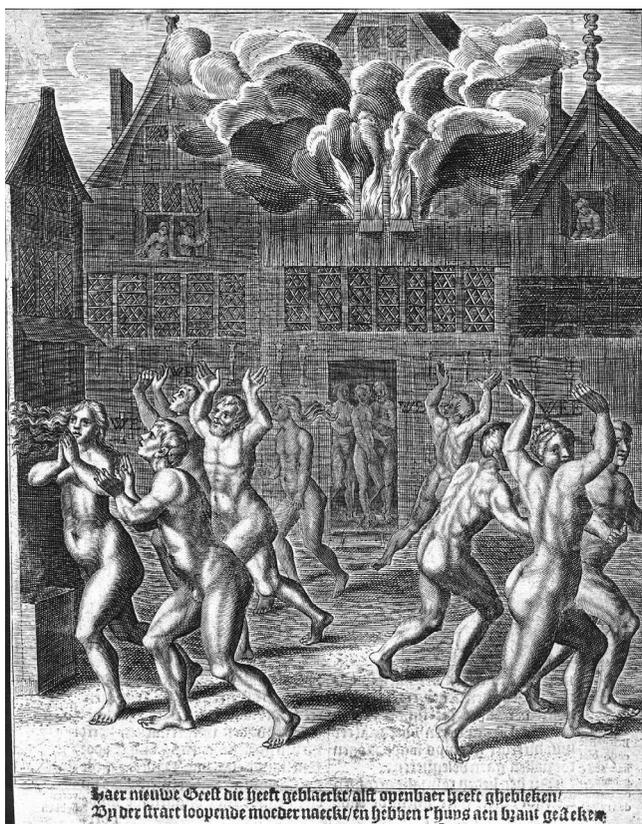
FIGURE 6.1 After Barent Dirksz (painting destroyed in 1652), *The naked runners of Amsterdam*, copper etching, in Lambertus Hortensius, *Het boeck van den oproer der weder-dooperen* (Enkhuisen, 1624), 18r. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, Kerkelijke Collecties, KF 61–5256.

> departed from all my acquaintances… Indeed, I may well say with truth that my love of the brethren in the zeal for the house of the Lord very nearly engulfed me.[29]

Writing years after the fact, Philips was still 'miserable of heart' for his role in encouraging people to join the Anabaptists and for having commissioned Joris and Menno Simons as leaders.

Those who were caught up in the judicial system have left indirect traces of a range of intense feelings in court records, martyr accounts, and letters written to family and friends. These have yet to be seriously mined with respect to the history of emotion. For example, Anna Jans of Rotterdam, one of only three known followers of Joris to be included in the *Martyr's Mirror* (Mennonites, who despised Joris, may not have known about Jans's true affiliation), wrote a letter

to her young son as she faced execution.[30] The letter encourages the boy not to fear humans but only God, the sole path to happiness, and to flee the world and love God. On the surface, the letter is not particularly emotive, but one wonders how her son felt at reading it when he was older, especially the mention of how she 'sealed this with her blood'.[31] The image by the seventeenth-century engraver Jan Luyken of Anna being led to the scaffold and giving her son Isaiah and a bag of money to a man who would raise him is heartrending, as is seen in the faces of the spectators (Figure 6.2). Or, there is the story of the sisters-in-law Maria and Ursula van Beckum, two other supporters of Joris in the *Martyr's Mirror* who were executed in Overijssel in 1544. The account is filled with the diabolical anger of the prosecutors and the godly patience, fear, and joy of the accused. Luyken's image reveals a model of calmness in the sister at the stake, and a look of pity on her compatriot (Figure 6.3).[32]

The execution of these young noblewomen inspired further emotional responses: a number of their friends and family, calling themselves the 'Children of Emlichheim', were so enraged that in late August 1548 they conducted

FIGURE 6.2 Jan Luyken, *Anna Jans hands over her son, the later Isaiah de Lind, to a baker, 1539*, engraving, in Tieleman Jansz van Bracht, *Het bloedig tooneel, of Martelaers spiegel* (Amsterdam, 1685), 2: 143. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, Kerkelijke Collecties, Prent K 904a.

FIGURE 6.3 Jan Luyken, *The Sisters Maria and Ursula van Beckum on the pyre at Delden, 1544*, engraving, in Tieleman Jansz van Bracht, *Het bloedig tooneel, of Martelaers spiegel* (Amsterdam, 1685), 2: 65. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, Kerkelijke Collecties, Prent K 904a.

a campaign of vengeance by stabbing livestock and committing acts of arson that led in turn to widespread fears of conspiratorial terrorist gangs.[33] Elsewhere, governmental persecution of Anabaptists was inspiring both pity and anger among audiences, leading some magistrates to suppress public executions.[34] While the scribes of the court records made few references to emotions in the torture chamber, the writers of the martyrological accounts did, with the intention of moving readers to deeper commitment of their faith.[35]

David Joris as the prophet of emotional tranquillity

The Joris biography falls into the same genre as the martyr accounts. The writer offers considerable insight into Joris's mental state, hence he must have been very close to the prophet.[36] He clarifies that he is describing not the 'conduct of [Joris's] outward life and nature', but, like most hagiographies, is focused on the 'inner heart' of his subject.[37] As a youth, Joris allegedly had no 'desire' for studies and was passionate instead about art and religion.[38] His parents apprenticed him to a glass-painter, although at his father's death Joris was placed with

a merchant to learn a more lucrative career. In this wealthy man's home, Joris battled temptations to 'a money God' and eventually turned down the prospect of wealth to embark with fellow glass-painters on a journeyman's tour through Flanders, Valencia, and England.[39] As an artist, Joris would have been trained in how to portray the inner emotional state of the subject on canvas or glass, and this gave him a deep appreciation of the emotive side of religious experience.[40]

In 1524, Joris returned to the Low Countries, setting up shop in Delft. Here he was inspired by evangelical sermons, becoming 'consumed' by the reform message 'like the working of physical love', so much so that 'he nearly drowned in this knowledge'. This the biographer describes as a zeal that 'struck David Joris's heart … with hunger and longing' and grieving over his 'godless, fleshly, vain life'. In this quest for spiritual salvation and the anger over ecclesiastical abuses, Joris was not unusual, as these were commonplaces for Protestants. Disregarding the love that he had for his wife, Dirkgen Willem, and their young child, Joris took the risky step in 1528 of preaching publicly against idolatry and the veneration of the Virgin Mary while in front of participants in the Ascension Day procession. He was arrested, jailed, and sentenced to a whipping, the boring of his tongue and expulsion from the city; thanks to family connection to the elites of the city, Joris avoided a death sentence.[41] He seems to have endured this exile in Emden, East Frisia, where he heard Hoffman preach. Upon his return to Holland, Joris allegedly resisted efforts to persuade him to join the Anabaptists. Yet, he was 'very confused in his soul' because he admired their zeal.[42] Then, at the height of the apocalyptic excitement of Münster, one Anabaptist woman struck an emotional chord with him by appealing to the courage of those who were paying for their faith with their blood, at which 'he was struck down in his most inward being' and relented, undergoing rebaptism in the winter of 1534/5 at the hands of Obbe Philips.[43] Now back in harm's way, Joris's struggles with anxiety began in earnest, as he 'had to run sometimes here, other times there', leaving behind wife and children and putting his life in the hands of both friends and strangers. On the run, he dashed off spiritual songs, one composed in the bushes behind an inn, that encouraged believers with the expectation of Christ's arrival while admonishing them to be ready to die, as 'these are truly dangerous times, in which the elect of God stand in anxiety'.[44]

The biography's vivid descriptions of the intense pressure on Joris accord with what we know about governmental efforts to catch him. In 1538 and 1539, over 100 of his supporters were judicially interrogated and executed, but until 1544, none divulged his whereabouts, because 'his disciples loved and valued him so much that they suffered all the pains of martyrdom on his account'.[45] These included his mother, who was executed, and his wife, who somewhat mysteriously was released.[46] Joris therefore lived in constant fear of discovery, arrest, torture, and execution; a price was put on his head, and spies and informants were hired to find him. His biographer therefore emphasizes

Joris's nearly constant anxiety over the safety of his wife and children, from whom he was often separated. He also describes Joris's intense pain and guilt at the suffering of his followers, knowing that they were being tortured and executed on his account. Psychological studies of 'survivors' guilt' have revealed its powerful effects, including, according to Robert Jay Lifton, depression and 'a struggle to achieve a magical form of vitality and power over death'.[47] This latter was in fact something of a preoccupation in Joris's early writings.[48] These can be understood only in the context of guilt, anxiety, and outright terror that their author lived through. Such guilt feelings were not unique to Joris. His biographer describes a meeting between Leonard van Dam and a knight of Guelders, whose feelings of guilt for having slain a Münsterite during the siege led him to offer Joris a refuge.[49]

Anxiety is therefore a major theme of Joris's biography, as its author notes:

> but there arose a great dissension among these people [Anabaptists], for one wanted it one way, another the other way; some put forward strange, unusual things, others, hypocrisy; and there was on every side nothing but strong emotions. Everyone was in anxiety, worry and calamity, not knowing who they should follow.[50]

Many pleaded with Joris to take leadership, but he resisted, claiming he felt 'no calling or power'. Fear of capture, torture, and execution competed with the fear of disobeying God in the Last Days.[51] Since Joris had not been a leader of the now-discredited Münsterite movement, he was seen by many as a good choice to lead the Anabaptist remnant in a non-violent direction, although some clearly hoped he would restore the Anabaptist kingdom of God, at least in a spiritual fashion.

In 1536, Joris met with other Anabaptist leaders in a place identified as Boeckholt, Westphalia. The trip was fraught with danger, as the authorities were hunting down seditious heretics and militant Anabaptists considered him a traitor for opposing violence. The event was a watershed in Joris's religious career, as he forged a compromise agreement between the militant and non-violent Anabaptist factions that thrust him into the forefront of the movement. From this moment on, confidence in his calling increased, although it remained mixed with moments of extreme doubt and fear. He prayed persistently for divine assistance to enter into a state of spiritual calm, despite the danger constantly around him and forced absences from wife and family—for which 'even a heart of stone would have pitied them'.[52] In 1539, in fact, the authorities used both Dirckgen and her children as bait to entrap Joris. The tactic nearly worked, as Joris's travelling companions had to physically restrain the prophet from jumping off the wagon to give himself up, to achieve the release of his family.[53]

Joris's anxiety at times manifested itself in physical symptoms, and there were moments when 'he could not be left alone'.[54] Even when in relative safety among supporters, fear and other 'temptations' could overwhelm him,

and he was often 'forced to completely quiet himself (whenever the temptations fell on him) among the people, as if he was standing behind a curtain and had to hide. He had to swallow all sorts of pills, which happened to him many times'.[55] What those pills were we do not know, but melancholia was a broad diagnosis associated with madness or convulsions, and in the sixteenth century was believed to afflict men as well as women.[56] Temptation to sexual improprieties was also intense, although the biographer claims that Joris and one woman in particular, since identified as the aforementioned Anna Jans of Rotterdam, succeeded in their struggles to remain chaste, a tough matter for Joris who was born of 'the complexion of love', with 'an affectionate disposition', and 'liked to love'. There are, however, good reasons to doubt the biographer's claims of chastity.[57] As will be noted shortly, a later critic, the Cambridge Platonist Henry More, was similarly sceptical, diagnosing Joris as having a sanguine temperament that predisposed him to sexual excess.

In the midst of such terror and temptation, it is understandable that Joris would seek 'to become free from all worry', which, the biographer added, meant freedom from 'all anxiety, danger, pain, and lack of desire or feebleness'. Like late medieval mystics, Joris pursued divine love as an antidote to fear, 'for he knew that when the heart was surrounded with stronger love, it would permit no incitement, rod, or chastisement which God did not permit'.[58] The constant anxiety also provoked in him a deep concern about light-heartedness, especially in the usage of the name of God, which partly motivated his efforts to communicate with Jews.[59]

After the 1536 meeting of Anabaptists at Boeckholt, Joris experienced visionary episodes that provided him with confidence in his mission as God's chosen prophet, which had earlier often eluded him. In one of the first of these episodes, during a prolonged period of arduous prayer, Joris suddenly stood 'enraptured as if he had left his body, so that he did not know if he was living or dead'. He then saw the powerful and mighty bowing down in fear before the 'small and innocent children'. When he came to himself, he saw that the walls were suddenly filled with images of naked men and women, the latter in all sorts of 'shapes and postures', and he cried out, 'Lord, Lord, I may indeed see everything'. He claimed he was no longer 'vexed or made impure by any created work of God' (i.e. he was now above lust). Now, when he had intercourse with his wife, Dirckgen, it could be purely as a means of producing the pure children of God, untainted by sexual arousal or sin.[60] He finally woke exhausted, picked up his quill, and in this state of ecstasy, wrote one of his first published tracts, *Hear, Hear, Hear, Great Wonder, Great Wonder, Great Wonder*.[61] This is a work of excited emotionality, with little regard to logic or clear organization. It is instead filled with bold proclamations, oblique references to himself as the third David who will defeat death, and intense repetition of phrases typical of a town crier.

Joris's ecstatic episodes were often accompanied by physical manifestations. His zeal produced 'inner warmth' that kept him alive even when hiding in unbearably cold rooms. In other cases, the Spirit pressed on him so hard that he

collapsed from exhaustion and fear of God or stumbled around as if drunk. One time the divine power entered into his head 'like a heavy spiritual burden', giving him 'a perception of or sensitivity to the resurrection', again forcing him into a prone position. In this state, he felt the spirit move about or circulate within his body.[62] This allowed him to perceive 'five new senses from God' with which, he believed, he could comprehend all aspects of creation in their true, inward meaning.[63] At least one other disciple, Leonard van Dam, had similar ecstatic experiences about which he published a pamphlet in June 1539.[64] Such euphoric experiences were commonplace among mystics and visionaries from all confessional camps. There are elements also reminiscent of the writhing of demoniacs, which Sarah Ferber has astutely revealed could be utilized by the afflicted as evidence of spirituality.[65] For Joris, these episodes produced 'an innocent, restful spirit, [in which] he was set free from all his fantasies or fears,' especially his concerns over his wife's future should he be executed. His new confidence included freedom from worry, anxiety, fear, and 'esteem of the world'. Followers expressed puzzlement that he was suddenly joyful during 'such a sad time'. He responded that he was no longer afraid even of the emperor, who should instead acknowledge Joris as God's agent.[66]

Joris's boldness required frequent testing through moments of danger. Hoping to 'avoid all human things' he also embarked upon a period of intense fasting and prayer that undoubtedly contributed to his frequent visions, but which also nearly killed him, so that followers had to compel him to eat.[67] Total resignation to God's will (the mystic's *Gelassenheit*) was his goal. Joris's emotional struggles were exacerbated by pressures to abandon his craft and rely entirely on God for survival; as a fugitive, he found it virtually impossible to complete his commissions, and this was compounded by the conundrum of painting religious images while opposing idolatry. When he quit his profession, followers provided donations; whereas Joris travelled to survive, wrote his treatises, letters, and songs, and met with other Anabaptist groups across the Northern Netherlands, Westphalia, and Strasbourg.

Joris was obviously not the only one experiencing strong feelings; his opponents hated him with a profound passion that they set out in the polemical literature. Jan van Batenburg, leader of a small Anabaptist terrorist cell was 'so envious and evil-minded towards him that he would have certainly torn him apart with his teeth',[68] primarily because Joris won over several Batenburgers to his group; these apparently expected Joris to be revealed as the new king David who would restore the kingdom of Christ three and a half years after the fall of Münster.[69] In his confession to the authorities in late 1537, Batenburg therefore implicated Joris in his militant schemes.[70] Despite this, Joris expressed empathy for the Batenburgers' anger, as the biographer notes, 'for they had been made completely despairing, frantic, raging, and insane' by witnessing the judicial murder of a wife, child, husband, parent, or friend, leading to a profound 'spirit of vengeance'.[71]

Once in safe refuge in Antwerp, Joris's visions seem to have ended, undoubtedly because he no longer suffered from the intense fears of a fugitive. He was able to write more frequently, and altered his theology into a much more

spiritualized approach to religion, turning his earlier apocalyptic denunciations of governmental persecution into more thoughtful pleas for a higher level of religious toleration. Unbound by scholarly logic or confessional orthodoxy, Joris allowed his mind to interpret scripture freely, following the inspiration of the Spirit's voice within. His emotional equilibrium was undoubtedly helped by the protection of his noble patrons, the Van Lier and Van Berchem families of Antwerp. Even when the government discovered his whereabouts in 1544, the support of these families surely reduced his emotional turmoil as they all moved to Basel with a great deal of disposable wealth.[72]

Like many other Neo-Platonists and mystics, Joris told his correspondents to focus on the inner crucifixion of the sinful 'Old Man' and the progressive transformation into the 'New Man' (Figure 6.4). The result would be the transcendence of emotional extremes caused by external forces and peace in the knowledge that one's fate resided solely in God's hands. He also returned to his original vocation as a means of illustrating his writings, such as the designs he created for his *Wonder Book* c.1542.[73] In his depiction of the New Man, we see a naked male in classical pose, with calm visage and with the members of the trinity identified by body parts: God as the head, Christ as the heart, and most interesting, the Holy Spirit or the 'high power of God' as the male genitalia.

There is also a famous portrait of Joris by an unknown Netherlandish artist that was likely commissioned by him, that portrays Joris in a state of calm resolution (Figure 6.5). Joris seems to be pointing to a scene of the good Samaritan over his left shoulder, a major theme in his writings. Hence, his expression is likely also intended to be interpreted as promoting love for neighbour.[74] In an allegorical glass roundel attributed to Joris, the virtues are similarly self-possessed and calm, as in the depiction of Charity (Figure 6.6).

One of Joris's key themes is the contrast between the fear of God, which is a positive emotion, and the fear of humans, which is negative. The fear of God became profoundly important during the late Middle Ages, leading to increased anxiety over offences committed against the divine.[75] It was a principal factor in Reformation campaigns to eradicate blasphemy, idolatry, and diabolical heresy and magic. Joris, however, did not emphasize the judgement of God in this, but rather His love. He completely avoided confessional polemics, since external religious trappings were not the things that angered God. Instead, to feel and perform love of neighbour was the single most important emotion for spiritualists.

Apart from the fear of God, Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most feared diabolical witchcraft. As Reformers removed counter-magic from the people's arsenal for self-defence against *maleficia*, they were left with judicial action, greatly increasing calls for witch trials.[76] Joris sought, in his peculiar way, to depreciate anxiety over the Devil by reconceiving him not as an external foe, but as the evil inclinations within the individual.[77] Believers needed to 'cast out Satan' through the public confession of sins, which removed the shame that had become associated with the
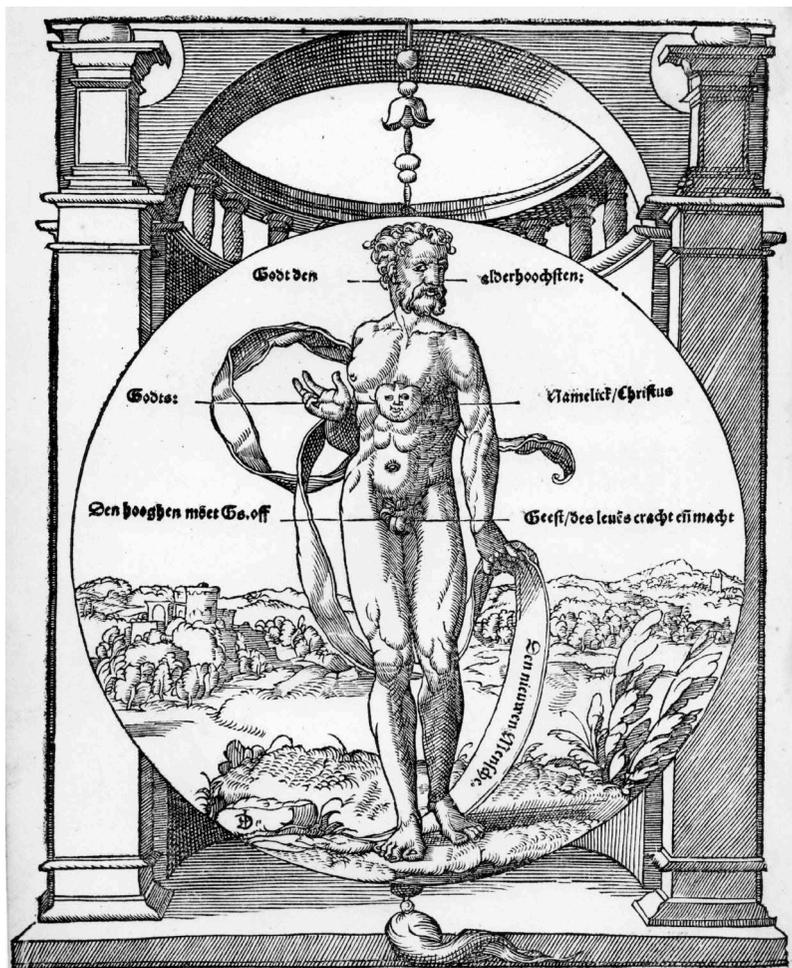
FIGURE 6.4 After David Joris, *The New Man*, woodcut, in Joris, *Twonder Boeck* ([Deventer], Dirk van den Borne, 1542–1544), part 2, fol. 211v. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, Kerkelijke Collecties, OG 63–5480.

human body after the fall. For a time, Jorists performed this confession nude in front of the spiritually pure, as a proof of the eradication of sexual shame and lust.[78] Around 1540, Joris laid out his new demonology, most explicitly in *Behold, the Book of Life is Opened to Me*, a work reprinted in 1616 as *A Brief and Instructive Tract: Wherein is treated what the word Devil means*.[79] In an unpublished tract, Joris responded to the question of 'whether God indeed would allow a sorcerer [*tovenaar*] to have the ability to debilitate the property or body of the believer'. In reply, Joris first set up a Lutheran straw man, as someone with a strong faith 'according to the letter', who should

FIGURE 6.5   Frisian School, *Portrait of David Joris*, c.1550–1555, oil on oak. Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. 561. Public domain.

reply that God would not allow the Devil so much independent power over believers. He then conceded that while a Lutheran's response was not bad,

> it reveals faith only concerned with the protection and preservation of the body. But now God desires to establish a superior, more holy and eternal faith. He therefore might allow a sorcerer or devil such ability to make a person miserable in the body, to damage his outer life and property, thereby proving our faith and love for God, to see if we will believe and trust him less… Meanwhile, he now desires that we forget and pay little heed to all physical welfare, yes, to all that is external, so that we might gain and preserve eternally the inward. So entirely is the Lord's desire and will to plant the most holy faith of eternity in us, that he no longer considers the other at this time.[80]

Hence, even if diabolical witchcraft could harm individuals, such physical damage was of no consequence compared to the inner bewitchment experienced in the soul of those who ignored the Holy Spirit. The inner spirit of the

FIGURE 6.6 David Joris (attributed), *Charitas/Liefde*, c. 1545, glass roundel. Courtesy of the Historisches Museum Basel, 1905.498. Photography by Peter Portner.

regenerate individual could not be harmed by outer magic, however caused. In other letters, he tells the ill to regard their suffering as divine chastisement intended to remove from them their preoccupation with the physical.[81] In this way, Joris's approach was comparable to that of other mystics and spiritualists, such as the spiritualist Matthias Wier, brother to the physician Johan Wier (Weyer), author of the 1563 *De praestigiis daemonum* and a correspondent with Joris.[82]

Concerns over the impact of Joris's spiritualism proved a preoccupation among Dutch polemicists throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but became a major theme in the works of English writers only after they became aware of Joris's unusual demonology in the 1640s when a critical biography of the prophet by Joris's son-in-law Nicolaas Meyndertsz van Blesdijk was published in Latin in 1642.[83] This led the famed English philosopher, Henry More (1614–87), in his *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, not only to critique extreme religious enthusiasm in general, but also to try to explain Joris's wide appeal. Like many other English polemicists, he blamed the Dutch

prophet for the current surge in spiritualistic groups in England, from the Family of Love to the Quakers.[84] A Fellow of the Royal Society, More sought to tread a path between excessive rationalism and spiritualism, as well as to prove the reality of the supernatural world against the rising tide of materialistic philosophy.[85] He was afraid of the new movements inspiring ordinary women and men to speak with the confidence of the Spirit within, explaining such as arising from 'the enormous strength of Imagination the cause of Enthusiasme'.[86] He therefore sought a physiological explanation for why so many were falling into the trap of 'Enthusiasme', relying on Galenic humoral theory to do so. Such unconstrained visionaries, he concluded, suffer from Melancholia, an excess of black bile that could imbalance the mind and lead to hallucinations, visions, or revelations.[87] David George (Joris) was one of these so disturbed by their humoral imbalances, yet More reserves a distinctive diagnosis for him.

More asserts that, along with suffering from bouts of Melancholia, Joris had a 'Sanguine Temper', and was hence susceptible to 'every blast of transient pleasure'. In this temperament, associated with the element of air, are housed 'the fiercer Passions', which combined with a dose of Melancholia explained Joris's allowance of polygamy.[88] When out of balance, the sanguine temper made Joris susceptible to lust, to religious passions divorced from reason, to excess in both thought and sexual desire. More even compares the Prophet Muhammad favourably to Joris, 'who yet was so highly conceited of his own light, that he hoped to put Mahomet's nose out of joynt'. For, intoxicated by his own 'Melancholy and Sanguine', Joris had the temerity to declare himself 'the last and chiefest prophet', denying heaven, hell, eternal reward or punishment, demons and angels, and the immortality of the soul. 'Though born a Christian, yet he did Mahomitise in this that he also did indulge plurality of wives'.[89] More thus explains Joris's apparent contradiction as a self-proclaimed prophet of God, who at the same time refused to entertain the existence of anything beyond this life— a contradiction arising from a humoral condition in which his sanguine temper was made further unbalanced by melancholic fits. Disposed already to the excessive love of women, Joris thus needed to deny angels and the spirit world to no longer fear eternal judgement.[90]Although it seems unlikely that More had access to the anonymous biography of Joris, which indeed admitted that Joris had been 'born of the complexion of love', More certainly believed he had evidence for his assertions despite not having read a page of Joris's works.[91] Joris certainly did struggle with intense feelings, including sexual desire, yet believed that he had found a way to transform these into divine feelings that transcended base physical urges, thanks to the Spirit within. More obviously disagreed.

Conclusion

Joris's development of a scheme to replace human emotions with purer spiritual versions coincided with his transition away from Anabaptism and towards spiritualism, which strongly emphasized inner spiritual development, focused on the love of God and of one's neighbour, and severely diminished external religiosity. Before his move to Antwerp, Joris struggled intensely to maintain his sanity

while experiencing feelings of apocalyptic excitement and anxiety so powerful they produced ecstatic, visionary episodes. Hounded by governmental authorities, Joris emphasized the inner renewal of the person that would overwhelm transient human emotions such as fear and anger with divine ones, such as love and forgiveness. Achieving such internal tranquillity required the mortification of the Old Man, which represented human frailties and feelings, and its replacement with the New Man, whose emotions would be infused by the Holy Spirit. This scheme was in some respects reminiscent of classical Stoicism, helping to explain why some humanists and nobles found his ideas, and those of other spiritualists, attractive.[92] Yet, the major difference between Joris and Stoicism was that Joris's means of achieving calm was through replacing the fear of humans with the fear and love of God; by allowing this to fill one's mind and heart, the believer could no longer be destabilized by anxiety. Many people seem to have found this approach appealing, and along with being a prolific writer, Joris elicited considerable opposition from the orthodox who feared his influence and therefore kept his name and controversial interpretations in the public arena long after he died. Some, such as Henry More, went so far as to diagnose Joris's unorthodox theology by reference to his alleged physiological makeup, which explained what More considered his emotional instability and susceptibility to sexual temptation. More hoped that this diagnosis would steer his readers away from spiritualistic excess.

This one case study of David Joris reveals the great need for more in-depth analysis of the broader role of the emotions in the theological developments and dramatic events of the Reformation. The Reformation unleashed often uncontrollable passions, escalating anger and an array of fears to the point of great violence. Both the prosecuted and the prosecutors were motivated by such feelings to take the actions that they did. From the ecstatic excitement of living in the Last Days to the fear of divine punishment for tolerating blasphemers, emotions played enormously important roles in the debates and decisions of all actors in the Reformation era. The quest for emotional stability was, therefore, a popular one. Like the more famous Puritans, Joris sought emotional peace in knowing that he was one of God's chosen; but unlike them, he advocated the possibility of reaching a state of inner spiritual purity that would allow the children of God to achieve emotional peace and remain unaffected by external temptations or crises, since they were focused on the love provided by the Holy Spirit within. Many humanists found such spiritualism a good religious kin to ancient Stoicism. It is for this reason, and despite the obscurity of his writing style and widespread infamy, that Joris's spiritualism remained popular well into the eighteenth century.

Notes

1 See for example, Anne Jacobson Schutte, Susan C. Karant-Nunn, and Heinz Schilling, eds, *Reformation Research in Europe and North America/Reformationsforschung in Europa und Nordamerika* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009).

2 The classic study remains Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, revised reprint (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994). See also Robert Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon, 1987); and Robert Scribner and Trevor Johnson, eds., *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1996).

3 Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). See also Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, & Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

4 Jonas Liliequist, ed., *A History of Emotions, 1200–1800* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), esp. Paola Baseotto, "Theology and Interiority: Emotions as Evidence of the Working of Grace in Elizabethan and Stuart Conversion Narratives," 65–78; William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

5 Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. F. Hopman (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985). See also Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Theories of Change in the History of Emotions," in *A History of Emotions, 1200–1800*, ed. Jonas Liliequist (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 7–20, and "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions," *History Compass* 8 (2010): 828–42.

6 Roberts and Naphy, *Fear*, 1–8; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

7 See for example, Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 4th ed. (Abingdon, Oxon.; New York: Routledge, 2016), 105–7; and H.C. Erik Midelfort, *A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

8 Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 152–87.

9 Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Gary K. Waite, "Sixteenth Century Religious Reform and the Witch-Hunts," in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. Brian Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 487; Gary K. Waite, *Heresy, Magic and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003).

10 John S. Oyer, "The Reformers Condemn the Anabaptists," in '*They Harry the Good People Out of the Land': Essays on the Persecution, Survival and Flourishing of Anabaptists and Mennonites*, ed. John D. Roth (Goshen: Mennonite Historical Society, 2000), 3–15.

11 Gary K. Waite, "Demonizing Rhetoric, Reformation Heretics and the Witch Sabbaths: Anabaptists and Witches in Elite Discourse," *The Devil in Society in the Premodern World*, eds. Richard Raiswell and Peter Dendle (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012), 195–219.

12 Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 272–83.

13 Baseotto, "Theology and Interiority," 66–7, 74.

14 Jörg Haugk von Jüchsen, "A Christian Order of a True Christian: Giving Account of the Origin of His Faith," in *Sources of South German/Austrian Anabaptism*, ed. C. Arnold Snyder (Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2001), 1–23.

15 Gary K. Waite, *Eradicating the Devil's Minions: Anabaptists and Witches in Reformation Europe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 52.

16 Thieleman van Braght, *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians … to the Year A.D. 1660*, trans. Joseph F. Sohm, 2nd English ed. (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2006). This translation was based on the 1886 English edition which was in turn based on the 1660 Dutch original. On martyrology, see Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

17 Jaap Geraerts, "The Prosecution of Anabaptists in Holland, 1530-1566," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 86 (2012): 5-48.

18 Joris requires a new biography, but see Gary K. Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism, 1524–1543* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990); Roland Bainton, *David Joris. Wiedertäufer und Kämpfer für Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1937) and Samme Zijlstra, *Nicolaas Meyndertsz van Blesdijk. Een bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van het Davidjorisme* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983).

19 Mirjam van Veen, "Dirck Volckertz Coornhert: Exile and Religious Coexistence," in *Exile and Religious Identities, 1500–1800,* ed. Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 70–71.

20 Hans de Waardt, "Justus Velsius Haganus: An Erudite but Rambling Prophet," in *Exile and Religious Identities, 1500–1800,* ed. Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 97–110. Further on madness, see Midelfort, *Madness*; and Hans de Waardt, "'Lightning Strikes, Wherever Ire Dwells with Power': Johan Wier on Anger as an Illness," in *Diseases of the Imagination and Imaginary Disease in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Yasmin Haskell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 259–74.

21 James D. Tracy, "Erasmus among the Postmodernists: *Dissimulatio, Bonae Literae,* and *Docta Pietas* Revisited," in *Erasmus' Vision of the Church*, ed. Hilmar M. Pabel (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1995), 1-40. On the early Dutch Evangelicals, see A. C. Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. J. Pollmann and A. Spicer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 55-110 and 144-74.

22 See Ralf Klötzer, "The Melchiorites and Münster," and G. Dipple, "The Spiritualist Anabaptists," in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700*, ed. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 217-56 and 257-98.

23 Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, ed. *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine, and Death in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

24 Gary K. Waite, "Naked Harlots or Devout Maidens? Images of Anabaptist Women in the Context of the Iconography of Witches in Europe, 1525–1650," in *Sisters: Myth and Reality of Anabaptist, Mennonite, and Doopsgezind Women ca 1525–1900*, ed. Mirjam van Veen, Piet Visser, and Gary K. Waite (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 17–51. See the court records in Albert F. Mellink, ed., *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica*, vol. 5, *Amsterdam, 1531–1536* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 109–16.

25 Mellink, *Documenta*, 5:112.

26 Gary K. Waite, "Apocalyptical Terrorists or a Figment of Governmental Paranoia? Re-Evaluating the Religious Terrorism of Sixteenth-Century Anabaptists in the Netherlands and Holy Roman Empire, 1535–1570," in *Grenzen des Täufertums/Boundaries of Anabaptism: Neue Forschungen,* ed. Anselm Schubert, Astrid von Schlachta, and Michael Driedger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2009).

27 Obbe Philips, "A Confession," in *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, ed. George H. Williams and Angel M. Mergal (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957), 207–8.

28 Philips, "Confession," 213.

29 Philips, "Confession," 223.

30 Jans's surname is sometimes misspelled as Jansz, which would be short for Janszoon, or Jan's son. To indicate the gender it should instead be Jansdr.

31 Van Braght, *Martyr's Mirror*, 453–54. See also Werner O. Packull, "Anna Jansz of Rotterdam, a Historical Investigation of an Early Anabaptist Heroine," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987): 147–73.

32 Van Braght, *Martyr's Mirror*, 467–68.

33 Waite, "Apocalyptical Terrorists," 114–15.

34 Waite, *Eradicating*, 111–12.

35 Only rarely do we possess both court records and a martyrological description of an interrogation; for one such example, see Waite, *Eradicating*, 71–72.

36 "The Anonymous Biography of Joris," in *The Anabaptist Writings of David Joris, 1535–1543*, ed. and trans. Gary K. Waite (Waterloo: Herald Press, 1994), 31–103; on the authorship, 31–32. While the original Dutch manuscript is now lost, it was earlier preserved in German as "David Joris sonderbare Lebensbeschreibung," in Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheiische Kirchen- und Ketzer Historie,* 2 vols (Frankfurt, 1729; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), 703–37. On Arnold and Joris, see Douglas H. Shantz, "David Joris, Pietist Saint: The Appeal to Joris in the Writings of Christian Hoburg, Gottfried Arnold and Johann Wilhelm Petersen," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 78 (2004): 415–32.

37 "Anonymous Biography," 33–34.

38 "Anonymous Biography," 35.

39 "Anonymous Biography," 36–37. Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism*, 49–51.

40 On Joris as an artist, see K. G. Boon, "De Glasschilder David Joris, een Exponent van het Doperse Geloof. Zijn Kunst en zijn Invloed op Dirck Crabeth," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België* 64 (1988): 117–37. See also Gary K. Waite, "Reconceiving the Senses: The Perspective of the Dutch Spiritualist David Joris (1501–56)," in *Embodiment, Expertise, and Ethics in Early Modern Europe: Entangling the Senses,* ed. Marlene Eberhart and Jacob Baum (London: Routledge Press, forthcoming).

41 "Anonymous Biography," 38–39; Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism*, 52–54.

42 "Anonymous Biography," 40–41.

43 "Anonymous Biography," 41–42; Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism*, 65–68.

44 David Joris, "O Christian Spirits," in *The Anabaptist Writings of David Joris, 1535–1543*, ed. and trans. Gary K. Waite (Waterloo: Herald Press, 1994), 107–8; "Anonymous Biography," 42–43.

45 "Anonymous Biography," 75.

46 She claimed not to have been rebaptised. Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism*, 74.

47 Robert J. Lifton, *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima* (New York: Random House, 1967), 514. In his early writings Joris described death as the work of the Devil that will be defeated by the third David, i.e., Joris. Joris later revised this third David to refer to the Holy Spirit. See David Joris, *Twonder-boeck: waer in dat van der Werldt aen versloten gheopenbaert is,* 2nd ed. ([Vianen, 1584]), fols. 33r–v; see also chap. 31 on the fall of death and damnation.

48 'You men, arm yourselves well and fight against death, which has for so long hidden in the beggarly lusts of the flesh. Oppose mightily and heartily the invincible serpent and cast death away from you into the hell of the abyss'. David Joris, *Hoert, hoert, hoert, Groot wunder/groot wunder/groot wunder* ([Antwerp, c.1540]), fols. 3v–4r; David Joris, "Hear, Hear, Hear, Great Wonder, Great Wonder, Great Wonder, 1536," in *The Anabaptist Writings of David Joris, 1535–1543*, ed. and trans. Gary K. Waite (Waterloo: Herald Press, 1994), 138.

49 "Anonymous Biography," 102.

50 "Anonymous Biography," 46.

51 "Anonymous Biography," 47–48.

52 "Anonymous Biography," 50.

53 "Anonymous Biography," 82–84, 93–98.

54 "Anonymous Biography," 47.
55 "Anonymous Biography," 50.
56 Midelfort, *Madness*, 6–7, 10, 14. Joris's biographer often describes his feelings as if they were forces external to the man.
57 "Anonymous Biography," 51, 65–66. The biographer admits that Joris did 'fall just like any other sinner in this, more than he would have liked. For he was easily overcome when anyone showed affection to him'. See Zijlstra, *Blesdijk*, 17.
58 "Anonymous Biography," 52.
59 On Joris and Jews, see Gary K. Waite, "Conversos and Spiritualists in Spain and the Netherlands: The Experience of Inner Exile, c.1540–1620," in *Exile and Religious Identities, 1500–1800,* ed. Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 162–63.
60 "Anonymous Biography," 56. This was in some respects a logical extension of St Augustine's view that before the Fall sexual congress was a rational act, without any hint of sexual passion. See Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent* (New York: Random House, 1988), 109–12.
61 Joris, *Hoert, hoert, hoert*.
62 "Anonymous Biography," 57.
63 "Anonymous Biography," 84. See Waite, "Reconceiving the Senses."
64 "Anonymous Biography," 87–90. I have included a translation of this passage in Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism*, 203–6.
65 Many demoniacs 'felt' the demon moving from one part of their body to another. See, for example, the case of Nicole Obry in 1566: Sarah Ferber, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern France* (London: Routledge, 2004), 30–32.
66 "Anonymous Biography," 55.
67 "Anonymous Biography," 58.
68 "Anonymous Biography," 63.
69 Willem de Bakker and Gary K. Waite, "Rethinking the Murky World of the Post-Münster Dutch Anabaptist Movement, 1535–1538: A Dialogue between Willem de Bakker and Gary K. Waite," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 92 (2018): 47–91.
70 Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism*, 116–20; Waite, "Apocalyptical Terrorists."
71 "Anonymous Biography," 73.
72 Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism*, 177–92. The best works on Joris's Basel years remain Bainton, *David Joris* and P. Burckhardt, "David Joris und seine Gemeinde in Basel," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 48 (1949): 5–106.
73 David Joris, *Twonder Boeck* (Deventer, 1542/3). These were turned into more sophisticated engravings in the second edition of 1551 which was printed for the first time in the 1580s.
74 Boon, "De Glasschilder David Joris," 133–35.
75 John Bossy, "Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments," in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Edmund Leites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 215–30. See also Waite, *Heresy,* 45–47.
76 Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 107–9.
77 Gary K. Waite, "'Man is a Devil to Himself': David Joris and the Rise of a Sceptical Tradition Towards the Devil in the Early Modern Netherlands, 1540–1600," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 75 (1995): 1–30.
78 For this practice, see Zijlstra, *Blesdijk*, 32. Joris provided a formula for the act of exorcising this inner devil from oneself: 'Go away from me, Satan, or I shall shame you in all your counsel. You deceitful devil and evil spirit, depart. See, I shall reveal all your lies, roguishness and deceit. I will take off your clothes, I will no longer conceal your bidding, no longer do your will and desires. Therefore go far from me, for the Lord, the Mighty One, the Holy One in Israel, is my love and bridegroom and husband, whose eyes keep me in his presence, and make me content'. Joris, *Hoert, hoert, hoert*, 21ᵛ.

79 David Joris, *Een Cort ende Leerlijck Tractaat: waer in verhandelt wert/wat dat woort Duyvel sy/ende hoe men 'tselvighe in die H. Schrift verstaen sal* ([Netherlands], 1616); original version: *Neemt Waer. Dat boeck des leuens/is mi gheopenbaert* ([Antwerp, c.1540]). On Joris's printers, see Paul Valkema Blouw, "Printers to the 'Arch-Heretic' David Joris: Prolegomena to a Bibliography of His Works," *Quarendo* 21 (1991): 163–209. Joris similarly reinterpreted learned magic following his spiritualistic motif, so that the true meaning of alchemy or the Kabbalah was not the manipulation of occult powers, but as a metaphor for personal spiritual transformation. Gary K. Waite, "An Artisan's Worldview? David Joris, Magic and the Cosmos," in *Commoners and Community: Essays in Honour of Werner O. Packull*, ed. C. Arnold Snyder (Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2002), 167–94.

80 David Joris, "Vrage. Of God wel toelaten solde, dat een Tovenaer macht hadde/die Geloovigen aen hare haeve of lichaem te bekrencken," unpublished ms, n.d., HS 65–82, fols. 68r–71v, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Universiteit van Amsterdam.

81 For an example, see Gary K. Waite, "Demonic Affliction or Divine Chastisement? Conceptions of Illness and Healing Amongst Spiritualists and Mennonites in Holland, c.1530–c.1630," in *Illness and Healing Alternatives in Western Europe*, ed. Marijke Gijs-wijt-Hofstra, Hilary Marland, and Hans de Waardt (London: Routledge, 1997), 62–63.

82 Hans de Waardt, "Witchcraft, Spiritualism and Medicine: The Religious Convictions of Johan Wier," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 42 (2011): 369–91; Gary K. Waite, "Radical Religion and the Medical Profession: The Spiritualist David Joris and the Brothers Weyer (Wier)," in *Radikalität und Dissent im 16. Jahrhundert/Radicalism and Dissent in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Goertz and James M. Stayer (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 2002), 167–85.

83 Nicolaas Meyndertsz van Blesdijk, *Historia vitae, doctrinae, ac rerum gestarum Davidis Georgii haeresiarchae* (Deventer, 1642).

84 Henry More *Enthusiasmus triumphatus, or, A discourse of the nature, causes, kinds, and cure, of enthusiasme; written by Philophilus Parresiastes, and prefixed to Alazonomastix his observations and reply* (London, 1656). More's use of Joris had been earlier noted by Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*, 161; and Catherine Wilson, "Enthusiasm and its Critics: Historical and Modern Perspectives," *History of European Ideas* 17 (1993): 461–78, esp. 462–65, but without any reference to its significance for the reception of Joris. Further on More and enthusiasm, see the essays in Sarah Hutton ed., *Henry More (1614–1617) Tercentenary Studies* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1990); and Robert Crocker, *Henry More, 1614–1617: A Biography of a Cambridge Platonist* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2013). Further on enthusiasm and rationalism in the era, see Lawrence Eliot Klein, and Anthony J. LaVopa, *Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650–1850* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1998). I am currently working on the reception of Joris in England.

85 See Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, & Religion, 1250–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 275–82.

86 More *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, A3v.

87 For the fuller list of those so afflicted, such as Paracelsus, see More, *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, A3v-A8v.

88 More, *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, 35–36, 183.

89 More, *Enthusiasmus triumphatus,* 22.

90 More, *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, 36.

91 "Anonymous Biography," 68.

92 On Stoicism, see M. Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). On Joris and humanists, see Mirjam van Veen, "'Contaminated with David Joris's Blasphemies': David Joris's Contribution to Castellio's 'De haereticis an sint persequendi'," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 69 (2007): 313–26.

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7

'I AM CONTENTED TO DIE'

The letters from prison of the Waldensian Sebastian Bazan (d. 1623) and the Anti-Jacobite narratives of the Reformed martyrs of Piedmont[*]

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Of the various "heresies" that emerged in the twelfth century, Waldensianism was the only one that lived on, unbowed, into the sixteenth century, finally becoming part of the Protestant Reformation. For centuries, the Waldensians upheld their faith and piety in the face of extreme hardship and exclusion. Their unflinching constancy is clearly rendered by an image caption on the inside cover of Jean Léger's *Histoire Générale des Vaudois* (1669): *Tritantur mallei, remanet incus* (the hammers may hit, but the anvil remains), a clever reference to the common metaphor of the inquisitor as the *malleus haereticorum*. During the brutal slaughter of Waldensians in the southern Italian region of Calabria in 1561, the seemingly impassive attitude of fathers at the sight of their children dying was deplored by the Catholic Neapolitan author, Tommaso Costo (c.1545–c.1613). Costo's disapproving comments brought an indignant response from the talented English translator of Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglois*, John Lockman (1698–1771), in his *History of the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants, and Others, by Popish Persecutions* (1760) and in his sympathetic treatment of the memoirs of Freemason John Coustos (1703–1746), whose purported stoical martyrdom at the hands of the Portuguese Inquisition fitted the usual pattern of Protestant martyrologies.[1]

In this chapter, I would like to investigate such conflicting emotional rhetorics running through competing narratives of Waldensian martyrdom and marginalization. In doing so, I will focus in particular on the little-known story of Sebastian (or Sebastiano) Bazan (or Basan), an adoptive son of the Waldensian valleys, and the moving letters he wrote while in prison in Turin.[2] The Inquisitors initially tried to

persuade him to abjure by using mild and flattering words, and even expressions of affection. Their efforts were to no avail, however, as he protested strongly against the violence inflicted on the Christian Religion in his person. When he was executed on 23 November 1623, he went to his death singing the hymn of Simeon, and multiple witnesses reported that many onlookers, some of high rank, wept openly as his voice was stifled by the flames. Bazan's prison letters are revealing of the emotional tactics employed by the Inquisition.[3] Conversely, in the second part of the chapter, I will show how these narratives of Waldensian exclusion were used as part of a political top-down strategy to fan anti-Catholic intolerance among the 'mobs' in England, by playing on their deep-rooted fears and inherent xenophobia. Indeed, the adjective most frequently used to describe Catholics in eighteenth-century England was 'outlandish', to be understood quite literally as foreign.[4]

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In 1696, Girolamo Albrizzi published an album in Venice with the effective yet vague title *Teatro della crudeltà* (Theatre of Cruelty). It comprised 104 etchings by the Dutch Mennonite painter-poet Jan Luyken (1649–1712)[5] and reproduced a publication in French—apparently no longer extant but that probably first appeared in Amsterdam—entitled *Théâtre des martyrs depuis la mort de J. Christ jusqu'à présent* (Theatre of martyrs, from the death of Jesus Christ to today). The captions accompanying the illustrations in the Dutch booklet were dropped in the Italian edition, obscuring the significance of the images and effectively turning the work into an academic treatment of the theme of cruelty. The etchings did however have a very specific history and content, and I mention them here because a number of them relate to the Waldensians, and given the paucity of surviving Waldensian iconography, they are of particular importance.

The 104 etchings in the *Teatro della crudeltà* had originally been commissioned for a richly illustrated edition, published in Amsterdam in 1685, *Het Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaers Spiegel der Doopesgesinde of Weereloose Christenen* (The Bloody Theatre or The Martyrs' Mirror of Anabaptists or Defenseless Christians, first edition Dordrecht 1660), an Anabaptist martyrology by the Mennonite minister Johan Tielemen van Braght. This work significantly only covered persecutions of the Waldensians (though they were identified with the Albigensians and other heretical groups) that occurred before they joined the Reformed Church. Subsequent persecutions are not mentioned at all, despite being very well-known and equally dramatic. The overarching goal of the author of *Het Bloedig Tooneel* was in fact to bring the Waldensians back into the nonconformist Protestant fold. He wanted to portray them as an important dissident voice as, in his view, they represented the true Reformation, which had always been persecuted and could not be identified with the ecclesiastical reform of Luther and other reformers.

Luyken did, nevertheless, have occasion to illustrate elsewhere some of the vicissitudes of the Waldensians in the seventeenth century. One such illustration (Figure 7.1) found its way into an expanded (and extant) version of the *Théâtre des Martyrs* that also featured eleven other etchings by Luyken,[6] originally made to illustrate the

FIGURE 7.1 Jan Luyken, Glorieuse Rentrée *(1689): the Waldensians' departure from Prangins in Switzerland*, etching, first published in Johann L. Gottfried's *Historische Kronyck*, 3 vols (Leiden, 1698–1700), 3:1263. Special Collections, University of Amsterdam, OTM: KF 61–3836.

Dutch translation (by Simon de Vries) of Johann L. Gottfried's *Historische Kronyck*, a universal history in three folio volumes published in Leiden between 1698 and 1700. The Dutch translation, which covered events through to 1697 (the original edition, published in Frankfurt in 1633, did not go beyond 1619), briefly dealt with the expulsion of the Waldensians from the Piedmontese valleys in 1686 and their 'glorious repatriation' (*Glorieuse Rentrée*) in 1689, an event that, as we shall see presently, attracted a great deal of attention in the Protestant world, particularly in Holland and England. Luyken's etching depicted the Waldensians' departure from Prangins in Switzerland, a small town on the shores of Lac Léman (Lake Geneva), as they set out to 'reconquer' the valleys of their birthplace, led by Henri Arnaud (1641–1721), the Waldensian pastor turned soldier. It is the only contemporary rendering of this famous episode in Waldensian history to have come to light to date.

Another publishing initiative in which Luyken dealt with the Waldensians deserves mention. In 1700, he was asked by a Utrecht publisher named H. Ribbius to illustrate his planned new edition of Marc Zuerius van Boxhorn's *Nederlandsche Historie,* first published in Leiden in 1644. It was a history of the Church in the Low Countries to the time of Charles V, and amounted effectively to a survey of the early forbears of the religious dissidence that led to the joining of the Reformation. It included accounts of the many occasions when the ecclesiastical authorities violently repressed manifestations of heterodoxy and

used the Waldensians as a convenient category with which to describe all religious dissent. More specifically, the three etchings expressly devoted to the Waldensians by Luyken relate to instances of religious repression, including the infamous 'Vauderie d'Arras' of 1459–1460 that targeted individuals in fifteenth-century Flanders who were judged Waldensians by the authorities and public opinion, and led to the trials of thirty-four persons and execution of twelve (Figure 7.2). As Enea Balmas acutely observed in a pioneering article published in 1977, notwithstanding a number of obvious imprecisions (for instance, the confusion between Waldensians and Albigensians, and the identification of 'vauderie' with witchcraft, which was commonplace in the fifteenth century) and anachronisms (Luyken's medieval Waldensians are dressed a little like

FIGURE 7.2   Jan Luyken. *The public display of Deniselle Grenier and five others (one of them dead) accused of having taken part in devil worship in a witches' Sabbath, an episode of the* Vauderie d'Arras *(1459–60),* etching, first published in the Ribbius edition of Marc Zuerius van Boxhorn's *Nederlandsche Historie* (Utrecht, 1700), 69. Special Collections, University of Amsterdam, OTM: O 61–8052.

seventeenth-century peasants), Luyken's depictions of the Waldensians convey an impulse of sympathy, feeling, and ideological affinity. Such an emotional response must have prompted Luyken to salute those distant, anonymous witnesses and victims of Catholic repression as heroes and brothers in faith.[7]

However, the etchings do not just reflect Luyken's emotional involvement in the events (Balmas's 'impresa d'amore'). By markedly highlighting violence, their chief goal was to further the intent of authors and editors keen on encouraging readers to empathize with the victims and recoil from the persecutors. In a similar fashion, a Dutch leaflet from the same period graphically conjures up the horror of the Pasque Piemontesi (*Pâques vaudoises*), a series of massacres perpetrated against Waldensians by Savoyard troops in the Duchy of Savoy at the eve of Easter 1655, with an allegorical portrait of weeping Religion (Figure 7.3): the dreadful sight of a heap of mutilated adults and children flung into mountain ravines reduces the winged and veiled female figure to tears. Religion is clearly understood to be the Reformed faith, as suggested by the open Bible on her lap, and by subsequent iconographic testimony. The dreadful plight of a small valley community thus came to be emblematic of the numerous European episodes of dispersal and exclusion, and its representation a not always disinterested instrument for promoting the emotional identification of readers with the victims.[8]

In this regard, it is significant that the most impressive and frightening set of iconographic works about the Waldensians (some thirty etchings) illustrates the chronicle of the 1655 massacres reported in *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont*. This was published by Samuel Morland (1625–1695) in 1658, a few months after concluding his diplomatic mission in Piedmont and Geneva. The images (which would be used, together with others, by the Waldensian pastor and historian Jean Léger in his *Histoire générale des églises evangeliques des vallées de Piemont, ou Vaudoises*, 1699) are gruesomely appalling, attesting to the brutal violence that was also meted out to women, children, and even foetuses (Figure 7.4).

Morland had been dispatched to Piedmont by Oliver Cromwell to act as a political mediator in an effort to put a stop to the violent repression of the Waldensians in the lands of the duchy and to deliver donations collected in England to those who had survived. Cromwell's secretary of state, John Thurloe, had then asked Morland to draw up a report on the recent events affecting the Waldensians, to further the Lord Protector's ambitious design to unite all of Europe's Protestants under his protection. Interestingly, some time later, after the political set-up changed, the author anxiously tried to track down every available copy of his work to remove the ill-judged dedication to Cromwell.

On the same page where he noted that 'one of the most diabolical and unsufferable cruelties committed by the priests and missionary monks against the Protestants is that of stealing away their children', Morland recounted the tragic fate of 'one Mr. Sebastian Bazan'. Bazan had died in 1623 in Turin, 'singing the praises of God in the midst of the flames', to where he had been sent by the Inquisition after fifteen months of physical torture and deceitful psychological allurements.[9]

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FIGURE 7.3 *Religion in Tears [Voy la Religion qui pleure incessamment qu'on répand sans pitié le sang de l'innocent]*, c.1663, engraving (attributed to Crispijn de Passe the Younger, in Frederik Muller, *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen*). Bound with the copy of Jean Léger, *Histoire Générale des Églises évangéliques des Vallées de Piémont ou Vaudoises* (n.p., 1669), part 1, 303f. Biblioteca della Società di Studi Valdesi, Torre Pellice, Fondo Antichi SSV 126.2, carta a1v; Inv. 18156.

During the French occupation of Piedmont from 1536 to 1559, some of the country's towns had pastors of the Waldensian faith. One of these towns was Pancalieri, where there lived a wealthy family named Bazan, who were converts to the Waldensian creed. The Bazans—Sebastian, his two brothers and their respective families, and their elderly mother—left Pancalieri in the early seventeenth century after liberty of conscience was prohibited and made their home in La Tour, in the Waldensian valley of Luserna. They already knew La Tour, because Sebastian, the eldest son, had previously spent a few years there receiving a religious education.[10] Pierre Gilles (1571–1646), the Vaudois historian, who was a close friend of Sebastian, says:

FIGURE 7.4   *Piedmontese Easter (1655): the impaling and roasting on a spit of a Waldensian virgin, the 10-year old daughter of a Moyses Long of Bobio,* etching, in Samuel Morland, *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* (London: 1658), 350. Biblioteca della Società di Studi Valdesi, Torre Pellice, Fondo Meille, 16.

> He was a very zealous defender of the Protestant religion, a man of sincerity, and an enemy of all vice, so that the enemies of virtue and of truth could not easily endure him; but for the rest, he was a man held in great and universal esteem, and of good reputation.[11]

On 26 April 1622, he had to go to Carmagnola on urgent business. The monks of Carmagnola soon found out that he was there and, considering him a heretic, quickly arranged for a group of armed men to surround the inn where he was lodging. Bazan was seized and tied up, before being taken first to the local jail and then to the prisons of the Senate in Turin. He remained there for several months, during which his friends did everything they could to secure his release. Independently written but essentially matching reconstructions of Bazan's variable state of mind during his time in prison—gratitude towards friends who were trying to mobilize influential figures to intercede with the duke; hope in the duke's munificence, as he was often reluctant to accept papist interference; concern that his wife should continue to receive the support and affection of friends; a placid filial acceptance of divine will, whatever it might be—circulated widely in Protestant Europe. Besides the account written by his friend Gilles, which in 1644 found its way into the *Histoire ecclesiastique des Églises Reformées* (1644), the year 1624 had seen the publication, soon after the execution, of an

octavo booklet (with no indication of either the place or the printer) entitled *Récit véritable de la mort d'un fidèle martyr, brusié vif à Turin, pour la confession de l'Evangile*. In the same year in The Hague, the printer Aert Meuris produced a Dutch version, *Waerachtich verhael, van de Doodt van Sebastiaen Basan*.

The suffering Bazan endured in detention and the uncertainty about how long it would last, were soothed by the comfort of close friends and brothers in the Reformed faith. On 14 July 1622, Sebastian wrote to Gilles:

> What favors God has granted me in your letters and your prayers; for every good thing comes to us from God, even the blessing of friendship, and it is He who endows his own with strength and hopefulness in their trials, such as our adversaries cannot credit, who accordingly seek to make us yield by long imprisonments, and by perpetually urging us to abjure; but I am assured that the Lord will never forsake me, and will sustain me to the end. Be so good as to visit my family, and exhort my wife to remain constant in the fear of God. She has need to be affectionately admonished, and gently remonstrated with, which you know better how to do than I to write about it… May God work with His own hand to bring us to perfection, that resting on His holy promises, we may triumph gloriously with our Captain, Jesus Christ, in His glorious heavenly Kingdom.[12]

Other letters, copies of which are in the Archives Tronchin at the Bibliothèque de Genève, even though they do not feature in extant published accounts of Bazan's imprisonment, were addressed to an eminent physician named Jean-Vincent Gosio (or Goz, d. c.1650). Born in Dronero, according to Gilles he distinguished himself by his abnegation during the terrible plague epidemic of 1630, when many Pignerol families and a number of senior officers from the French occupation army travelled to La Tour to seek his medical assistance. One of the three daughters who survived him, Marguerite, married François Arnaud d'Embrun around 1640, and from their union came the above-mentioned Waldensian pastor and leader Henri Arnaud. Although Gosio was forced into exile on several occasions together with his brother Jean Baptiste (a doctor in law *in utroque iure*) for having represented issues of conscience of members of the Reformed Church against the intolerant policies of the Savoyard dukes, he enjoyed widespread respect and consideration among the most authoritative exponents of both confessional communities. It is no surprise, then, that Bazan placed trust in his influence and powers of intercession, as can be evinced from the following excerpts from the Geneva letters:

> Most magnificent lord,
> I was extremely happy to receive a letter from your lordship, and greatly consoled in seeing the great pains you are taking for my wellbeing. May

the Almighty Lord be infinitely thanked, he who is never neglectful of those who trust in his promises because they are infallible and certain. And I aspire to them with all my heart, that Jesus Christ may give me the strength to withstand all the assaults I am to receive and for which I am preparing. In the meantime I beg of you to assist me through prayer, as I know you will, and to do so continually. I have not yet been examined, I will wait and see how things go and place my hope in the Lord Almighty that everything will go well, because the servants of the Lord will be filled with every blessing… Turin, 15 May.
The most affectionate servant and brother of your lordship,
Sebastiano Bazano

My magnificent lord,
… I have thanked and thank the Lord who is always beside me, consoling me in the midst of my tribulations. I am not yet, at the moment, at the beginning of anything. I have had a plea sent to the senate and they have ordered that I be examined… but they continue to postpone one day after another… Therefore let us allow the boat to be steered by He who has everything in hand, in the certainty that by his grace it shall be led to the desired place of salvation… I am readying myself for lengthy forbearance: in the meantime, pray to the Almighty Lord that he might grant me it, as I know you will do and do. I beg you to convey my entreaties to your brother, to Messer Pietro Gilli, to my godfather Messer Stefano Bastia and… to all brothers in Jesus Christ, that they might pray to the Lord Almighty for we prisoners of the Lord.
Turin, 26 May
The most affectionate servant and brother of your lordship,
Sebastiano Bazano

My most magnificent and honourable lord,
On the occasion of Monsignor de La Fara's presence in Turin, I thought to beg you to intercede with him on my behalf… it is necessary to do so as soon as possible before I am consumed by expense… and do so secretly… I have had pleas delivered to the senate, but I have never been heard. Recently, I secured from His Highness a decree instructing the senate that I should quickly receive justice. The said entreaty was conveyed by the Lord Count [of Luserna] to the Lord President [of the Senate] [Bartolomeo] Marrone, who has never wished to see to it that this order be carried out. Therefore I can only commend myself to God that he might assist and fortify me... Senate prisons, 17 June.
The most affectionate servant of your lordship,
Sebastiano Bazano

My magnificent lord,

As nothing good has been done to date… I beg you… to write again to the lord count of Luserna, thanking him for his good offices so far, and entreating him to call once more for action… and that everything be done praying duly to the Lord Almighty to intervene with his holy hand, without which all help is vain… Turin, 19 June 1622.

The most affectionate servant of your lordship,

Sebastiano Bazano

My magnificent lord,

I see clearly how much you love me… The most illustrious lord Count of Luserna has obtained a decree from His Highness that I should quickly receive justice, and the said entreaty has been placed in the hands of the Lord President Marrone by the hands of the above-named Lord Count, and this morning he has sent me a message informing me that he has spoken to the above-named Lord President, and that he has replied that it will be discussed in senate… May it be God's wish that this be so… May the Lord keep you all in his holy grace. Turin, senate prisons, 21 June.

The most affectionate servant of your lordship,

Sebastiano Bazano.[13]

When he wrote these letters, Sebastian entertained some hope that his case would go before the duke of Savoy, from whom he had cause to expect justice. This did not happen, and instead the Senate of Turin ordered him to be handed over to the Inquisition for examination. This duly occurred on 22 August, when he was transferred to the dungeons of the Holy Office. Although Sebastian's fate was essentially already sealed, his friends still had some hope of saving him and urgently appealed for his release. On 15 February 1623, François de Bonne, duc de Lesdiguières and Constable of France (1543–1626) wrote to the duke of Savoy, who was under obligations to him, asking for Bazan's release:

I have been accustomed to address my supplications to your highness, certain beforehand of not being refused. I request of your highness the life and liberty of one called Sebastian Bazan, detained in the prisons of your city of Turin. He is a man with whom no fault can be found, except as to his religious opinions; and if those who profess the same religion with him ought to be punished with death, then great Christian princes, and even your highness yourself, will have great difficulty in repeopling your dominions. The King of France has granted peace throughout all his kingdom to those of that religion, and I boldly counsel your highness, as your very humble servant, to take the same way. It is the surest means of firmly establishing tranquillity within your dominions.[14]

Lesdiguières wrote to the duke a second time, and other prominent figures interceded on Sebastian's behalf. The duke's inclination was to show clemency

and demanded that the Inquisition should free Bazan. But, feigning humility and regret, the Inquisitors replied that the case had been referred to the Pope for his final decision and that they no longer had a say in the matter. Consequently, they dared not release Bazan. The reference to the wishes of Rome might simply have been a trick to confound the duke, who was constrained to desist.

Finally, on 22 November 1623, Sebastian was informed by the officers of the Inquisition that the Holy Office's judgement had been confirmed by Rome, and that he would be burned alive the following day. 'I am contented to die,' he said, calmly and bravely, 'since it is the will of God, and will be, I trust, for his glory. But as for men, they have pronounced an unjust sentence, and they will soon have to give an account of it'.[15] The Inquisitors may have shrugged off his words at the time but had cause to remember them that very same night (or two or three days later, according to other reports), when the Chief Inquisitor, who had passed sentence on Bazan died suddenly despite having seemed to be perfectly healthy. The next day, on 23 November, Bazan was led out to the public square in Turin for execution. His hands had been bound and a gag put in his mouth so he could not talk to the assembled crowd. Many people were familiar with his case and were sympathetic towards him. Just as he was climbing on to the pile, his gag slipped out of his mouth, and he exclaimed in a loud voice: 'People, it is not for a crime that I am brought hither to die; it is for having chosen to conform myself to the Word of God, and for maintaining His truth in opposition to error.'[16] This drew a collective sob from the crowd, an evident sign of their sympathy. Seeing this, the Inquisitors quickly tried to silence him by ordering the executioner to light the pile straight away. But Sebastian's voice rang out clearly from the smoke and fire enveloping him, as he sang the hymn of Theodore Beza (a touching version of the words of Simeon upon beholding the infant Saviour: Luke 2:29–30), which the Waldensians were accustomed to sing after celebrating the Lord's Supper:

> Laisse-moi désormais,
> Seigneur, aller en paix,
> Car selon ta promesse,
> Tu fais voir à mes yeux
> Le saint glorieux
> Que j'attendais sans cesse.[17]

> Lord, now you are letting your servant
> depart in peace,
> according to your word;
> for my eyes have seen your salvation. [ESV Bible]

As the crowd looked on in tears, thick smoke rose into the air, gradually stifling Sebastian's voice, until it fell silent as the fire consumed him.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

In compiling his *History of the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants,* John Lockman drew on various occasions on the highly popular *History of the Reformation of the Church of England,* by the Latitudinarian prelate Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), who had written it to confute the representation of the English Reformation as a mere political expedient on the part of a corrupt sovereign. For this view had been advanced once again in a recent French translation of the *De origine et progressu schismatis Anglicani libri tres* by Nicholas Sanders (1585).[18] Curiously, Burnet had described the dramatic vicissitudes of the Waldensians in very vivid terms, in order to reinforce consensus for the Orangist cause.

Unwelcome at court because of his preaching and anti-Catholic writings, Burnet obtained permission in 1685 to travel to the continent. After an initial sojourn in Paris, he travelled in Italy, southern France, and Switzerland, before then going to Utrecht. Finally, at the invitation of the princes of Orange, he settled in The Hague.[19] He gave a detailed account of his travels in several letters addressed to Robert Boyle, which were published in book form in Rotterdam in 1686 by Abraham Acher (c.1653–1743). Acher was a Huguenot from Dieppe, who took refuge in the Low Countries, and the publisher of many writings by the leading Huguenot theologian Pierre Jurieu (including *L'accomplissement des prophéties*, the *Traité de l'unité de l'eglise*, the *Traité de la nature et de la grâce*). The account of Burnet's travels included the brutal violence sparked by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which he witnessed at first hand; in the last of his letters, dated in Nijmegen on 20 May 1686, Burnet expressed his shock at the massacres he had seen:

> I do not think that in any age there ever was such a violation of all that is Sacred, either with relation to God or Man… I do not see that the French King is to be so much blamed in this matter as his Religion is, which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate Hereticks, and not to keep his Faith to them: so that instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a Religion that doth certainly obligeth him to devest himself of Humanity, and to violate his faith, whensoever the cause of his Church and Religion requireth it.[20]

'What I saw and knew there at first hand', he added with dismay, 'confirmed everything learned from books of cruelty of religion', a revealing clue that he was aware of the importance of earlier representations of Catholic violence, like those of Morland or Léger, or even the *Récit véritable*, in shaping perceptions of contemporary events.[21] He prefaced his considerations by affirming that he could offer detailed testimony of numerous episodes of cruel violence, 'that are so much beyond all the common measures of barbarity and cruelty', but held back from providing them out of fear of exposing to even greater peril those 'that are yet in the power of their enemies'.

Two years later, Abraham Acher printed in a very small 16mo book format, anonymously and in French, the *Histoire de la persécution des Valées de Piémont*,[22]

a careful account of the extermination and deportation to Switzerland of Reformed Piedmontese in the late 1680s, commonly attributed to Burnet.[23] Reneging on reiterated formal commitments ('*ne sont pas de simples tolerances, mais des concessions perpetuelles*'[24]) made to the loyal Reformed communities of the Waldensian valleys,[25] a French-Piedmontese army had been sent in April 1686 to quell the resistance of anyone who did not accept the choice of conversion or exile. The result was a massacre of over one thousand Waldensians and the imprisonment of over 8,500 survivors ('*Il n'y eut jamais de persecution ni plus injuste ni plus violente*'[26]). The text forcefully describes the Savoyard deceitful pretence to achieve peace and display clemency,[27] the massacre of children, women, and the elderly,[28] the dreadful conditions of imprisonment, the removal of minors from their loved ones, the sufferings of deportation and the desperate arrival of survivors in Geneva, where many found 'the end of their life at the beginning of their freedom' (*la fin de leur vie dans le commencement de leur liberté*)[29]:

> Those that arrived first went to meet those that came after, to inform themselves concerning their kinsfolks and acquaintances of who they had heard no news since the reddition of the valleys. A father enquired after his child, and a child after his father, a husband sought for his wife, and a wife for her husband, and every one endeavoured to hear some news of their friends and neighbours; but as this was to very little purpose, since the most part were dead in prison, it made a spectacle so sad and dismal, that all that stood by, were dissolved in tears, whilst these poor miserable creatures, being oppressed, and overwhelmed with the excess of their grief, were not able any longer to lament themselves, or so much to complain.[30]

In Protestant Europe, rife with millenaristic expectations and serious concerns about shaky dynastic and political set-ups, a lively campaign began to denounce the murders of the Waldensians and offer solidarity to the victims. This was not limited to the immediate aftermath of events.[31] In England in particular, as had already been the case under Cromwell, the fate of the Waldensians acquired a strategic symbolic importance, as arguments were being woven to corroborate the thesis of the legitimacy and providentiality of the exclusive Protestant succession to the throne. Burnet, a first-hand witness of the tragic events on the continent in 1686, was certainly one of the most hardworking facilitators of this sophisticated ideological weaponry, and he was immediately rewarded by King William with the bishopric of Salisbury.

   Both Burnet and then Lockman celebrated the Italian Reformed communities prevalently for domestic purposes, one immediately before the Glorious Revolution (to which, for the purposes of reciprocal legitimation, the *Glorieuse Rentrée* of the Waldensian exiles to their valleys was promptly compared), and the other on the emotional wave of the Jacobite rebellions.[32]

Their aim was to foment anti-Catholic sentiment in order to seal a political-constitutional arrangement based on the exclusion of members of one confessional group, the Catholics (and with them, the anti-Trinitarians and atheists), from succession to the throne or eligibility for public office. The reiterated denunciation in the *Histoire* that Vittorio Amedeo II had abrogated edicts that were not '*simples tolerances, mais des concessions perpetuelles*', was aimed in fact at rooting the conviction that one could not expect a Catholic sovereign to honour pacts. Little did it matter that, in 1687, James II had issued, solely on his own authority, a Declaration of Indulgence that introduced what John Miller described as 'the most complete toleration England had ever known',[33] after over twenty years in which the repressive measures adopted against religious dissent in England had been much more burdensome than the restrictions to which the Huguenots were subjected in France (and in fact France was looked to in those years as a model of limited tolerance to be imitated). The *Histoire de la persécution des Valées de Piémont* was thus in large part a justification of the resistance to the arbitrary government of James II and of the legitimate succession of William of Orange. The return of several hundred Waldensians to their Piedmontese valleys in 1689, made possible by changes in the duke's alliances and by English support, strengthened the conviction of many Protestants, in England, Holland, and Ireland, that God supported their cause in Europe through the providential action of William. No differently, in 1692, the English translation of Boyer's apocalyptic interpretation of Waldensian events (*The History of the Vaudois*), significantly dedicated to William, served as legitimation of the revolutionary new set-up in Ireland that reinforced the dominion of the Protestant elites over the Catholic majority of the population.[34]

The so-called Toleration Act of 1689 certainly put an end to the oppression, imprisonment, and financial ruin of Trinitarian Protestant dissidents, but notably excluded anti-Trinitarians and Catholics from its benefits. Despite all the early and very influential English debates on tolerance, much admired by Voltaire, it would not be until 1778 that the terms of the Toleration Act were extended to English Catholics, and not until the nineteenth century that they were emancipated.[35] As John Marshall (an eminent scholar of Locke and of contemporary debates about tolerance) stresses, the indignation aroused by Catholic violence against the Waldensians did not prompt a similar censure of anti-Catholic violence and discrimination in England and especially in Ireland. On the contrary, it provided further justification for anti-Catholic persecution. The warnings issued by William Penn, the Quaker leader disliked by Burnet, to the effect that those who deplored the ferocity displayed by the king of France against 'his peaceable subjects' should not neglect to look also at what was happening at home ('look at home upon greater cruelties') went largely unheard.[36]

It is likewise significant that Burnet was a zealous supporter of the Test Acts of 1673 and 1678, which had barred Catholics from access to public office and

parliamentary seats. And he was the one who translated the letter of intent (*Letter to Stewart*) written by the Dutch diplomat Gaspar Fagel, which declared William of Orange's commitment to preserving full freedom of conscience for all English subjects, Protestant and Catholic, while at the same time reaffirming the determination to exclude Catholics from all public office:

> Those Laws remain still in their full vigour by which the Roman Catholics are shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all public employments; ecclesiastical, civil and military: as likewise all those others, which confirm the Protestant Religion and which secure it against all the attempts of the Roman Catholics.[37]

Furthermore, towards the end of the 1690s, Burnet's religious intolerance would grow further when he began associating English Socinians with intellectual and sexual libertinism, and advocating their repression.[38]

Anti-Catholicism ultimately shaped the British Protestant emotional community far beyond the merely political aims of the anti-popish propaganda actors. For instance, the introduction of the Catholic Relief Act in 1778 sparked a wave of protest that soon degenerated into the most violent city riots in British history; when Catholic emancipation was eventually granted in 1829, it was contested most vociferously by less literate people, mainly women. In his *Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ: 'Contrains-les d'entrer'* (1686), Pierre Bayle pointedly observed that erecting fences, however small, entails remaining bound to an ideology that would always permit the erecting of other such fences ('*On ne peut avoir de bonnes raisons pour tolerer une secte, si elles ne sont pas bonnes pour en tolerer une autre*'). It has long been noted that the Glorious Revolution meant that the exclusionary legislation against English Catholics was infrequently applied, and only to a very limited extent, essentially continuing to exist *in terrorem*. Nonetheless, an investigation of the emotional history of the confessional conflicts in late-Stuart and Hanoverian England cannot neglect the emotions felt by Catholics about the objective precariousness of their status and uncertainty regarding their rights.

Notes

1 John Lockman, *A History of the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants, and Others, by Popish Persecutions, in Various Countries* (Dublin, 1763 [London, 1760]); *The Sufferings of John Coustos for Freemasonry and for His Refusing to Turn Roman Catholic in the Inquisition at Lisbon* (London, 1746). See Giovanni Tarantino, "The Mysteries of Popery Unveiled: Affective Language in John Coustos' and Anthony Gavín's Accounts of the Inquisition," in *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650–1850*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015), 35–51.

2 Copies of Balzan's unpublished letters are housed in Bibliothèque de Genève, Arch. Tronchin 145, fols. 2–4, 'écrit sur la captivité et la mort de Sebastiano Basano, Vaudois, et copie de 5 lettres en italien écrite par Basano emprisonné'—1623.

3   See Vincenzo Lavenia, "L'Inquisizione del Duca: I Domenicani e il Sant'Uffizio in Piemonte nella prima età moderna," in *I domenicani e l'Inquisizione romana*, ed. Carlo Longo (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2008), 415–76.

4   Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714–80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 27.

5   *Il teatro della crudeltà praticata nelli più severi tormenti del mondo* (Venice, 1696).

6   See Enea Balmas, "Jan Luyken e il suo Théâtre des Martyrs," *Bollettino Società Studi Valdesi* 141–142 (1977): 3–44. See also Enea Balmas, *Le incisioni 'valdesi' di Jan Luyken* (Torre Pellice: Società di Studi Valdesi, s.a. [c.1977]).

7   Balmas, "Jan Luyken e il suo Théâtre des Martyrs," 23.

8   See Giovanni Tarantino, "Mapping Religion (and Emotions) in the Protestant Valleys of Piedmont," *ASDIWAL* 9 (2014): 91–105; Giovanni Tarantino, "Religion and Spirituality," in Katie Barclay, David Lemmings, and Claire Walker, eds, *A Cultural History of the Emotions in the Baroque and Enlightenment Age (1600–1780)* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 35–51. See also Judith Pollman, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 159–85.

9   Samuel Morland, *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* (London, 1658), 277.

10 See Pierre Gilles, *Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises Reformées recueillies en quelques Vallées de Piedmont, autrefois appelées Églises Vaudoises de l'an 1160 au 1643* (Geneva, 1644), 426–31; *Récit véritable de la mort d'un fidèle martyr, brusié vif à Turin, pour la confession de l'Evangile* (n. p., 1624); *Waerachtich verhael, van de Doodt van Sebastiaen Basan … constant Martelaer levendich verbrandt tot Turim, om de belijdenisse van 't Euangelie* (The Hague, 1624); *Sketches of the Waldenses* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1846), 121–23; Alexander Hislop, *The Red Republic; or, Scarlet-Coloured Beast of the Apocalypse: Being An Inquiry into the Period of the Prophesying of the Two Witnesses, and the Character of the Beast That Kills Them* (Edinburgh, 1849), 44; Alexis Muston, *Israel of the Alps* (or. *L'Israël des Alpes: première histoire complète des Vaudois du Piémontet et des leurs colonies*, 4 vols, Paris, 1851), transl. by John Montgomery (London, 1875), 1:219–22; James D. McCabe Jr, *Cross and Crown, or, The Sufferings and Triumphs of the Heroic Men and Women Who Were Persecuted for the Religion of Jesus Christ* (Cincinnati, Ohio, Memphis, Tenn., and Atlanta, GA, 1874), 167–74; Giovanni Jalla, "La Riforma in Piemonte negli anni 1620–1623," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire vaudoise* 60 (1933): 5–61 (35–39) (reissued in book format as Giovanni Jalla, *Storia della Riforma Religiosa in Piemonte durante i regni di Carlo Emanuele I e Vittorio Amedeo I (1580–1637)*, vol. 2 (Torre Pellice: Libreria Editrice Claudiana, 1936)).

11 Gilles, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 427, quoted in translation in Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 1:219.

12 Gilles, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 428, quoted in translation in McCabe Jr, *Cross and Crown*, 168–69.

13 Bibliothèque de Genève, Arch. Tronchin 145, fols. 2–4, translation mine.

14 Gilles, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 429–30, quoted in translation in McCabe Jr, *Cross and Crown*, 171.

15 Gilles, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 431, turned into direct discourse and quoted in translation in Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 1:219.

16 As quoted in Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 1:222.

17 I am mostly following Muston's enthralling dramatized narrative here (Gilles simply recounts that the upset onlookers thought he had sung the hymn of Simeon). Alexis Muston (1810–1888), a Waldensian pastor, was one of the founders and the first honorary president of the Société d'Histoire Vaudoise. *L'Israël des Alpes* proved extremely successful, and, translated into English, German, and Danish, was the chief reference source for Waldensian culture and legacy throughout the nineteenth century. See *Héritage(s). Formazione e trasmissione della cultura valdese*, ed. Daniele Jalla (Turin: Claudiana, 2009), 399.

18 Many years after the publication of the first two volumes of the *History* (1679 and 1681), and following the peace of Utrecht in 1713—which many Whigs suspected concealed a secret commitment to put the Stuarts back on the throne—Burnet began work on a third volume, pre-announcing it with an introduction that warned of the cruelty and slavery intrinsic to the Catholic faith. He told readers that there was a plan, 'very probably suggested by King Philip and some of his Spaniards', to set up a tribunal of the Inquisition in England.

19 For more on Burnet's travels, see Franco Venturi, "L'Italia fuori dell'Italia," in *Storia d'Italia,* vol. 3, *Dal primo Settecento all'Unità* (Turin: Einaudi, 1973), 990–96 and Michaela Valente, *Contro l'Inquisizione. Il dibattito europeo, secc. XVI–XVIII* (Turin: Claudiana, 2009), 108–11.

20 *Some Letters, Containing An Account of What Seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c. Written by Gilbert Burnet, D.D. to T.H.R.B.* (Rotterdam, 1686), 255–57.

21 See John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Tolerance in Early Modern and 'Early Enlightenment' Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 56.

22 *Histoire de la persécution des Valées de Piémont, contenant ce qui s'est passé dans la dissipation des Eglises et des habitans de ces Valées, arrivée en l'an 1686* (Rotterdam, 1688). The *Histoire* was reprinted in quarto the year after by Acher himself.

23 See, for example, William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, vol. 4, *P–Sim* (London, 1834); Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture*, 56; Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 337. The *Histoire de la persécution des Valées de Piémont* has not infrequently been attributed to Jurieu as well. And in truth, the justification of armed resistance by the Waldensians ('justifier la conduite que les Vaudois ont tenue … est proprement du sujet de cette relation') perhaps fits with Jurieu's apocalyptic views—which placed him in opposition to Bayle—more than with post-revolutionary Orangist propaganda. However, in his writings in exile, Burnet had repeatedly sustained the legitimacy of active resistance against an arbitrary government, to the point that the Catholic Pierre Paulian did not hesitate to describe him as the 'Jurieu d'Angleterre'. See Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment*, 86.

24 *Histoire de la persécution des Valées de Piémont*, 19.

25 On the gradual symbolic and cartographic appropriation of territory by the Waldensian valley-dwellers, see the studies of Marco Fratini, "La 'Carta delle tre valli di Piemonte' di Valerio Grosso e la sua diffusione europea fra Sei e Ottocento," *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 189 (2001): 47–73 and "Una frontiera confessionale. La territorializzazione dei valdesi del Piemonte nella cartografia del Seicento," in *Confini e frontiere nell'età moderna*, ed. Alessandro Pastore (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2007) 127–43. See also Tarantino, "Mapping Religion (and Emotions) in the Protestant Valleys of Piedmont."

26 *Histoire de la persécution*, 118.

27 'On aura sujet de s'estonner de la facilité avec laquelle les Vaudois se laissoient si souvent tromper', *Histoire de la persécution*, 73.

28 *Histoire de la persécution*, 55, 77, 80.

29 *Histoire de la persécution*, 113.

30 *Histoire de la persécution*, 113–14.

31 In 1699 the popular preacher Nicholas Brady warned his parishioners not to place the usual English aversion to everything foreign before solidarity with the Waldensian brothers: 'Let none (I intreat you) of those little prejudices, which are apt to affect mean spirits and vulgar understandings, prevail with persons of ability and sense, to shut up their bowels of compassion from them: Let us not so far remember that they are *foreigners*, a word that sounds harshly in English ears, as to forget that they are Christians and Protestants', *A Sermon Preach'd at the Parish-Church of Richmond in*

Surry: April the 5th, 1699. Being the Day Appointed for a Publick Humiliation and Collection for the Vaudois (London, 1699), 19. For more on the circumstances that led, in 1699, to the start of a new campaign of solidarity in England towards the Waldensians (following a decree expelling Waldensians of French origin proclaimed by Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy), see Sugiko Nishikawa, *English Attitudes toward Continental Protestants with Particular Reference to Church Briefs c.1680–1740* (PhD Diss., University of London, 1998), 49ff.

32 Although he only published it in 1760, immediately after the English conquest of Quebec, Lockman worked on compiling the *History of the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants* in the same months in which he was preparing (and perhaps also translating from a French original) the memoirs of Coustos for publication. See Giovanni Tarantino, "Gli eccidi dei valdesi nella propaganda antigiacobita di Gilbert Burnet e John Lockman," *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 215 (2014): 73–102.

33 John Miller, "James II and Toleration," in *By Force or By Default? The Revolution of 1688–1689*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1989), 19.

34 Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment*, 89.

35 Both legislative innovations were followed by disorder in the streets. The protests against the passage of the *Catholic Relief Act* through Parliament in 1778 turned into the most prolonged urban riots in British history (with over 1,000 deaths). One extraordinary witness of it all was Ignatius Sancho, born a slave, who in one of his letters took note, with a certain irony, of the 'worse than Negro barbarity of the populace'. And he added, as an ex-Catholic who had converted to Anglicanism and was tempted by Methodism: 'I am forced to own, that I am for universal toleration. Let us convert by our example, and conquer by our meekness and brotherly love!' See Ignatius Sancho, *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, An African*, with an introduction and notes by Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 219–20.

36 Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment*, 95.

37 *A Letter, Writ by Mijn Heer Fagel (Pensioner of Holland) to Mr. James Stewart (Advocate); Giving an Account of the Prince and Princess of Orange's Thoughts Concerning the Repeal of the Test, and the Penal Laws* (n.p., 1688).

38 Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment*, 137, 717–18.

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8

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY QUAKERS, EMOTIONS, AND EGALITARIANISM

Sufferings, oppression, intolerance, and slavery

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The punishments of Quakers for following their religious consciences from the 1650s to 1680s included incarceration that led to the deaths of thousands; severe punishments for alleged witchcraft, especially of Quaker women; whippings; being placed in the stocks and pelted with stones; physical assault in the street by soldiers and by crowds; expulsions from many communities; fines; and seizures of household possessions and tools, preventing employments necessary for survival. James Nayler's punishment involved incarceration, 310 lashes, boring of the tongue, and a brand on the forehead, "B" for Blasphemer. As William Penn put it in surveying their 'cruel Sufferings' and 'bitter Persecutions', Quakers were an 'abused and despised people' who 'went forth Weeping and sowed in Tears' and were as 'poor Sheep appointed to the Slaughter, and as a People killed all the Day long'.[1]

We will examine later Quakers' descriptions of themselves as 'weeping and sowed in tears'; it is important to note first that Penn here called Quakers 'despised'. It was common for Quakers to declare that they were 'despised' and 'hated', and therefore persecuted. In 1654, Edward Burrough called his fellow Quakers 'hated and despised'. The opening lines of John Swinton's *Testimony for the Lord* called Quakers 'despised'. In 1659, Edward Burrough enumerated Quakers' persecutions, whippings, banishments, and imprisonments and queried rhetorically, 'among what sort of people have we not been hated'. Humphrey Smith's 1658 *The Fruits of Unrighteousness* declared Quakers 'hated and persecuted'. The perception that hatred was directed against Quakers was often aligned in Quaker texts with identification of the further emotions of envy, anger, and jealousy as undergirding hostility to them. In his *A Summary Account of the Divers Dispensations of God to Men* William Penn tied the persecution of Quakers to 'rage', 'angry mind[s]', 'man's wrath', and 'envy'. Viewing the world as a scene of spiritual battle between God's followers and those of the

quintessentially 'envious' Satan, Quakers understood their persecution as a consequence of the diabolic 'envy' of the wicked towards the righteous. For Edward Burrough in 1659:

> All this Persecution practiced about Religion in the World, that hath been in the World, as Imprisonments, Banishments, Cruel Torture unto death… hath been of the wicked one, through the Malice and Envy of the Devil, against God and his people.

Because wicked rulers knew that 'men that fear God and love righteousness shall take their place', the Devil had filled his servants' hearts with 'ravening envy against the Seed of God'. Humphrey Smith's 1658 *Sounding Voyce of the Dread of God's Mighty Power* declared persecutors 'filled, and moved with envy'. In his 1662 *The Life of Enoch Again Revived*, William Bayly declared that those dominated by the flesh were 'fretful, froward and wrath against them, who are in the inward spiritual birth, more righteous than you' as the 'kingdom of pride, subtilty, envy, wrath and persecution' treated those of 'inward birth' as 'prey' to be 'hunted'.[2]

Quakers perceived themselves as hated by their contemporaries. They were right. Across the centuries, 'charitable hatred' had been preached extensively as a Christian duty towards sin in order to prevent its spread to others, and as the 'charitable' loving attempt through coercion to help persuade individuals to reconsider, repent, and thereby be saved. In the parliamentary debate over the fate of Nayler, Edward Goffe declared that out of 'love and charity' it was necessary to execute him. Demand for 'hatred' of sin and 'love' for God was often combined with an invocation of God's 'wrath' and 'righteous anger' to be imitated by humans. God's wrathful punitive interventions in the world, furthermore, were seen as capable of being forestalled by actions to build a 'godly community' of which God would approve. Calls for imitation of God's anger were joined with fear of suffering from that anger if one failed to take godly action against heretics, schismatics, and blasphemers. Thus, the punishment of Nayler was held necessary in order to forestall England's 'national punishment' by turning away 'God's wrath and his Judgments from this land and nation'.[3]

To fear of God's anger for failure to punish Quakers as alleged heretics was often added a fear of the threats posed by Quakers. In this period, heresy was often imaged as a contagious disease murdering souls. Crowds attacked the Quaker Edward Billing in a period when dogs were often rounded up and killed to prevent the spread of the plague, suggesting that they should 'dash out his braines … [Quakers] are like dogs in time of plague, they are to be killed as they go up and downe the streets, that they do not infect'. Magistrates ordered watches on the highways to keep out Quakers or to expel them to prevent the spread of their 'great contagion'. The Presbyterian Richard Baxter described Quakers as 'like Witches, with Quaking and Vomiting, and infecting others, with breathing on them'.[4]

Such fear of Quakers as spreading a disease fatal to souls was combined with fear of Quakers as subversive of fragile political order in the inherited vocabulary that classified heretics and schismatics as rebels. That they were feared as such 'rebels' owed much to the challenges Quakers posed for every significant dimension of religious, political, social, and gender hierarchy. Quakers preached the 'inner light' available to all and declared that the world would soon 'be turned upside down'. Quakers identified the gift of prophecy as given to the poor as well as to the rich, and to women as well as to men. Quakers denounced priests zealously as anti-Christian, rejected Anglican houses of worship as idolatrous 'steeple-houses', and refused to pay tithes, thereby refusing support for any variety of a national church in a period when national worship was thought by most to be required to forestall God's anger. Quakers refused oaths, thought to be the only security of political obedience. Quakers did not perform the ceremonies of marriage and rejected the Pauline requirement that women be silent in church, thereby challenging patriarchal, familial, and political order. Quakers rejected all of the quotidian recognitions of social status in dress and demeanour through refusing to doff hats, abandoning politely hierarchical forms of personal address for the egalitarian 'thee' and 'thou', and rejecting clothing associated with hierarchy by instead wearing austere plain cloaks and hats and by going 'naked' for a sign.[5]

In expressing their egalitarian hostility to hierarchy, superfluity, luxury, and pride, Quakers in their early years voiced deeply emotional criticisms of the oppression of the poor by the rich in England and acclaimed the expected and imminent millenarian overturning of their society. Nayler attacked the 'covetous and cruel oppressors' who 'grind the face of the poor and needy'. For Fox, the rich man was the 'greatest thief', and it was the 'poor that suffer' with so many 'ready to starve and beg'. James Parnell sounded a *Trumpet of the Lord* against lords and gentlemen who had obtained 'much earth' by 'fraud, deceit and oppression' and being thus 'exalted above your fellow-creatures ... grind the faces of the poor, and they are as slaves under you, and must toyle under you'. Parnell declared

> Woe unto you that are called Lords, Ladies, Knights... Your fellow creatures must labour like slaves under you... They must hunger and thirst and labour when you are eating, drinking and sleeping, and here like Dives you sit at ease, and poor Lazarus lying starving without.

Lordly domination was a violation of God's wishes, according to Nayler, for 'God hath made all men of one mould and one blood to dwell on the face of the earth'. In his *Gospel Truth* George Fox declared that

> he that respects persons, commits Sin... For to respect a Proud Man, because he hath a Gold Ring on his Finger, and fine Apparel, such respects we deny... to set up a Great Man which hath abundance of

Earth, joyning Field to Field and Land to Land, and respect such above the Poor, this is an Evil Eye; for God cryes Woe unto such, for God hath made all of one Mould, and one Blood, to dwell upon the Face of the Earth, and he is no Respecter of Persons.

Edward Burrough echoed Nayler and Fox in his *Account of some Grounds and Reasons of the Innocent Sufferings of the People of God, Called, Quakers*, asking

Hath not God made of one mould and one blood all nations to dwell upon the Face of the Earth? And doth not he that respects Persons commit sin?… must it now be an Offence not to put off the Hat, and give respect to the Person of him that hath a Gold Ring, and fine Apparel? Hath not all the earthly Lordship, and Tyranny and Oppression sprung from this ground, by which Creatures hath been exalted, and set up one above another, trampling under Foot and despising the Poor?[6]

Quakers often attacked the law as corruptly protecting the property of the rich. Benjamin Nicholson, who died in prison in 1660, wrote to 'England's rulers' in his 1653 *Blast from the Lord*, that instead of 'covering the naked, and feeding the hungry, you set out Laws to punish them, my heart bleeds to think of the hard usage of my poor fellow creatures'. Quaker condemnations of priests included accusing them of being those who 'fare sumptuously, grind-ing the poor to powder in taxation and oppression, you, that have got a great deal of earth into your hands … let the poor starve in the streets'. Nayler con-demned the priest 'that works not at all … taking by violence what's other men's labours'. For Quakers, worship included all bodily experiences and actions, not only those performed in an identified house of worship or 'church' under the leadership of a priest supported by tithes and considerable wealth. Quakers' dissent from the world's 'worships' and its 'wayes' were often linked. As Thomas Zachary put it in 1657, in challenging the officers of the Army for having turned from formerly fighting for 'Christian liberty' against tyrannical kings and bishops to becoming tyrants who supported religious coercion: 'Your true interest … lies in the broken, poor, despised People of God dissenting from the world's worship and wayes'.[7]

Especially in their first years during the English Revolution, Quakers' criti-cisms of hierarchy were combined with stress on God's righteous 'anger' and 'wrath' against pride and luxury, with stress on egalitarian 'love' of mankind, and 'hatred' of the sins of the 'flesh'—of luxury, vanity, idleness, and dissolution. Fox's preaching spoke of the 'Day of the Lord's Wrath' as coming soon, and of God as 'Jealous' and 'Angry'. Fox declaimed in 1653:

O ye great and rich men of the earth! Weep and howl for the misery that is coming… The fire is kindled, the day of the Lord is appearing, a day of howling… All the loftiness of men must be laid low.

In 1654, Edward Burrough called, in militaristic if perhaps metaphoric language, for the 'Camp of the Lord' to appear as 'an army' and 'wound the lofty and tread under foot the honourable of the earth'. In his *Woeful Cry* in 1657, Burrough declared that oppressed saints would receive 'authority and dominion' when Christ came to reign, and then 'The saints shall rule with a rod of iron'.[8]

The millennium did not come; the Lord did not appear; Quaker saints never came to rule England with a rod of iron. Instead, there came the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy and the Anglican Church. The persecution of Quakers was expanded as they were imprisoned, tortured, whipped, stoned, beaten, and fined under Charles II. Quakers died in prison in the 1660s in greater numbers than in the 1650s. As one of their most important responses, Quakers began to publish an extensive body of accounts of their 'sufferings', and emphasized the theme of 'lamentation', which we glimpsed earlier in Penn's description of Quakers as a people 'weeping and sowed in Tears'. John Swinton's 1663 *A Testimony for the Lord* closed with 'A Lamentation, a lamentation, a lamentation, in the Life, over the Seed, the Oppressed Seed'. Humphry Smith's 1660 *A Sad and Mournful Lamentation for the People of These Nations*, issued from 'a filthy hoale' in Winchester Prison, claimed a 'true sense of Gods pitty to the precious souls of all mankind', and his 'heart … broken within me, and mine eyes as fountaines of tears, and a sad lamentation, night and day hath come upon me; and a true mourning'. Smith especially lamented the 'hard hearted blindnesse' of rulers who persecuted those who worshipped 'from the spirit of God' and asserted that he suffered 'grief' for the rulers who would not be able to hide in the approaching 'day of fierce wrath, and fiery indignation, from the jealous God of Majesty'. The 'great men, and the rich men, and the mighty ones of the earth' would, he declared, soon 'mourn and lament' their service of the 'whore of Babylon'. The Irish Quaker John Perrot attempted to convert the Ottoman sultan and the Pope and was incarcerated and tortured by the Inquisition. Perrot described his tortures in 1440 lines of poetry collected as the 1661 *A Sea of the Seed's Sufferings, through Which Runs a River of Rich Rejoycing*. As Perrot put it,

> Hunger, thirst, Nakedness, and Cold, yea, pangs of pain I eat/To which Oppression doth me hold. Tears are my drink and meat/Sighs in the deeps do gird me, as a swadling-band/The Night's black womb of wrath's my bondage in the Land.[9]

Quakers often discussed their incarceration in terms of an imitation of Christ's sufferings, and emphasized God's supporting 'love'. In his 1658 *Sounding Voyce of the Dread of God's Mighty Power*, Humphrey Smith identified persecutors as following 'the King' of the 'bottomless pit' in thirsting 'for the blood of the innocent', but declared that

> your long tyranny will never wear out the patience we have received, nei-
> ther can you inflict more punishment than the Lord hath enabled us to
> bear… we have given up our bodies and souls a living sacrifice unto God,
> to do or suffer his will. And him that kills the body we feare not, much
> lesse those that can but whip or imprison but for a few months… there is
> none can make them afraid with all their threats, unrighteous Laws,
> bonds… long unjust imprisonments, or death it self.

Clearly thinking of Christ, Smith declared Quakers' suffering 'crowned with
honour'. 'The saints', he held, 'rejoiced' that they were counted worthy 'to
suffer for his Names sake, who was made perfect through sufferings'. Smith died
in prison in 1663.[10]

Quakers emphasized that they received the 'love of God' in the midst of their
tribulations, providing consolation and even 'joy' in their sufferings. For John
Swinton, writing from prison, Quakers' 'fear and love of the living God, as he
is known a God near at hand' was 'uppermost in their inward parts', exercising
a conscience free of sin 'in the spirits of their minds, they being in union with
the spirit of truth, it leads them into all truth, and the love of true things'.
Quakers were faithful to 'the fear of the living God, that maketh the heart
clean'. For Richard Farnsworth and John Whitehead, in prison in 1664, though
Quakers were 'hated of the world' and were suffering 'persecutions and banish-
ments', God's 'love' was 'refreshing' and the 'joys of heaven were manifested' in
the midst of their tribulations. Isaac Penington wrote from a prison 'so decayed
that it was scarce fit for a dog-house' to Friends:

> O ye dear plants of the right hand of eternity, fear not what is to come to
> pass in this visible creation… but sanctify the Lord of Hosts, and let him
> be your fear and dread… that ye may be satisfied in the openings and
> overflowings of the love of His heart towards you.

Penington declared that The Lord 'made my bonds pleasant to me' and

> my noisome prison… a place of pleasure and delight, where I was com-
> forted by my God night and day, and filled with prayers for His people, as
> also with love to and prayers for those who had been the means of out-
> wardly afflicting me and others upon the Lord's account.[11]

Quaker sufferings were thus issued as testimonies to their own faith and
expressions of their emotions as purified by God. At the same time, Quaker suf-
ferings were clearly issued as an attempt to appeal to the 'tenderness', 'pity', and
'compassion' of readers and to identify persecutors as 'hard-hearted' and lacking
in compassion. In Robert Westfield's 1662 *Brief Relation of Some of the Cruel, and
Inhumane Usage, and Great Persecution and Imprisonment of above Four Thousand
Two Hundred and Thirty of the People of God, in Scorn Called Quakers,* the

imprisonments, deaths, violent arrests, and other 'sufferings' of the Quakers throughout England were publicized 'to the King', Council, and nation, in such a manner 'that if there were any Tenderness in People, it were enough to break their Hearts'. This call for tenderness, for 'softening' the 'hard-hearted' in the reading audience, was part of a campaign by Quakers to evoke 'pity' and 'compassion' for their 'sufferings'. The text, like many other Quaker works, emphasized the sufferings of the aged, women, and children, and of 'poor' men, including 'Widowes, Girles, and some of 80 Years of age'. It explicitly depicted those acting against the Quakers as lacking 'pity', as in the description of 'Women great with child [who] have been haled and abused without pitty'. It evoked in readers' minds the sufferings of children with their parents 'cast into Noisome Dungeons' and 'left Fatherless and Motherless'. And it drew readers into the imaginative space of the Quakers' own experiences in prisons, declaring these worse than those executed by Queen Mary:

> Queen Maries Law was nothing like this Lingering Martyrdom, that puts Men and Women in Holes, and will not let them have straw nor Meat; and they are fain to ease themselves in the same Room where they Lodg, and Eat, enough to Poyson them; by which several are sick, and some Dead.

It emphasized that Quakers in prison were so thronged 'that they cannot lie down altogether, many not having a Foot square of room a piece allowed them', until they were carried out sick and dead. Quakers were described as 'Fettered' and 'in Irons'. That this was unjust punishment was repeated multiple times, as it was said that the Quakers were 'Innocent' Inn, denied their trades and capacities to employ others, had their families sundered, and were physically abused, all only for peaceful worship and 'keeping their consciences clear' in 'the fear of the lord':

> Oh the Hardheartedness, and Unchristian State, to cause so many Men, Women, and Widdows that are Innocent, and for worshipping of God to be cast into Prisons and Dungeons, and their Trades and Husbandry spoiled, their families Ruined, and laid Waste, and their Children left Crying in the Streets![12]

The leading Quaker Edward Burrough was in prison in Newgate in 1662, together with several hundred Quakers and Baptists, and declared of Quakers' sufferings that 'the nobility of it gains place in many hearts, which are opened in pity and compassion towards innocent sufferers, and many are affected by our great afflictions'. Even Richard Baxter, for whom Quakers were fanatics, heretics, and infecting witches, declared that they were 'so resolute, and gloried in their constancy and sufferings' that 'many turned Quaker, because the Quakers kept their Meetings openly and went to prison for it cheerfully'. In his 1661 *The Quakers Plea,* Peter Hardcastle declared that 'there is a property in English

people to affect sufferers, and to suffer for our Religion, will more encline the hearts of people towards us'. Hardcastle tied this to the argument that it was 'reason and equity' to 'allow all people to turn unto, to follow and practice that Religion which they dare trust their own Souls withal'.[13]

We saw earlier that Penington declared that he prayed not only for Quakers but for those 'who have been the means of outwardly afflicting me'. In the Restoration, it became a major theme of Quaker literature that they loved even their persecutors, in imitation of Christ. In *Good Advice to the Church of England,* William Penn held that Christ's 'whole business to mankind, from first to last, was Love' and that Christ came 'in much Love' and preached and pressed it both to 'Friends and Foes'. His message was 'Love Enemies; do good to them that hate you, forgive those that trespass against you; what you would that other Men should do unto you, do that unto them'. Christ had 'liv'd in love, so he died in Love' and 'pray'd and died for them who put him to Death'. Christ gave thereby 'an example that we also should follow his steps'. In the 1670 *Great Case of Liberty of Conscience*, Penn declared that Christ was 'so far from persecuting any, that he would not so much as revile his Persecutors, but prayed for them'. This *imitatio Christi* was combined directly with the 'Peace principle' of Quakers announced in 1661 by Fox, that 'the spirit of Christ … will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons'. In his 1662 *Quakers Plea,* Peter Hardcastle stressed that as Quakers held that it was 'not lawful' to 'fight against, or go to war with Carnal Weapons in any wise', they were axiomatically peaceable.[14]

Quaker literature on their sufferings, forgiveness of enemies, and pacifist declaration of refusal to take up arms for any cause was intended to identify Quakers as not to be feared or hated by any, and thereby to dispose people to support their toleration. Quakers' sufferings were an important part of many Quaker works issued in defence of religious toleration. Very heavy emphasis indeed was placed therein on the central principle of Christianity that 'one should do unto others as one would wish they should do unto you'. As Burrough put it in his 1661 *Antichrist's Government Justly Detected*, persecution was

> unrighteous because it is contrary to the command of God, Do ye to others as ye would be done unto; but this imposing in matters of Worship, is a practice done by others, which others would not be done unto by any, and therefore 'tis unrighteous.[15]

The Quaker case for toleration often involved the further identification of Christianity as a religion of 'love' and 'charity', with persecution defined as the antithesis of both. In William Penn's 1679 *Address to Protestants*, one of his many works against the use of force in religion, Penn declared persecution a violation of Christ's 'own Character of himself', which required Christians to be 'Meek in Heart' and 'not only forgiving but loving their very Enemies'. For Penn, the primary cause of persecution was that its supporters had 'no Religion at Heart',

with the first business of religion 'to soften the Affection'. As he put it, persecutors were 'devoid of natural Affection, their Religion has no Bowels', as they turned 'Widow and Fatherless' out of house and home. True religion instead made men 'love Enemies, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despightfully use us'. For Penn, men 'that are angry for God, Passionate for Christ, that can call Names for Religion, and fling Stones and Persecute for Faith, may tell us they are Christians', but they are not. He held that

> so much stronger, in Souls truly Religious, is the Power of Love to Mankind than any self-revenging Passion, that from an humble and serious Reflection upon the Mercies and Goodness of God to them, they do not only suppress any rising of Heart against their persecutors,

but instead 'with much softness and charity, commiserate their Ignorance and Fury … This is to be Religious, and therefore those that Persecute for Religion are Irreligious'. Penn declared that

> where no Anger dwells, no Revenge can grow; and if we must love Enemies, there is no Man left to be hated. This is the doctrine of that Jesus, that laid down his Life for all: and this is the end for which he preached it.

There was a need to be 'such as receive Stripes for Christs sake, and not those that beat our Fellow-Servants'.[16]

Thereby answering centuries of Christian arguments for 'hatred' and 'righteous anger' to be directed against heretics and schismatics by arguments from 'love', 'charity', and 'doing unto others as you would have them do unto you', Quakers also turned against persecution itself the invocation of God's 'anger' and 'wrath' and the need to fear it and to forestall God's punitive interventions. The epistle dedicatory to William Caton's 1662 *Testimony of a Cloud of Witnesses* against 'that horrible Evil of Forcing of Conscience, and Persecution about Matters of Religion' declared that it was such persecution that would 'incur Desolation upon the Land, and hasten the Lord's Judgments upon its Inhabitants' and called therefore for 'free, open, publick and perfect Liberty in the exercise of Conscience'. For Burrough, it was imposed worship 'forced by outward power … [which] grieves and vexes the God of heaven unto wrath and Indignation'. Want of liberty of conscience was 'the Cause whereby the God of Heaven is angry and provoked' and for which he would 'smite Kingdoms'. It was for Burrough a judgement in the 'fear and spirit of the Lord' that it was 'perfectly reasonable, Just and Equal, that every man in the world be permitted his Liberty in the free exercise of his Conscience'. In his 1661 *Antichrist's Government Justly Detected,* Burrough declared that 'Wars, Tribulations, [and] Contentions' were the terrestrial consequences of intolerance, and if conscience was imposed upon, 'then shall misery and destruction certainly be unto you,

according to the Justice of God's Vengeance'. Isaac Penington's 1661 *Concerning Persecution* argued that persecution 'draweth down the wrath of God upon People, Powers, and Governments, where such Persecution is'.[17]

In the second half of the seventeenth century, slavery was expanding massively in British American and Caribbean colonies. Very many Quakers became slave-owners, including some in the large Quaker community in Barbados and in Pennsylvania from its founding as a Quaker colony in 1681. Penn was a slave-owner. Pennsylvania's Quakers dominated government and developed a harsh slave code. Many Quaker masters punished their slaves severely. Quakers started discussing slavery as early as the 1650s. Some seventeenth-century Quakers, including Fox, emphasized the need for conversion, amelioration, and eventual manumission. A very small number of seventeenth-century Quakers developed anti-slavery arguments. As they considered slavery, Fox and these early Quaker exponents of anti-slavery arguments applied many of the arguments and much of the language of emotions documented above.[18]

In 1657, Fox wrote an epistle 'To Friends beyond Sea, that have Blacks and Indian Slaves', which declared that God was 'no Respecter of Persons … And he hath made all Nations of one Blood to dwell upon the Face of the Earth'. God had commanded men to 'love all Men'. Stressing that the universal light was a gift to all, Fox declared that God 'doth Enlighten every Man, that cometh into the World, that they might believe in the Son'. For Fox, the Gospel was to be

> preached to every creature unto Heaven; which is the power that giveth Liberty and Freedom, and is Glad Tidings to every Captivated Creature under the whole Heavens… and so, ye are to have the Mind of Christ, and to be Merciful.

Fox's emphasis here was thus on preaching, conversion, and mercy towards the 'captivated'. In 1671, Fox went to Barbados and held Meetings at the house of a rich Quaker slave-owner where he himself resided. Challenged by Barbadian authorities that Quakers were fomenting rebellion by holding Meetings attended by slaves, in his *To the Ministers, Teachers and Priests … in Barbados*, Fox again emphasized conversion and amelioration, asserting that Quakers teach slaves to 'Fear God, and to love their Masters and Mistresses, and to be Faithful and Diligent in their Masters Service and Business; and that then their Masters and Overseers will Love them, and deal Kindly and Gently with them'. In his 1676 *Gospel Family Order,* Fox again asserted in a universalist, conversionist, and ameliorationist vein that Christ had died 'for the Tawnes and for the Blacks, as well as for you that are called Whites', and that Christ should be preached

> to your Ethyopians that are in your Families, that so they may be free Men indeed, and be tender of them and to them, and walk in Love… being (as the Scripture affirms) all of one Blood and of one Mold, to dwell upon the Face of the Earth.

Applying to slavery the Golden Rule that Quakers had often applied to con-
demn religious intolerance, Fox suggested that if Quakers were in the 'same
Condition' as 'the Blacks are', they would think it 'very great Bondage and
Cruelty'. Therefore, 'do you for and to them, as you would willingly have them
or any other to do unto you … bring them to know the Lord Christ'. Suggest-
ing the desirability of manumission, but placing it into a potentially very distant
future in the lives of slaves, Fox held that it would be 'very acceptable to the
Lord', if Masters of Families 'deal so with their servants, the Negroes and
Blacks, whom they have bought with their Money, to let them go free after
a considerable Term of Years, if they have served them faithfully'. For Fox,
such eventually manumitted slaves—and Fox seems to have thought appropriate
thirty years of service before manumission—should not then go 'empty-
handed'.[19]

Having also held Meetings open to slaves on Barbados in 1675, William
Edmundsen later declared that he had been challenged by the governor and Angli-
can priests that Quakers' inclusion of slaves would make slaves 'Rebel and cut their
throats'. Edmundsen declared that he had then responded that bringing slaves to
the knowledge of Christ would 'keep them from rebelling', but that 'if they did
rebel, and cut their Throats' it would be 'through' the slave-owners 'own Doings,
in keeping them in Ignorance, and under Oppression' and starving them 'for want
of Meat and Cloaths convenient'. Edmundsen declared in an epistle 'For friends in
Maryland, Virginia and other parts of America' that Negroes must 'feel and partake
of the liberty of the Gospel … Did not God make us all of one mould? And did
not Jesus Christ shed his blood for us all?' For Edmundsen, God was 'no Respecter
of Persons, but of every Nation, Tongue and People that fears God … And should
not we show forth the mercies, and kindness of God to our fellow Creatures?'
Christ's command was 'to do to others, as we would have them to do to us; and
which of you all would have the blacks or others to make you their Slaves with
out hope or expectation of freedom or liberty?' In a further letter 'to Friends',
written in Rhode Island in 1676, Edmundsen argued that it would be

> acceptable with God, and answer the witness in all, if you did consider
> their condition of perpetuall slavery, and make their Conditions your
> own, and soo fulfil the law of Christ, for perpetual slavery is an Agriva-
> sion, and Oppression on the mind.

He ended this letter by challenging his fellow Quakers by asking them, since
'many of you count it unlawfull to make Slaves of the Indians', 'then why the
Negroes?'[20]

The 'Germantown Protest' of 1688 against 'the traffic of men-body', com-
posed and signed by four Dutch and German Quakers in a small community of
Germantown, Pennsylvania, argued emphatically that slavery contravened the
Golden Rule: 'Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner? Viz,
to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life?' It declared that

tho' they are Black; we can not conceive there is more Liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; macking no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are.

Those who 'stole men' and those who purchased them 'were a licke'. Celebrating 'liberty of conscience', the Protestors declared 'here ought to be lickewise liberty of the body'; whereas in Europe 'are many oppressed for Conscience Sacke … here are those oppressed, which are of a black colour'. Slavery was wrong in sundering families, 'separating wifes from husbands', and because 'some sell the children of these poor Creatures to other men'. Identifying the peace principle as undermined by slavery, and declaring that the right of slaves to 'fight for their freedom' was equal to that of slave-owners, the authors of the Germantown Protest declared that if the slaves should 'joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters and mastrisses, as these did handel them before' would masters then 'tacke the sword at hand and warr against these poor slaves … have these negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?'[21]

   An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or Keeping of Negroes of 1693 was the first anti-slavery tract printed in America and the first adopted as policy by a Quaker Monthly Meeting—albeit of the splinter Quaker group of self-described 'Christian Quakers', who were followers of George Keith and at that time in the process of causing schism by emphasizing the requirement of belief in Christ's redemption and doctrinal regulation. The 'Christian Quakers' included a former signatory of the 1688 Germantown protest, Abraham op den Graeff, while Keith was surely among those members who had considered in their Meetings the unprinted 'Germantown Protest' in 1688. The *Exhortation* declared that Christ's Gospel of 'Peace, Liberty and Redemption from Sin, Bondage, and all Oppression' was to be preached 'unto all, without Exception, and that Negroes, Blacks and Tawnies are a real part of Mankind' and 'capable of Salvation, as well as White Men'. All 'sincere Christians' were to be

> conformable unto him in Love, Mercy, Goodness and Compassion, who came not to destroy Men's Lives, but to save them, nor to bring any part of Mankind into outward Bondage, Slavery or Misery, nor yet to detain them, or hold them therein, but to ease and deliver the Oppressed and Distressed, and bring into Liberty both inward and outward.

The Exhortation also declared it necessary

> that all faithful Friends should discover themselves to be true Christians by having the Fruits of the Spirit of Christ, which are Love, Mercy, Goodness, and Compassion towards all in Misery, and that suffer Oppression and severe usage, so far as in them is possible to ease and relieve them and set them free of their hard Bondage.

The *Exhortation* indicated that 'in some places in Europe Negroes cannot be bought and sold for Money, or detained to be Slaves, because it suits not with the Mercy, Love and Clemency that is essential to Christianity'. To buy men and enslave them and their posterity was both a 'great hindrance' to the 'spreading of the Gospel' and the 'occasion of much War, Violence, Cruelty and Oppression'. And slavery transgressed that

> Golden Rule and Law, to do unto others what we would have others do to us… as we and our Children would not be kept in perpetual Bondage and Slavery against our Consent, neither should we keep them in perpetual Bondage and Slavery against their Consent, it being such intolerable Punishment to their Bodies and Minds, that none but notorious Criminal Offendors deserve the same. But these have done us no harme; therefore how inhumane is it in us so grievously to oppress them and their Children from one Generation to another.

The *Exhortation* questioned 'what greater oppression can there be inflicted upon our fellow creatures than is inflicted on the poor Negroes', 'being brought from their own Country against their Wills', with separation of 'the Husband from the Wife, and the Children from the Parents', and because many masters 'exceedingly afflict them and oppress them, not only by continual hard Labour, but by cruel Whippings and other cruel Punishments'. The *Exhortation* condemned the 'unparalleled Cruelty of these cruel and hard-hearted pretended Christians'. It declared that for their 'Oppressions and Afflictions' God would visit the 'same by his righteous and just Judgments'. It demanded that 'Mercy' instead be shown 'to these poor, afflicted, tormented miserable Slaves'. The *Exhortation* recommended 'in true Christian Love' that Friends bought slaves only to set them free, and that they emancipated any already bought 'after some reasonable time of moderate Service' that would 'reasonably answer to the Charge of what they have laid out'.[22]

In 1696, the Pennsylvania Quaker William Southeby composed a markedly similar critique of slavery in *To Friends and All Whom It May Concerne*, declaring that purchasing slaves 'appears to me to Contradict our Great Law-giver's holy precepts and self-denying doctrine, where he saith, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them'. Southeby held that 'the very act Slavery bearing upon these poor blackamoor's minds of being kept slave during term of Life, both of them and their posterity' was a

> barr to stop them for ever comeing trewly to own Christianity, or at least to believe us to be trew followers of our great Lawgiver Christ Jesus who said, whatsoever ye would that men should doe unto you, doe ye unto them.

Southeby argued that purchasers could not 'be altogether clear of the first violence used in taking of them to be Slaves, because we receive them, which still encourages the first violente Act in taeking of them'. For Southeby, they were

of the same mold that we are of, and Christ tasted death for them as well as us, and hath given them talents to improve as well as us, and if we have a measure of that Divine Love ruling in us that was so large and incomprehensible in him to all mankind, we must manifest it in some degree.

People should not live 'so high and full as now many by oppression of these poor people doth'. For Southeby, it was necessary to agree with those slaves 'we have already', that they would 'serve you so long till they make reasonable satisfaction for what they cost', and then to free them. If not, 'God will heare their Cry, and also avenge it on their Oppressors'. Southeby declared that

the time is come, and comeing that one nation shall not oppress, nor one people another; nor make Slaves of Each other, neither that the Great and merciful God will have respect to any one Sort of People more than to another, either because they are Black or White or Tawnie.[23]

Two years later, the Pennsylvania Quaker Robert Piles challenged the legitimacy of slavery once again by asserting 'the command' of Christ, 'Do unto all men as ye would have all man doe unto you; and wee would not willingly to be slaves tearm of life; also considering that Christ dieing for all mankind, they being a part, though yet ungathered'. Piles identified slavery as based on 'warr one with another' or on being 'stoln', and questioned 'whether our buying of them do not incurredg rather than discurredg them in that wicked work'. Piles worried both that slaves might 'rise in rebellion' and that Quakers therefore would need to 'keep a malisha [militia]; which is against our principles'. Piles suggested that following some Christianization of slaves, Quarterly Meetings could 'bee proper Judges in setting them free', and in determining any remaining term of service so that the master was not at 'too much loss'. And in the same year of 1698 the Maryland Quaker Richard Hill sent a fifteen-line anti-slavery poem to the English Quaker James Dickinson, declaring slaves 'objects of pity' and asking 'who can but lament the innocent cause of the poor ignorant'. The poem declared that the 'groans' of Africans would ascend to Heaven with even more reason than had those of enslaved Jews in Egypt. It questioned 'What Cruell heart so hard them to deny the Enjoying temporall felicity, whom God possess'd with rights and Liberty'.[24]

These radical anti-slavery arguments had little immediate effect. Quaker slave-owning grew in the eighteenth century in Pennsylvania. The 'Germantown Protest' was sent from the Monthly to the Quarterly and then to the Yearly Meeting, where it was shelved. The 'Christian Quakers' supporting the *Exhortation* were already schismatic, and Keith was repudiated by the Quakers and repudiated them. Piles' criticisms were voiced as personal testimony against his own purchase of slaves. Southeby's protest helped lead the 1696 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to issue an 'advice' against further importation of slaves, but this was then largely ignored. But these anti-slavery

writings show the potential the seventeenth-century language of Quaker emotions and egalitarianism had in opposing slavery by viewing humanity as 'all of one blood and mould', and not only arguing for liberty of conscience and religious toleration against fierce religious persecution, but also condemning slavery and its cruelty, oppression, and sufferings, and affirming instead that all humans possessed 'rights and Liberty'.[25]

Notes

1 William Penn, *The preface being a Summary account of the divers dispensations of God to Men* (London, 1694), sig C2r. See also Barry Reay, *Quakers and the English Revolution* (London: Temple Press, 1985); William Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955); William Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (New York: Penguin, 1972); Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Rosemary Moore, *The Light within Their Consciences* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2000); Larry Gragg, *The Quaker Community on Barbados* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009); Amanda Herbert, *Female Alliances* (New Haven: Yale, 2014); John Marshall, *Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

2 Edward Burrough, *The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation* (London, 1672), 1, 256–57; Hill, *World*, 246; Edward Burrough, *A Declaration from the People Called Quakers* (London, 1659), 9; Edward Burrough, *Antichrist's Government Justly Detected* (London, 1659), 6–7; John Swinton, *A Testimony for the Lord* ([London, 1663]), 1; William Penn, *The Preface, Being A Summary Account of the Divers Dispensations of God to Men* (London, 1694); William Bayly, *The Life of Enoch Again Revived* (London, 1662), 6–9; Humphrey Smith, *The Sounding Voyce of the Dread of God's Mighty Power* (London, 1658), 8; Humphrey Smith, *The Fruits of Unrighteousness* (London, 1658), 3.

3 Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), passim; Mark Goldie, "The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England," in Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan Israel and Nicholas Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 331–68; John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558–1689* (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), passim; Marshall, *Locke,* passim.

4 Thomas Burton, *The Diary of Thomas Burton*, 4 vols (London, 1828), 1:34, 55, 58, 68, 71, 77, 108, 110; Reay, *Quakers*, 106; Marshall, *Locke*, 296–97 and throughout.

5 Reay, *Quakers,* passim; Hill, *World*, passim; Moore, *Light*, passim; Marshall, *Locke,* passim; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, passim; Braithwaite, *Second Period*, passim.

6 James Nayler, *A Few Words* (London, 1654), 21–22; James Nayler, *Wisdom from Beneath* (London, 1653); George Fox, *A Declaration Against All Professions and Professors* (London, 1655), 12, quoted in Reay, *Quakers*, 40; Hill, *World*, 244, 248; George Fox, *Newes Coming up out of the North* (London, 1654), 11; Christopher Hill, *Liberty against the Law* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1996), 260; James Parnell, *A Trumpet of the Lord* (London, 1655), 1, quoted in both Reay, *Quakers*, 39 and Moore, *Light*, 63–4; Burrough, *Works*, 97, 500 partly quoted in Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat* (London: Faber and Faber 1984), 144–46; George Fox, *Gospel-Truth Demonstrated* (London, 1706), 27; Hill, *Experience,* 154 and 154n7.

7 Benjamin Nicholson, *A Blast from the Lord* (London, 1653), 9–10, quoted in Reay, *Quakers*, 39 and Moore, *Light*, 63; Richard Farnsworth, *Brief Discovery of the Kingdom of Antichrist* (London, 1653), 15–16, quoted in Moore, *Light*, 63; James Nayler,

A Public Discovery of the Open Blindness of Babel's Builders (London, 1656), 17, quoted in Hill, *Experience*, 139; Thomas Zachary, *A Word to the Officers of the Army* (London, 1657), 3–4.

8 Burrough, *Works*, 671; Hill, *The Experience of Defeat*, 148–9; Hill, *World*, 245–46; George Fox, *England's Sad Estate* (London, 1661), 1–11; George Fox, *Gospel Truth Demonstrated* (London, 1654); Hill, *World*, 234.

9 John Swinton, *A Testimony for the Lord* (London, 1663), 6–7; Humphry Smith, *A Sad and Mournful Lamentation for the People of These Nations* (London, 1660), 1–6; John Perrot, *A Sea of the Seed's Sufferings* (London, 1661); Nigel Smith, "Exporting Enthusiasm: John Perrot and the Quaker Epic," in Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday, eds, *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 248–64.

10 Humphry Smith, *The Sounding Voyce of the Dread of God's Mighty Power* (London, 1658), 6–8.

11 Swinton, *Testimony*, 2; Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Green and John Whitehead, *A Tender Visitation of Heavenly Love* (London, 1664), 1–4; Isaac Penington, *Works* (London, 1681), 1:108; Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 10.

12 [Robert Westfeild], *For the King and His Councill at Whitehall* (London, 1662), 1–2.

13 Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 26, 41; Peter Hardcastle, *The Quakers Plea* (London, 1661), 4–5, 13–4.

14 William Penn, *Good Advice to the Church of England* (London, 1687), 2–3; William Penn, *Great Case of Liberty of Conscience* ([London], 1670), cii; George Fox, *A Declaration from the Harmless and Innocent People of God Called Quakers* (London, 1661), 2–3 in Hill, *Experience*, 161; Peter Hardcastle, *Quakers Plea* (London, 1662), 4–5.

15 Burrough, *Antichrist's Government*, 9.

16 William Penn, *Address to Protestants* (London, 1679), 100–102, 199–200, 203, 230–32, 242.

17 William Caton, *The Testimony of a Cloud of Witnesses* (London, 1662), title-page; Epistle Dedicatory, sig. A2v; Epistle to the Reader, sig. A1r; Burrough, *Works*, 848–9; Isaac Penington, *Concerning Persecution* (London, 1661), 23.

18 Thomas Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 1–33; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 291–332; Jean Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 15–22, 32–39; Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees* (New York: Oxford University Press 1991), 3–16; Kristen Block, "Cultivating Inner and Outer Plantations," *Early American Studies* (2010): 515–48.

19 George Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles* (London, 1698), 117; George Fox, *Gospel Family Order* (London, 1676), 13–19; George Fox, *To the Ministers, Teachers and Priests … in Barbados* (London, 1672), 69. For important analyses of these texts and their contexts, see Brycchan Carey, *From Peace to Freedom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), chap. 1; Gragg, *Quaker Community*; Block, "Cultivating"; Davis, *Problem*, 304; William Frost, "George Fox's Ambiguous Anti-Slavery Legacy," in Michael Mullett, ed., *New Light on George Fox* (York: William Sessions, 1994), 69–88.

20 Frost, *Quaker*, 61–2, 66–8. See Carey, *Peace to Freedom*, 58–66; Gragg, *Quaker*, chap. 7; Davis, *Problem*, 307. On Curwen see Carey, *Peace to Freedom*, 66–69.

21 Carey, *Peace to Freedom*, 74–76 provides an excellent transcription of the text, adopted here; see also chap. 1–2 for its discussion; Katharine Gerbner, "We Are against the Traffic of Men-Body," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* (2007): 149–72; J. William Frost, ed., *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery* (Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions 1980); Drake, *Quakers*, 11–13; Davis, *Problem*, 308–9.

22 *An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or Keeping of negroes* (New York, 1693); J. William Frost, *The Keithian Controversy in Early Pennsylvania* (Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions, 1980); Davis, *Problem*, 309–11; Katharine

Gerbner, "Antislavery in Print: The Germantown Protest, the Exhortation, and the Seventeenth-Century Quaker Debate on Slavery," *Early American Studies* (2011): 552–75; Carey, *Peace to Freedom*, 86–95; Thomas Slaughter, *The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman: Apostle of Abolition* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008), 108–10.
23 Nicholas Wood and Jean Soderlund, "'To Friends and All Whom It May Concerne': William Southeby's Rediscovered 1696 Antislavery Protest," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 141, no.2 (2017): 177–98, especially 192–96.
24 Frost, *Quaker Origins*, 71–72; Gragg, *Quaker Community*, 128; Davis, *Problem*, 311–12; Slaughter, *Woolman*, 108–110; Frost, "Ambiguous Legacy," 77, 81–83.
25 Davis, *Problem*, 291–332; Carey, *Peace to Freedom*; Gerbner, "Antislavery"; Gerbner "Traffic"; Block, "Cultivating"; Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom*; Wood and Soderlund, "To Friends"; Slaughter, *Woolman*.

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9

SHE SUFFERED FOR CHRIST JESUS' SAKE

The Scottish Covenanters' emotional strategies to combat religious persecution (1685–1714)[*]

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In the winter of 1704 at the Presbytery Kirk Session in the town of Wigtown in Galloway, Baillie M'Keand addressed the minister, Mr. Thomas Kerr, and all those present at the kirk.[1] He was burdened by his past. His involvement in a particular egregious event in May of 1685 at the height of what the Presbyterians termed the 'Killing Times' in Dumfriesshire and Galloway in Scotland weighed heavily upon his conscience. The names of those executed were Margaret Wilson, Margaret Lachlane, William Johnston, John Milroy, and George Walker.[2] Although none of them were Wigtown parish inhabitants, they were remembered by members of their trans-generational community for having been executed there on 11 and 12 May 1685.[3] Alexander Shields depicted the two women in the frontispiece image of his book *A Hind Let Loose* (1687). The emotional memories of these summary executions, and the practices of remembering performed by the surviving trans-generational members of the community were driven by their deep sense of trauma and loss, their hope for a reformation yet to come, and an abiding reverence for those martyred. By 1714, funeral monuments had been erected in the Wigtown kirkyard to the women and men executed nearly thirty years earlier, publicly claiming their martyrdom.

Before the assembled gathering in 1704, M'Keand addressed the 'session for the privilege of the sacrament which had been denied him these past 19 years'.[4] He was 'declaring his grief of his heart that he should have sitten on the sieze of these women who were sentenced to die in this place in the year 1685'.[5] The women, known as the two Margarets, one aged 18 and the other about 60, had refused to take the test of the Oath of Abjuration. This oath was used by authorities to enforce religious conformity. It required Covenanters—adherents and signatories of the National Covenant of 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1641/42 in support of a Presbyterian form of church government—to renounce the supremacy of King Jesus by recognising Charles II's authority as the king of the church and state in Scotland, as well as labelling those Covenanters, who had killed Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews in 1679, as murderers. The Wigtown women refused to take the oath, and they were sentenced to death. The women were tied to stakes within the tidal flood of the river and were drowned. According to the Wigtown kirkyard monument, on the following day three men were publicly hanged for the same offence.

Therefore, while M'Keand named the death of the women, and sought redress from his kirk community, his address did not specify the nature of his involvement in the women's death. Instead, he stated 'it had been frequently his petition to God for true repentance and forgiveness for that sin'.[6] For M'Keand his involvement in the death of the women created emotions of sorrow, regret, and unworthiness over time. This sense of sin had prevented his taking the sacrament with his community. The archive does not record whether his exclusion from the sacrament was a decision of the kirk community or was self-inflicted. Significantly, M'Keand makes no mention of the men who were executed on the following day in his emotional petition to God, only referring to his emotional state regarding the women. No archival records survive regarding the men, and we have no way of knowing if (or how) M'Keand was involved. The Presbytery Kirk Session heard M'Keand's address and decided to discuss the matter further, asking him to withdraw from the session. With M'Keand no longer present, the assembled kirk session set to 'enquiring into this affair and the carriage of the said bailie since that time [1685]'. Precisely what was said is not recorded. However, on being asked to return to the session, and 'being satisfied with his [M'Keand's] conversation since, and the present evidence of repentance now, they granted him privilege' once more to take the sacrament.[7] Before the gathering, M'Keand was 'admonished, and exhorted to deliberation, due to [the] tenderness in such [a] solemn address unto God'.[8] The kirk community appraised the supplicant's application and emotional states over the period since the events of nineteen years earlier. Through this process and the evidence of his grief, M'Keand was able both to seek and be granted atonement and re-entry into his spiritual community.

Those assembled at the Wigtown Presbytery Kirk Session that day were well acquainted with what had happened in 1685. For example, Patrick M'Kie was the son of Katherine Lauder who had confessed to withdrawing from the episcopal kirk between 1682 and 1684 and who had been fined £250 [Scots] as

a result of her spiritual defiance.[9] The nonconformists in the region had experienced punitive fines and summary executions, only some of the myriad forms of persecution they suffered. Their suffering also included the quartering of troops with nonconformist families, which proved a physical hardship, fiscal privation, and spiritual trial. These were all powerful mechanisms used by the crown in an attempt to stem and intimidate Covenanter communities, and those associated with them, in what the authorities saw as a tide of religious rebellion against Episcopal Church government and the divine right of the king in Scotland. M'Keand, having been a part of this process for the crown in sentencing these women to die, was, in turn, attempting to make peace with his own emotional trauma. He articulated as much to the kirk session, as his actions were driven by the 'grief of his heart' regarding his involvement 'in the sieze of these women who were sentenced to die in this place in 1685'.[10] M'Keand's emotional account is the only surviving archival trace written from the perspective of a perpetrator and displays the strong emotions generated by direct involvement in the events at Wigtown. The women's Wigtown kirkyard monument also lists four male perpetrators associated with the women's executions: 'Lagg, Strachan, Winram and Gr[a]hame'.[11] Although the emotional responses of these men to the women's deaths are not recorded in the archives, the increasing humiliation felt by authorities, generated by their failure to quell the rebellion, must have played some part in the actions they took when the rebels were captured, tested, and then summarily executed.

In the years leading up to the Killing Times, the authorities in Western Scotland had actively sought to drive out nonconformity. For example, when Sir Andrew Agnew, the Sherriff of Galloway, had refused to take the test, he was deprived of his office, which was then bestowed upon John Graham of Claverhouse on 19 January 1682. Claverhouse was known simultaneously as 'Bonnie Dundie' and 'Bloody Clavers', representing the views of him by heterotopic emotional communities at this time.[12] His brother David Graham was appointed conjoint Sherriff on 12 May 1682. Two months earlier, in Wigtown on 5 March 1682 Claverhouse had written to the Marquis of Queensbury about his frustration at the rebels:

> Here, in this shire, I find the lairds all following the example of a late great man and considerable heritor among them; which is to live regularly themselves, but have their houses constant haunts of rebels and intercommuned persons, and have their children baptized by the same, and then lay all the blame upon their wives. But I am resolved the jest shall pass no longer here, for it is laughing and fooling the Government.[13]

With the growing hard-line implementation of summary executions, nonconformist women, children, and men increasingly fell foul of the authorities during the 1680s, and the emotional stakes on both sides of the conflict continued to escalate.

The existence of the two female and three male Wigtown martyrs has courted controversy, but only in the case of the two women. There is a tacit presumption that men die in conflicts. These women, however, have been commemorated, their existence contested, even categorically denied and recast as part of a fictitious Presbyterian martyrology from 1687 onwards.[14] Both the women and men were tried because of their nonconformist religious views, resulting from their collective emotional acts of defiance that had set them at odds with the church and state, with fatal consequences. I will leave aside certain traditional debates that claim the women did not exist, because they sit within a much broader debate about historiographical approaches, the place of winners and losers in history, and historical narratives that actively exclude or include women from accounts of the past as communicated in the present.

As historians, we too have our own conscious and unconscious biases encompassed within our emotional language, historical focus, description, and analysis. Our choice of narrative reflects our unintentional and unacknowledged enthusiasm for a particular approach. As such, we need to recognize the peculiarities of our own emotional language and approaches as historians. We need not only acknowledge but also articulate what I will term here as our own emotional blind biases. Therefore, the archives of that past must be examined for all the traces they reveal, and not just for those which historians consciously or unconsciously choose to include, ignore, or exclude. This then enables us to ask different questions of the extant archives in order to concentrate on the power of the language of emotion to drive action and on the ways emotions can be found in the surviving evidence trails (text, objects, landscape) that communities leave behind. For the emotional Covenanter community within Scotland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, martyrdom was part of the sacrifice for King Jesus. Emotions also drove the creation and implementation of laws to combat and quell this rebellion. The resulting summary executions the legislation enabled were perceived by those who wrote the laws, those who then enabled them, and those who implemented them as the righteous legal actions of men and women in support of the state and church of Charles II.

Therefore, the surviving material evidence of acute emotional events like the Wigtown executions in a persecuted Covenanter community did not always include direct written testimony. The Covenanters' emotional responses demonstrated the existence of this trans-generational community and the accompanying practices of perpetuating memories. Every generation, through their own practices of marking, commemorating, educating, and remembering, attempts to perpetuate the meaning of events in the new context of the generations that follow. The Covenanters created a virtual community through print and specific touch points of memory and memorialization through the physical sites of execution and the emotional texts on the memorials they erected. As Monique Scheer states, this occurs in communities because they 'make use of the capacities of a body trained by specific social settings and power relations'.[15] Covenanter communities considered the fear and joy of suffering and martyrdom central to their

communal experience and identity and used specific words such as 'martyrdom' and 'reformation' to drive and maintain the emotional quality of their texts.

Pivotal to this Covenanter community are Scheer's four types of emotional practice: mobilizing, naming, communicating and regulating emotion. All are recoverable in the surviving evidence of Covenanter activities, ranging from their clandestine religious meeting places in the hills, the dynamic nature of the creation and updating of printed accounts of the last testimonies of their martyrs, and the practice of erecting monuments using the language of the martyrs' suffering and the hope of a reformation to come in their incised texts. These are examples of Scheer's contention that 'emotional arousals that seem to be purely physical are actually deeply socialized'.[16] A godly community, such as the Covenanters, thrived on their zeal in the quest for an ongoing reformation and their joy at acts of martyrdom. Furthermore, their process of collecting memory and remembering was driven by their religious persecution. These communities experienced a cycle of different emotions that nurtured and drove them on in their quest for reformation; these emotions ranged from a fear of death to a reverence of death to a joy of martyrdom. They exemplify Scheer's thesis 'that this feeling subject is not prior to but emerges in the doing of emotion'.[17] The individual is part of an emotional community, and as such is immersed in its physical and linguistic practices. These communities then, in Barbara Rosenwein's sense, are ones where emotions, the mind, and body function as 'a locus for innate and learned capacities deeply shaped by habitual practices'.[18]

An emotional community comprises trans-generational members, and the actions of each generation works towards the attainment of future changes over time in different ways. When direct memory fails, then those generations that follow actively remember, retell and narrate the past within the new context and concerns of their present. Therefore, the two women and three men publicly executed in Wigtown demonstrated the real emotional power of their decision not to take the Oath of Abjuration. Their actions were driven by religious dissent, as well as by their preparedness to die for their beliefs and community as martyrs. It also demonstrates the involvement of godly women, men, and children in Dumfriesshire, Galloway, and beyond in Scotland, caught up in a violent and bloody period during the religious wars of the late seventeenth century. The emotional impact of these acts of martyrdom echoed into the following centuries.

The Covenanters were the adherents and signatories of the National Covenant (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1641/2). These agreements that were signed by kirk congregations, some of them in blood, supported the establishment of a Presbyterian church throughout not only Scotland, but also England that would do away with bishops and the episcopal form of church government. While many in Scotland and England had adhered to these covenants, by 1650 the covenanted citizen's experience of the actuality of that spiritual triumph in church government would prove fleeting.[19] The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 saw the established church in Scotland lurch back to

episcopacy (that is, to church government through the rule of bishops by Statute) in 1662. The Covenanters, also known as the Societies, were now branded nonconformists, who in turn, were set on their own aim of completing what they now saw as the incomplete reformation of the Church of Scotland. Their ongoing struggle was to reinstate the Presbyterian form of church government. The Covenanters found their loyalty challenged and their faith and religious worship tested. Driven out of their parish kirks, they worshipped in clandestine conventicles held in the open, in all seasons, on the hills and moors from c.1662 onwards. First under Charles II, and then James VII & II, a Covenanter's individual adherence was to King Jesus, rather than to the crown. They refused to take the Oath of Abjuration, which required every individual to swear allegiance to the king as head of the church, and his institution of an episcopal kirk within Scotland. Instead, fuelled by their belief in the covenants they had signed, they renounced both king and episcopal kirk in favour of their radical field preachers and declared the supremacy of King Jesus over all forms of manmade government, both state and church.

The radical nature of the Covenanters' pursuit of a return to a covenanted Scotland is evident in the crown's emotional language used against them in the Oath of Abjuration, intended to pull all dissenters into line and ultimately into conformity. If apprehended, women, men, and children were asked to take the test oath:

> I, A.B., doe hereby abhorre, renounce, and disowne in presence of the Almighty God the pretended declarations of warr lately affixed at severall paroch churches in so far as it declares a warr against his sacred Majesty and asserts that it is lawfull to kill such as serve his Majestie in church, state, army or country.[20]

The telling point for the government centred on the emotional words they used in the Oath of Abjuration, such as 'abhore' and 'disowne', as well as labelling the Covenanters' public claims as 'pretended declarations'. Conflicting emotionally charged and laden terms were also used to describe the death of Archbishop James Sharp, Chaplain to Charles II, who in 1661 was consecrated Archbishop of St Andrews (1618–1679) and was a fierce detractor of the Presbyterians. Sharp had survived an assassination attempt by James Mitchel on 11 July 1668 in Edinburgh, for as Archbishop Gilbert Burnet recounted, 'Sharp was so universally hated, that, tho' this was done in the full day light, and on the high street, yet no body offered to seize the assassin'.[21] But in May 1679, he was pulled from his carriage at Magnus Moor near St Andrews by a band of nine Covenanters from Fife, comprising 'two lairds, a weaver, and six tenant farmers'.[22] Sharp was 'shot and stabbed … to death before his own daughter Isabelle's eyes'.[23] This event was understood and interpreted by the state and the Covenanters in opposing ways: for the government it was considered the murder of 'such as serve his Majesties in church, state, army or country'; while the

Presbyterian Covenanters saw it as a lawful killing, a just act under God's law rather than man's law, in the ongoing struggle and quest for a return to a covenanted church government that may take generations to achieve.

Part of the strategies used by the crown in creating these acts of exclusion was the emotional language they used in drafting this legislation. Perplexed, John Livingston in 1671 claimed 'It is not now Episcopacy and Ceremonies, that is the Controversie', but rather, 'whether Jesus Christ be King of this own Church … or if the Leviathan of the Supremacy shall swallow it all up'.[24] As the twentieth-century historian, and Scottish nationalist, Agnes Mure Mackenzie concluded:

> The whole 'Killing Time' turns on that Oath [of Abjuration]… All through the winter of 1684–5 this state of things sprawled and smouldered in the South-West [of Scotland]. Then on the 5th February Charles II died, and the throne of the three kingdoms passed for a brief while to his brother, James, Duke of Albany and York [James VII & II], a Catholic, as firm as [the Covenanter James] Renwick [executed in 1688] in his own creed [by fixing his declaration to church doors]. As accessions go, it was not an auspicious one.[25]

After the death of Charles II, and then during the reign of his brother, the openly Roman Catholic James VII & II, the Scottish Covenanters were subjected to waves of religious persecution, discrimination, and banishment, each re-enforced with renewed vigour and viciousness, and the practice of summary executions; many witnessed by the eyes and ears of their trans-generational families. The arrival of William of Orange did nothing to stem this violent discrimination in pre-1707 Scotland. The Covenanters in Scotland and in exile remained a revered, reviled, and persecuted minority, who in turn remained resolute in their endeavours, as Christian soldiers, to complete the unfinished business of the Calvinist Reformation. For King Jesus to ultimately triumph in a global project for their religious freedom, the Covenanters concluded that the religious battleground of Scotland must first be won. Their actions were increasingly met by the state with punitive acts designed to subjugate and displace them, acts that required the ultimate tariff, that of human life, for any breach. The Scottish Calvinist communities in exile across Europe provided the emotional bedrock for those of their brethren still in Scotland. The Covenanters incurred corporeal acts of legal torture, branding, summary execution, or banishment to the plantations and colonies of Jamaica, Barbados, and Virginia.

The events leading up to the executions at Wigtown over two days in May 1685 reflect the heightened emotional stakes on both sides: for the persecuted and excluded and for those that created and then implemented the ecclesiastical and legal framework for that religious conformity and the accompanying acts of execution. Certain words were used to label and stigmatize both Covenanter societies and their individual members. The reality of this legislation was

that it not only excluded people from their emotional attachments to the realm, but also created conflicting emotions within their economic, social, familial, as well as spiritual communities, and the testing of their loyalties. It is important to note here that not every Covenanter chose the joy of martyrdom and King Jesus over their own sense of fear, self-preservation, and self-interest, often to the cost of other members of their community.

Equally, the responses to this legislation by the Covenanters faithful to their cause deployed emotional language of their own as part of the strategies that enabled them to create a counter-culture. Their community and spiritual worship survived, through God's will, beyond the boundaries of the kirkyard, in their clandestine meetings held in private homes or out of view on the open hillsides. Both the church and state, and the Covenanters embroiled in this violent conflict, held a staunch belief that God was on their respective sides. Both the crown and the Covenanters believed theirs was the only true path to godly worship. What is more, each side believed that God sanctioned their actions, even when they moved into the realms of killing as acts of holy violence.

On 23 April 1685, only weeks before the events at Wigtown in May 1685, an *Act Against Preachers at Conventicles and Hearers at Field Conventicles* proclaimed that 'Our sovereign lord, considering the obstinacy of the fanatical party who, notwithstanding all the laws formerly made against them' took further legal avenues to stem their rebellious tide. For the Covenanters did 'persevere to keep their house and field conventicles, which are the nurseries and rendez-vouzes of rebellion'. The Government feared the trans-generational nature of this rebellion with the radical Covenanters being perceived as ranging in age from the very young to the very old. Left with no option, 'therfor his majesty, with consent of his estates in parliament, doth statute and ordain' this act. The emotional heart of this act was 'that all such as shall hereafter preach at such fanatical house or field-conventicles … as also such as shall be present as hearers at field conventicles, shall be punished by death and confiscation of their goods'.[26] Such legislation engendered extreme emotional responses, such as the prospect of a joyous martyrdom by those condemned to die and the possibility of exacting vengeance by those who enforced it.

Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl of Argyll, who was executed on 30 June 1685, demonstrated in his speech on the scaffold the emotional script of martyrdom to be followed, and as found in the myriad printed pamphlets purporting to contain his final words. Argyll railed against those who were 'chusing sin rather than sufferings, and a short life with eternal Death rather than Temporary Sufferings with a Crown of Glory'.[27] What is more, Campbell continued:

> at my death I would pray that there should never want on[e] of the Royal Family to be a Defender of the True, Antient, Apostolick, Catholic, Protestant Faith, which I now do; and that God would enlighten and forgive all of them that either hid in Error, or have shrunk back from their Profession.[28]

But while Campbell's course was run, 'in all Events' he did 'pray God may provide for the security of his Church, that Antichrist nor the Gates of Hell may not prevail against it'.[29] Campbell's speech was printed, and those who did not witness his execution in person could then read, or hear read aloud, the love and hatred from his printed speech. The emotional ways in which his script was read produced either joy or loathing in turn.

On 16 July 1685, *A Proclamation, For a Thanksgiving Throughout the Kingdom of Scotland, for the Late Defeat of the Kings Enemies* was made. This was in response to the deaths of 'James Scot late Duke of Monmouth, and Archibald Campbell late Earl of Argile' who 'with Traiterous Confederates and Accomplices … invaded both Our Kingdoms of Scotland and England by Armed Force'. Their 'purpose [was] to have destroyed Us, and all Our good and Loyal Subjects, and subverted Our Government in Church and State'. The emotional rationale for this day of thanksgiving was contained within the proclamation: for 'it having pleased Almighty God (by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice) by his Miraculous Providence and Omnipotent hand…[to] confound and blast Hellish Devices and Projects of these our Enemies, and utterly to discomfite and subdue them'. It was precisely because of 'a Due and Religious sense of Gods so great Mercy and Deliverance towards us, and Our People in these Realms, Thought fit … to set apart solemn days of Thanksgiving'. The purpose was clear 'for offering solemn Praise to Almighty God … that his Divine Majesty may continue his undeserved Goodness towards Us…'.[30] Each side involved in this battle understood the outcome as a demonstration of God's bounty towards them or as a lesson to urge repentance and begin a godly life anew.

Emotional communication practices are evident in the Covenanter archives and surviving material culture. The community mobilized to find safe, clandestine places of worship. In the face of death, the executed Covenanter martyrs regulated their emotions by placing great importance on the words of their final public testimonies. These testimonies were in turn collected, printed, disseminated, and reiterated amongst their communities, first, in 1667 in *Naphtali, or The Wrestling of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ Contained in a True and Short Deduction Thereof, from the Beginning of the Reformation to Religion, Until the Year 1667. Together with the Testimonies of Some Who Have Died for the Truth Since the Year 1660*.[31] The trans-generational intention of this work is evident in its title, for this collection took its name from *Naphtali,* which was Hebrew for my struggle and my strife. Naphtali was also the name of one of the sons of Bilhal, whom Rachael gave to her husband in order to produce children and heirs and one of the twelve tribes of Israel in the Old Testament. As the persecution of the Covenanters continued, *Naphtali* was republished with new testimonies added over time. This was the emotional work of a trans-generational community driven by their perceived need for this ongoing reformation, a work still in progress.

The response of the crown to such publications was swift. On 12 December 1667, in order to combat 'a most treasonable and seditious pamphlet,

entitled, *Naphtali; Or the Wrestling of the Church of Scotland,* lately imported, vended and dispersed within this kingdom', all copies were to be surrendered to the sheriffs or deputies of each shire and then transferred to the Clerk of the Privy Council by 12 January 1667/8. Anyone caught with a copy of this text after this date, was to be fined 2000 pounds of Scots money, and be subjected to the punishments for the printing of seditious materials. Those copies that were confiscated were to be 'publically burnt in the high street of Edinburgh, near to the Mercat-Cross thereof, by the hand of the hangman'. The printing and publishing of this order by the king's printer therefore allowed 'none to pretend ignorance'.[32] The vengeful and punitive actions of the crown were driven by a fury and fear of what was understood as ongoing religiously inspired acts of treason and sedition in Scotland. The crown called these trans-generational religious gatherings 'conventicles' and 'nurseries and rendezvouses of rebellion'; the Reverend Alexander Shields considered them 'nurseries of zeal and godliness'.[33]

For the Covenanters, like the mid-seventeenth-century Royalists and Regicides before them, exile and banishment stretched, but did not break, the emotional bonds of these communities. Their emotional actions revealed emotional strategies that were deployed to create a cohesion of emotions based on action words, such as suffering, persecution, burden, martyrdom, hope, thanks, reformation, and covenant. Some of these emotional action words, such as 'grief', were used simultaneously, by multiple and even opposing communities, while certain words set those communities apart. What we have then are events that are bound up with emotions.

The events of 1685 generated, for the Covenanters, a sequence of contemporary documentation and material culture that in turn fits within the dynamic process of emotional communities dealing with violence, suffering, trauma, and its aftermath. Within this timeframe then there is evidence of communities recognizing these emotional acts, creating a minimalist narrative framework in which to articulate the existence of that violent event. Then a space for collective suffering endured by these communities over time is acknowledged, recognized, articulated, renovated, and revitalized with new emotional scripts and actions from the growing number of sufferers. Each new emotional act provides a didactic text or object of interpretation for the following generations. The transmission of events from memory to remembering required these emotional acts to be recorded and re-enacted through emotional scripts such as the last testimonies in *Naphtali,* or at the very least, an acknowledgement that each death had occurred and was committed to memory and then retold.

While the crown could control the kirk, and regulate those who preached there, it could not control the conventicles that had sprung up in response to what many considered unacceptable church doctrine. Held in the hills beyond the kirkyard, they remained there under threat of discovery and reprisal. These communities may have been small, but they had a disproportionate influence on other like-minded Covenanters, for this emotional community's spiritual goal

usurped any obligations they perceived they had to king and country. The trans-generational nature of this process is also central to consider, for the course taken by the young in communities in Western Scotland, may either have adhered to, or differed greatly from, the projected spiritual path set out for them by their parents and elders.

The material survival of a battered field Bible demonstrated for the Covenanters the emotional actions of their God-given resilience in the face of persecution. This was experienced by the women, men, and children that assembled illegally to worship King Jesus. They risked paying a very high penalty if they were discovered. For example, the damaged seventeenth-century Bible of field preacher, William Hannay of Tundergarth, Dumfriesshire, is held in the National Museum of Scotland Covenanter Permanent Exhibition. The accompanying NMS exhibition card states the following:

> Hannay was hiding in straw in a barn when government troops approached. He escaped to the hills but left this Bible behind and later returned to find it damaged by a sword cut.[34]

The Bible had been handed down through generations, as a holy relic of the Church of Scotland, and as an example of God's mercy, for the owner of the Bible had escaped unharmed.[35] The violence exacted upon the Bible by the trooper in turn demonstrated his own emotional response in finding that his rebel quarry had escaped him, unharmed. This form of material culture evidence was read by the Covenanters as a sign of God's intervention in the everyday life of a godly individual.

In early modern Germany, as Susan C. Karant-Nunn has observed, sharing in the suffering of Christ was a journey for the imagination.[36] For some Covenanters in Scotland, however, suffering and even martyrdom were practical realities, where emotional scripts were played out and then retold with additional layers of emotional rhetoric by the generations of family and friends that followed them. What was graphically and confrontingly real for those who had actually attended and witnessed these public executions was then carried in the traumatic memory, conversations, and silences about these events amongst those that lived on. Each generation elaborated these accounts with the express purpose and through the evolving emotional scripts they deployed, of stirring the imagination of Christ's suffering and martyrdom within the godly.

The oral testimony of Helen Alexander (c.1653/54–1729), privately printed by her family in the mid-nineteenth century as *Passages in the Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland* (Belfast: privately published, 1869) reveals the scripts followed by women such as her. Helen Alexander had been a committed member of James Renwick's conventicle during the 1680s. As David Mullen has argued, that commitment brought her perilously close to the gibbet.[37] Alexander recounted the events surrounding Renwick's execution: 'And when Mr-Renwick was execute [in Edinburgh on 17 February 1688],

I went and saw him in prison'. The recounting of the emotional acts of the suf-
ferers included their emotional script. On visiting Renwick prior to his execu-
tion, Helen Alexander said to him, '"Ye will get white robes"; and he said,
"And palms in my hands"', referring to a verse from Revelations. Alexander
continued: 'when he was execute, I went to the Greyfriar's Yard, and I took
him in my arms till his … clothes were taken off, and I helped to wind him
before he was put in the coffin'.[38] Renwick had, within God's company, suf-
fered martyrdom. Alexander's sufferings, perseverance, and progress through life
was judged by her to be the result of God's intervention:

> And I had a long fever; but my lord, that many a time brought me
> through, brought me through at this time, for which I bless the Lord. It
> was for his sake I suffered that and many other things; but my soul had
> cause to bless the Lord that he was aye with me in all my trials.[39]

Helen Alexander and her husband James Currie would later erect a funeral monu-
ment to the Covenanter martyrs in Greyfriars kirkyard in Edinburgh in 1706.

Within this emotional community, defined neither by geographical nor polit-
ical borders, God's presence in the Covenanters' lives persisted. The suffering
endured by them was seen as part of God's purpose; even if the ultimate cost
was death, there was the certainty of salvation. As Alec Ryrie has concluded,
'Protestants' despair was rooted in their almost narcissistic concern with their
own spiritual well-being'.[40] But as Ryrie explains, that narcissism was symptom-
atic of early modern Protestants who 'paid such close attention to their emo-
tions', because 'they expected to meet God in them. Emotion was a form of
revelation'.[41] Therefore, the emotional burden of a martyrdom suffered for King
Jesus placed those self-assessing Protestants well up the ladder of the godly elect
and demonstrated to others a path to salvation. The printed accounts of the last
testimonies of the Covenanter martyrs served a dual function: to record the
events and accounts offered during their suffering and to provide a didactic text
through which emotional scripts for men, women, and children were rehearsed
and retold to following generations by those who survived. These texts co-
existed with the emotional actions and scripts disseminated by word of mouth
and provided an emotional ballast to those persecuted communities within Scot-
land, as well as in England, Ireland, and other places of exile. Print was the tech-
nology that easily disseminated dissenting Covenanter claims or what the crown
termed seditious views. Print, unlike human bodies, could not be curtailed by
geographic or social boundaries. Once read, the memory of that text could not
be entirely removed, even by public acts of burning by the hangman's hand.
Print provided an intangible intellectual space and theological place in a godly
firmament for a community of saints and sufferers, in which to commune while
experiencing physical depravations.

The Covenanters, as a trans-generational community, clearly viewed their
emotional experiences as a way of revealing and analysing God's work in

their everyday lives, especially during times of great personal trial or triumph. Beyond the printed text of the Holy Scripture, God also spoke directly to the godly in order to guide daily life as an interior voice, within and apart from their physical world yet acting as a bridge between the individual spirituality of the believer and King Jesus. When the journal of Archibald Johnstone of Wariston reflected on the sudden death of his wife, Wariston mapped out 'his grief', proclaiming in the context of his own emotional turmoil, 'Lord, I sould <sic> preferre thy glory to my salvation'. As Ryrie notes, this grief was countered by the 'influx of extraordinary spiritual comfort and confidence' Wariston experienced, that led him immediately to conclude the certainty of his own salvation.[42] That the Covenanters were the elect was an overriding belief for every generation.

In the twenty-first century, landscape evidence of the events of 1685 in Wigtown still lie marked by a heritage trail to the martyrs of the Killing Times. The Wigtown martyrs' monuments and pilgrimage trail demonstrate how, over time, the ongoing memory of these events were transformed into communal expressions of remembrance and forgetting, by actively re-inscribing this emotional landscape after the initial violent events. By the nineteenth century, the rehabilitation of the Covenanters occurred after the fracture of the Church of Scotland following the Disruption of 1843 and with the aim of helping to create a Scottish identity. James J. Coleman has discussed how from the nineteenth century onwards 'different localities within Scotland invoked covenanting memory as a means of celebrating their own contribution to Scotland's nationality' for the express purpose of defining Scottish identity and nationalism in their present.[43] Gordon Pentland has analysed this practice in the reform politics of nineteenth-century Scotland.[44] Covenanter memorials have also been the subject of concerted cataloguing, most recently in the twentieth century in Thorbjörn Campbell's *Standing Witnesses: An Illustrated Guide to the Scottish Covenanters* (1996).[45] Magnus Magnusson described these memorials as 'sad, proud and often neglected monuments and headstones all over Scotland commemorating the martyrs to the Covenant during the "Killing Time"' of 1685.[46] Initially, these highly emotional events occurred within the context of an unfinished religious war. In the centuries following, when monuments were erected, that historical past was then purposefully written by members of this trans-generational community, as a narrative of the pre-history to the present. However, it was now being used in a very different historical context and for different purposes after the Church of Scotland Disruption of 1843.[47]

What we have here then are emotions as drivers of social, political, cultural, and religious change and conflict. Simultaneous emotional communities (Episcopal and Covenanter) exist in open conflict, with the power of government and monarch holding sway over what can and will be publicly commemorated, as well as how this is to be done. The persecuted communities then take to print, and later to memorial inscriptions, to record their place in this emotional landscape of religious conflict. Helen Alexander reflected as

she was 'interrogate by Sir William Patterson, a Clerk of the Privy Council' about whether Andrew Gulon had come 'to my house'. 'He asked if any vagabonds came to my house, and I said, "No" (for so they termed these sufferers)'. [48] The oppositional terms used to describe Andrew Gulon demonstrate the emotion behind the use of each word, for Sir William Patterson's vagabonds were Helen Alexander's sufferers. In order to analyse this fracture point I have focussed upon historical moments and data related to contentious acts of summary execution. Words and deeds then become heterotopic signatures upon an emotional landscape that is simultaneously national, nonconformist, familial, traumatic, and victorious.

These emotional acts are part of the emotional dialogue generated by these trans-generational communities. For those women, men, and children present at these events are also the keepers of the material culture evidence of suffering and are responsible for the recollection and retelling of their emotional personal narratives. Their emotional-language infused actions were used over time as a litmus test against which the realities of their present were measured and mediated by their temporality.

This analysis has raised important additional questions for future research in the history of emotional actions. Firstly, we need to consider the age of the protagonists involved in these events, the significance of gender as well as the social and cultural sorts of people that appear or are removed from traditional historical accounts. Do the registers of emotion that we recover and calibrate through textual analysis conform to what we know about the emotional capacities of persons of that age, gender, and social status in these past societies? As historians, we are bonded labourers to the past. But the subjects of our research are caught in their present. The inevitability of what will transpire for them is not available to them in its entirety. Their knowledge of the emotional actions of suffering and martyrdom are driven by their fluid emotions—such as fear, hope, despair, or disbelief. Secondly, our own emotions as historians writing about these events may in turn be tinted by knowledge of the horrific inevitability of what we know will actually play out. As historians, we cannot unknow the sequence of known events from the past, nor can we forget them. Emotions are embedded in what historians choose to say, how they say it, where they recount these stories, as well as whether they choose to withhold their speech and remain silent about the past. Therefore, spaces, places, texts, memories, and objects are repositories of emotional acts that historians either purposefully acknowledge or wilfully disregard.

Finally, the recognition that places of execution/murder create a contested heterotopic emotional landscape is important to remember and acknowledge. Such sites of suffering are sites of emotional acts, spaces for the existence of conflicting memories, and opposing processes of remembering. By banishing those captured Covenanters from Scotland's shores to the Americas and the Caribbean, the crown attempted to physically remove the threat of further rebellion. But in doing so they also removed those individuals from their physical, spiritual, economic, social, and

emotional landscapes and either greatly diminished or exiled those communities. For those who remained spiritually and culturally banished within their own landscapes in Scotland, their survival was a waiting game, driven by the hope achieved from continuing to hold covert and clandestine meetings of the faithful undetected. The blood of martyrs nourished not only that landscape, but also the imagination, offering succour to the spiritual and emotional needs and actions of those transgenerational Covenanters who remained alive. For those in every generation who lived on into old age, hope and joy continued to support them, sustaining their struggle for a completed reformation for King Jesus's sake.

Notes

1   Minutes, Presbytery of Wigtown, 8 July 1704, CH2/374, National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS).
2   Lachlane's name could also be spelt McLaughlin, McLuachlison, and Lauchlison.
3   Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restauration to the Revolution*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1721); J. Thomson, ed., *A Cloud of Witnesses* (n.p., 1871); Sharon Adams, "Wilson, Margaret (1666/7–1685), alleged covenanter martyr," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29677, states: 'The story of the Wigtown martyrs, as the two Margarets became known, is a crucial component of the covenanting martyrology and, as it involved the execution of women, a source of controversy which provoked later debate as to whether or not the executions were carried out'. Timothy D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010), 325–28. There is also much debate about the writing out of the Covenanters in Scottish history. "Wigtown's Heritage," created in 2004, accessed 2 May 2013, http://freespace .virgin.net/harold.hall/angchurch.htm
4   Minutes, Presbytery of Wigtown, 8 July 1704, CH2/374, NRS.
5   Kirkinner and Penninghame statements read and sanctioned, 27 February 1711, quoted in Archibald Stewart, *History Vindicated in the Case of the Wigtown Martyrs* (1867; repr., Edinburgh, 1869), 95.
6   Session Book/Minutes, Presbytery of Wigtown, 8 July 1704, quoted in Stewart, *History Vindicated,* 95.
7   Session Book/Minutes, Presbytery of Wigtown, 8 July 1704, quoted in Stewart, *History Vindicated,* 95.
8   Session Book/Minutes, Presbytery of Wigtown, 8 July 1704, quoted in Stewart, *History Vindicated,* 96.
9   Session Book/Minutes, Presbytery of Wigtown, 8 July 1704, quoted in Stewart, *History Vindicated,* 96.
10 Session Book/Minutes, Presbytery of Wigtown, 8 July 1704, quoted in Stewart, *History Vindicated*, 95.
11 Monuments in Wigtown kirkyard, Scotland. See also the case of the Wigtown martyrs in Mark Jardine's website, *Jardine's Book of Martyrs: History, the Covenanters, Scotland,* accessed 9 February 2019, https://drmarkjardine.wordpress.com/2015/06/13/ the-wigtown-martyrs-who-condemned-the-women-to-drown-in-1685/.
12 By heterotopic I mean multiple coexisting, conflicting and disruptive meanings in use at any one given time.
13 Stewart, *History Vindicated*, 23.
14 M. Napier, *The Case for the Crown in Re the Wigtown Martyrs Proved to Be Myths* (Edinburgh & London, 1863); Stewart, *History Vindicated*. See also Dr Mark Jardine, *Jardine's website, Book of Martyrs,* for multiple entries regarding Covenanters and

conventicles at Wigtown, as well as those martyred, accessed 21 May 2018, https://drmarkjardine.wordpress.com/.

15 Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51 (May, 2012): 193–220, especially 193–94.

16 Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice," 220.

17 Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice," 220.

18 Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice," 220.

19 See Laura Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland, 1637–1651* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); John Walter, *Covenanting Citizens: The Protestation Oath and Popular Political Culture in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

20 Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *Passing of the Stewarts* (London: Alexander Maclehose and Co., 1937), 254.

21 Archbishop Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time* (London, 1724–1734), quoted in David George Mullan, "Sharp, James (1618–1679)," *DNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25211.

22 Mullan, "Sharp, James (1618–1679)."

23 Mullan, "Sharp, James (1618–1679)."

24 Alasdair Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660–1714* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2012), 35.

25 Mackenzie, *Passing of the Stewarts,* 254.

26 Act Against Preachers at Conventicles and Hearers at Field Conventicles, 28 April 1685, 1685/4/28, Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, ed. K.M. Brown et al. (St Andrews: University of St Andrews, 2007–2019), www.rps.ac.uk/mss/1685/4/28.

27 Argyll, Archibald Campbell, Earl of, (1629–1685), [A] Copy of the Last Speech of the Late Earl of Argyle; Delivered on the Scaffold, Who Was Beheaded at the Crosse of Edinburgh, (London, 1685), 1.

28 Argyll, [A] Copy of the Last Speech of the Late Earl of Argyle, 1.

29 Argyll, [A] Copy of the Last Speech of the Late Earl of Argyle, 1.

30 *A Proclamation, for a Thanksgiving Throughout the Kingdom of Scotland, for the Late Defeat of the Kings Enemies* (Edinburgh, 1685).

31 *Naphtali, OR The Wrestling of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ* (n.p., 1667); *Naphtali, OR The Wrestling of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ* (n.p., 1693).

32 Privy Council of Scotland, *At Edinburgh, the twelfth day of December, one thousand six hundred and sixty seven. Whereas, there are many printed copies of a most treasonable and seditious pamphlet, entituled, Naphtali; or, The wrestlings of the Church of Scotland, lately imported, vended and dispersed within this kingdom,* (Edinburgh, 1667).

33 [Alexander Shields], *An Impartial Account of All Passages Relating to My Sufferings, Trials and Examinations, from the Beginning of My Imprisonment* (Edinburgh, 1715).

34 Exhibition Card for 'Bible of field preacher, William Hannay of Tundergarth, Dumfriesshire', Q.L. 1994.1, Lent by the Church of Scotland, Covenanter Exhibition, National Museum of Scotland (NMS).

35 Exhibition Card for 'Bible of field preacher, William Hannay'.

36 Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 123.

37 David George Mullan, ed., *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670–c.1730* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2003), 198–99.

38 Mullan, *Women's Life Writing*, 201.

39 Mullan, *Women's Life Writing*, 200.

40 Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 39.

41 Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, 40.

42 Ryrie, *Being Protestant,* 40.
43 James C. Coleman, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commemoration, Nationality, and Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 135–53.
44 Gordon Pentland, Mark Nixon and Mathew Robert, "The Material Culture of Scottish Reform Politics c.1820–c.1884," *Journal of Scottish History* 32, no.1 (2012): 28–49.
45 Thorbjörn Campbell, *Standing Witnesses: An Illustrated Guide to the Scottish Covenanters* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996).
46 Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation* (2000; repr., Hammersmith, London: HarperCollins, 2001), 486.
47 Dolly MacKinnon, "'Correcting an Error in History': Battlefield Memorials at Marston Moor and Naseby," *Parergon* 32, no.3 (2015, Published 2016): 205–36, especially 208; Dolly MacKinnon, "'This Humble Monument of Guiltless Blood': The Emotional Landscape of Covenanter Monuments," in *Writing War in Britain and France, 1400–1854: A History of Emotions*, ed. Andrew Lynch, Stephanie Downes, Katrina O'Loughlin, Themes in Medieval and Early Modern History (New York: Routledge, 2019), 161–81.
48 Mullan, *Women's Life Writing*, 197.

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PART 3

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10

FEELING JEWISH

Emotions, identity, and the Jews' inverted Christmas*

Daniel Barbu

CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE, PARIS SCIENCES-ET-LETTRES

> Because a Jew or Jewish heart is so devilishly hard, hard as wood, stone, iron, it cannot be moved in any way.
>
> Martin Luther[1]

Emotions, religion, and identity

In a small book written in the wake of the Second World War, *The Teaching of Contempt*, the French historian Jules Isaac, whose wife and daughter were murdered at Auschwitz, examined the role of traditional Christian anti-Judaism in the spread of modern anti-Semitism.[2] Beyond the specific and dramatic events Isaac was striving to understand, the book raised an important and recurring question: what is the role of religion in the internalization of prejudice, of feelings of exclusion and hostility, of deeply seated (conscious or unconscious) antagonizing emotions? Emotions have long held a special place in ancient and modern theories of religion, be it as part of a discourse identifying fear and terror as the primeval source of religion, or in the more theologically oriented attempts to define religion itself as an emotional experience.[3] The work of historians of emotions, however, focusing on the social and cultural construction of emotions in a variety of contexts, allows us to frame the question from a different perspective.

Historians never have access to the emotional experience of an individual, group, or society, but only to emotions as they are discursively framed within

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what Barbara Rosenwein has termed an 'emotional community'. Rosenwein describes emotional communities as 'groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions', noting that '[n]o one is born knowing appropriate modes of expression, or whether to imagine emotions as internal or external, or whether to privilege or disregard an emotion. These things make up the "feeling rules" that societies impart'.[4]

Rosenwein's work seeks to engage in a deep history of early medieval culture by identifying precisely such emotional communities and tracing their evolution over time. I will here venture to suggest a slightly different approach. My objective is not to consider how certain emotions are valued, expressed, or withheld in a given context, and thus outline an emotional community; but rather, how individuals, groups, and societies are bound together by the feelings they nurture towards others. In other words, I am interested in the way the social construction of emotions shapes specific notions of identity and alterity.[5] As argued by Sara Ahmed, 'knowing how we feel about the other, is what aligns us with a collective, which paradoxically "takes shape" only as an effect of such alignment'.[6] Among scholars of religion, Bruce Lincoln has explored how mythical narratives can foster feelings of inclusion and exclusion and mobilize specific emotions in a given discursive context.[7] Myths undoubtedly codify identities, but what is remarkable in Lincoln's analysis is precisely the notion that identity itself is a matter of *feeling*—a process through which individuals as much as the groups to which they belong are brought to coalesce or split at the level of emotions. Such an approach could of course be applied to other materials in order to evaluate how religious groups are bound by similar emotional mechanisms of identification, or conversely of estrangement and alienation, by feelings of inclusion and exclusion. This would also help illuminate what might be called 'the teaching of contempt', the way we learn to feel about others, and alas too often are brought to share a visceral, deeply emotional abjection of the other. In what follows, I will try to explore the question of emotion, religion, and identity by looking at Jewish–Christian polemics in the late medieval and early modern periods.

The Jews' hidden transcript

Jews and Christians may be described as members of co-existing—sometimes intersecting—yet irreducibly distinct, emotional communities, split as much over theological questions as over feelings and emotions, in particular with regard to one another. But the history of Jewish-Christian relations also reflects how asymmetries of power impact the history of emotions: Jews living in a Christian world in the Middle Ages and early modern period were obviously not free to express how they felt about Christians in the same way that Christians could express how they felt about Jews. And indeed, the Christian discourse on Jews and more particularly on Jewish emotions—'I hate him for he is a Christian', as the Jew Shylock famously declares in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*—served

both to justify how Christians felt about Jews and the social and political subjection of Jews in western Christendom.

There is undeniably a dialectical relationship between the animosity of Jews and Christians as reflected in their respective polemical literature and logics of exclusion, but its impact and consequences can only be described as dramatically uneven. In certain contexts, Jews could presumably allow themselves to be bold in defending their identity and asserting their view of Christianity. More often, however, the matter required a certain amount of discretion. Jews living in western Christendom undoubtedly developed and integrated a number of cultural strategies aimed at preserving their faith and way of life in the face of Christian enmity and missionary pressure—including fierce anti-Christian polemics. Yet they were always at the risk of being accused of blasphemy and thus at risk of inflaming anti-Jewish violence. Jews 'could not afford to offer the partial admission that deep within its structures, their culture contained strategies of internal resistance to the religious narrative of Christian society … [They] had no choice but to conceal these strategies'.[8] Such strategies were of course not only textual, but also emotional, rooted in the Jews' 'hidden transcript'—to borrow James C. Scott's words—part of a culture and discourse that could only be expressed in hiding, 'behind the back' of power holders.[9] According to Scott, such hidden transcripts are in fact inherent to every situation of social and political subordination, enabling minority cultures to cope with their subordination and assert their own identity and social space within the broader social world, all the while resisting and challenging the dominant discourse. In some cases, the Jews' hidden transcript doubtless took quite vituperative forms. Israel J. Yuval thus pointed to the anti-Christian element of the liturgy and eschatology of medieval Ashkenazi Jews.[10] In other cases, it could be formulated in more subtle ways, for instance in the form of Jewish parodies of Christian discourse and rituals, inconspicuously embedded in Jewish works of art or literature or specific religious practices.[11] Undoubtedly, one of the most prominent instance of such a hidden transcript is provided by the narrative known as *Toledot Yeshu* (the Life of Jesus)—a widely popular narrative among medieval and early modern Jews.[12]

Toledot Yeshu, often described as an anti-Gospel or a parody of the gospels, turns the foundational story of Christianity into a ludicrous farce. The work presents Jesus as a disgruntled student of the rabbis who turned to heresy and magic after his shameful origins were uncovered—namely, that his mother conceived him in adultery. Wishing to be worshipped as a god, he gathers a crowd of gullible followers by performing would-be miracles with the help of God's magical name (the Tetragrammaton), which he has stolen from the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem temple. After a series of twists and turns worthy of a fantasy novel (including an aerial battle with Judas Iscariot), he is eventually captured by the rabbis and sentenced to death as one who has incited his people to idolatry.

Toledot Yeshu offers a blatant attack on the Christian myth and on the central tenets of Christianity. The narrative has of course no part in the normative

corpus of rabbinic Judaism, yet it bears strong normative overtones and was in fact recognized as an important historical source by Jewish scribes and scholars.[13] Such a narrative understandably became a privileged medium for expressing Jewish self-confidence and venting anti-Christian feelings—*inter alia* through mockery and laughter. James C. Scott in fact emphasized the powerful emotional valence of the hidden transcript; indeed, *Toledot Yeshu* had a formidable emotional impact in certain contexts—both for Christian readers, who insisted that this was a story one 'could neither tell nor hear without crying', and for Jews, for whom the story, which they likely knew from childhood, could trigger spontaneous responses and reactions when confronted with Christian rites and practices.[14]

However concealed, the Jews' hidden transcript did come to the attention of Christians. Late medieval and early modern texts concerned with Jews and Judaism are thus obsessed with Jewish blasphemies against Christians and Christianity. Christian converts from Judaism played a central role in that context as cultural intermediaries, seeking to gain recognition and authority within their adoptive community by revealing the 'secrets' of the Jews, the anti-Christian element concealed in Jewish books or rituals. Unsurprisingly, *Toledot Yeshu*—perhaps one of the less well-kept secrets of the Jews—thus became a recurring topic of Christian discussion in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, a blatant example of Jewish blasphemy. Much of our knowledge concerning the place and role of *Toledot Yeshu* among late medieval and early modern Jews relies on Christian sources and is thus tied to Christian perceptions of Judaism as a blasphemous religion driven by the Jews' senseless obstinacy and implacable hatred of Christianity—that is, it is clearly tied to a Christian discourse on Jewish emotions. Yet these discussions, when read against the grain, may also shed light on strategies of cultural resistance and their emotional underpinnings, by medieval and early modern Jews, and on the way Jews may indeed have learned to *feel* Jewish.

Thomas Ebendorfer on *Toledot Yeshu*

In the mid-fifteenth century, the Viennese cleric Thomas Ebendorfer (1388–1464) was the first Christian scholar to undertake a full Latin translation of *Toledot Yeshu*.[15] He claimed to have translated the book with the help of a Christian convert from Judaism, to make both the hatred (*odium*) of the Jews and the mercy of God evident to all. Ebendorfer's translation of the work is a key testimony to its circulation in late medieval Europe—a context for which we in fact possess no Hebrew (or Aramaic) manuscript evidence.[16] Of course, *Toledot Yeshu* was not totally unknown to Christian scholars prior to Ebendorfer. Earlier anti-Jewish polemicists had already referred to this blasphemous booklet, attributing Jesus' miracles to his use of the Tetragrammaton or mocking his birth from a virgin.[17] Ebendorfer, however, was not quoting from an earlier source, but reading directly from a Hebrew manuscript of *Toledot Yeshu*. The

text he provides, covering twenty folios, closely corresponds to the Strasbourg version of the narrative, which was the most widely circulated version in the late Middle Ages, yet for which the earliest surviving Hebrew manuscript does not predate the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[18] The exact date of Ebendorfer's translation is unknown, but it is likely that *Toledot Yeshu* first came into his hands as a result of the destruction of the Jewish community of Vienna in 1421, when following an accusation of host desecration more than 200 Jews were burned at the stake while the rest of the community was either expelled or converted by force.[19] The Jews' possessions were sold for the benefit of Duke Albrecht V; the stones of the synagogue were used to expand the University; while two scholars—Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and Peter of Pulkau—were tasked by the faculty of theology to buy some of the Hebrew books resulting from the spoils.[20] While many of the Hebrew manuscripts confiscated in that context were thus preserved, others were simply dismembered and used as material for bookbindings.[21] Ruth Mazo Karras observed that the binding of a Latin manuscript copied in Vienna in 1432 by a student at the theological faculty even contains a page taken from a manuscript of *Toledot Yeshu*.[22] In 1421, Ebendorfer himself was teaching at the faculty of arts, while pursuing his studies in the faculty of theology, recording Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and Peter of Pulkau as his teachers.[23] It is thus very likely that he had access to the Jewish books acquired for the university by his masters, including, so it seems, a manuscript of *Toledot Yeshu*.

What interests me here is not so much the text of *Toledot Yeshu* produced by Ebendorfer. Rather, I am interested in Ebendorfer's comments on the work. These may, as suggested, shed some light on its status, role, and place among its Jewish audiences, and more particularly, on the emotions associated with the narrative. Ebendorfer indeed prefaced his translation of *Toledot Yeshu* with a noteworthy introduction, explaining his interest in the work in the following terms:

> Having been greatly troubled (by this question) for many years, I started to wonder why this miserable people of the Jews remained so obstinate and blind with regard to its own Scriptures and—a source of even greater amazement—why they rage with such hatred (*odium*) against Christ, our Lord, and Mary, his chaste mother, the perpetual virgin, and why they pile up so many silly insults against her, some of which I knew quite well. And although I gathered some of these from their writings and chatter, I came to understand that there is a secret little book which they read and study with great care and in which they inculcate their children almost from the cradle. And on the very day and night of the most holy nativity of our Lord and Saviour, they set up public gatherings and recite in turn and with great attention the blasphemies contained in this book, so as to further inflame the youth and adults to blaspheme against Christ and his followers and to strengthen the hearts of the simple in the perfidy of the Jews; and [also]

in as much as possible, to distance their children of both sexes from faith in Christ, which they consider, this orthodox faith, not to be truthful, but rather a matter of foolishness worthy of scorn and opprobrium. This is why they say, with much audacity although only in hiding, that according to what they learn from their rabbis, his disciples are unworthy of living, and further assert—O unbearable thing to say!—that our Saviour, being the worst of all Jews ever, was rightly condemned to an eternal punishment at the bottom of hell, in a boiling tank full of human excrements, because he dared oppose the Law of Moses, as they say mendaciously.[24]

Ebendorfer thus claimed that *Toledot Yeshu* played a central role in maintaining the Jews in their anti-Christian obstinacy, describing the work as an epitome of the Jewish blasphemies by which Jewish children of both sexes were distanced from faith in Christ and raised in the hatred of Christ. His reference to *Toledot Yeshu* in this regard was entirely original, although he relied on a time-honoured tradition among late medieval scholars, who connected the Jews' abhorrence of Christians and Christianity to their blasphemous books (conspicuously the Talmud), and insisted on the role of Jewish rituals in imparting anti-Christian sentiments to Jewish children.

The teachings of the rabbis

Already in the twelfth century, the Abbot of Cluny Peter the Venerable emphasized that the Jews need to cast aside their blasphemous books in which they 'laboured to obfuscate heavenly instruction'.[25] Yielding to the heretical teachings of the rabbis, the Jews had strayed from the Law of Moses. In the late Middle Ages, the Talmud thus came to epitomize the Jews' obstinacy and foolish rejection of Christianity.[26] Envisaged as a fundamentally anti-Christian work, filled with blasphemies and lies, the Talmud was said to have no other aim than to impress hatred and scorn of Christianity in the hearts of Jewish children and divert them from faith in Christ. In the wake of the trial and burning of the Talmud in Paris in 1242, Pope Innocent IV proclaimed that the work had rightly been condemned because this 'large book … far exceeding the text of the Bible in size, and filled with manifest blasphemies against God and his Christ and the blessed Virgin, [and other] convoluted tales, erroneous insults, and unheard-of foolishness' was used by the Jews to

teach and bring up their children and make them thoroughly estranged from the teaching of the Law and the prophets, fearing that they be converted to the faith and return humbly to their Redeemer, since the truth that is found in the same Law and prophets clearly offers proof of the only-begotten Son of God who would come in the flesh.[27]

Honorius IV, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury written just a few years before the Jews' expulsion from England, would have much harsher words, describing the Talmud as a 'deadly doctrine' that Jewish children study from their early years, 'so that they might consume its venomous substance'.[28]

The Jewish liturgy also came under scrutiny in this context. Medieval authors claimed that Jewish prayers were aimed at imparting Jews, and in particular Jewish children, with an implacable hatred of Christians and Christianity. The charge, which was also first raised in the context of the Paris trial, became widely disseminated through anti-Jewish sermons or through polemical works listing the lies and blasphemies found in the books of the Jews.[29] In the early fourteenth century, the influential Franciscan scholar Nicholas of Lyra suggested that one of the main reasons for the Jews' obstinacy was precisely that 'from the cradle they have been nurtured in the hatred of Christ; and they curse Christians and Christianity daily in their synagogues'.[30] Nicholas turned to Aristotelian conceptions of the habitus to explain why these anti-Christian curses rendered the Jews impervious to the Christian message: 'For indeed those things to which men are accustomed from childhood are so-to-speak converted into nature, and thus, when they are contrary to the truth, they divert the judgment of the intellect'.[31] Such discussions also largely framed later debates on the Jews' unwillingness to accept the Christian faith. Nicholas' work was thus used by subsequent theologians and missionaries seeking to reverse the Jews' anti-Christian feelings.[32] Heinrich of Langenstein, one of the founders of the University of Vienna, for instance, invited the Jews to remove the blind rage (*ira*) and rancour (*rancor*) harboured by their ancestors against Jesus and rather meditate on his holy deeds, so as to be *moved* towards the faith in Christ.[33] Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl echoed these themes in his own sermons on the messiahship of Christ, delivered in Vienna in 1421 to an audience that seems to have also included Jews who had recently converted to Christianity—in all likelihood under duress.[34] Such questions were very much in the air when Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl's student, Thomas Ebendorfer, composed his own treatise on the errors and lies of the Jews and undertook to translate a Hebrew manuscript of *Toledot Yeshu*.

Anti-Christian rituals and the body of Christ

Ebendorfer clearly echoed Nicholas of Lyra when he noted that the Jews inculcate their children into the hatred of Christianity 'almost from the cradle'.[35] Like Nicholas, he was interested in the very mechanisms by which Jews internalized anti-Christian feelings and thus endured in their obstinacy. Where Ebendorfer departed from his predecessor, however, was precisely in the idea that the Jews' resistance was not so much fostered by the Talmud or their daily liturgy but by this secret 'little book' (*codicellum*) he was translating; a book he claimed was itself the object of a specific ritual. His description of the Jews' inverted Christmas as a rite meant to foster anti-Christian sentiments

among Jews, and especially Jewish children, was indeed an innovation in anti-Jewish polemics.

In the thirteenth century, Ramon Martí had already cited *Toledot Yeshu* and suggested that Christian holidays could be an occasion for mockery by Jews. Thus, when Jesus falls to the ground following his aerial battle with Judas Iscariot, Martí's text states: 'that wicked one [i.e. Jesus] broke his forearm, and this event the Christians lament each year before their Pascha'.[36] The text Ebendorfer translated offers a similar reading, although adding that Judas Iscariot also defiled Jesus through sexual intercourse:

> [Judas] dishonourably had male-male intercourse with him until he ejaculated and thus both were sullied and fell to ground. This is the deed for which Christians—*nosczerim*—weep on His night of *gesach*,[37] that is, of arrogance, or *pesach*, which is Easter, and thus testify to Judas' shameful act.[38]

The Strasbourg text of *Toledot Yeshu* (the closest Hebrew parallel to those of Martí and Ebendorfer) only mentions that Judas urinated on Jesus and that 'on account of this story, they [the Christians] weep *on their night*', which the first editor of the text, Samuel Krauss, understood to be a playful reference to Christmas (*Weihnachten/Weinennachten*).[39] In his prologue, however, Ebendorfer himself sought to connect the narrative to Christmas rather than Easter. Moreover, he focused not on Christian practices but on Jewish ones, placing the work as we have seen at the heart of a Jewish ritual enacting its blasphemous content. In other words, Ebendorfer presented *Toledot Yeshu* as the foundational text-book of the Jews' inverted Christmas, furthermore insisting on the emotional potency of the narrative. Reading *Toledot Yeshu*, he claimed, was a way to 'inflame' Jewish children in their rage against Christ and 'strengthen the hearts of the simple ones in the perfidy of the Jews'. He mentioned not only the hatred of the Jews, but also their scorn and contempt for Christianity ('a matter of foolishness worthy of scorn and opprobrium'), and perhaps pointed also to the Jews' disgust at the very figure of Christ—if this is how we are to understand his reference to Jesus' afterworldly punishment in a tank of boiling excrements.

Scholars have suggested reading the Talmudic passage Ebendorfer was likely referring to when mentioning that Jesus was condemned to sit in a tank full of boiling excrements (*b. Gittin* 57a) as a polemic against the Eucharist.[40] This passage, it must be noted, only seldom appears as such in the *Toledot* texts. As a matter of fact, it does not appear in the *Toledot* text Ebendorfer went on to translate.[41] Many versions nonetheless provide hints of a similar scatological reading of Jesus and the Eucharist.[42] The so-called Slavic texts thus explicitly claim that when Jesus was defeated by Judas, he fell to the ground and 'lay ugly in excrement like a filthy pig in vomit (and) excrement'.[43] When his body was retrieved and paraded through the streets, young people put excrement in his

mouth. One text even adds: 'and in memory of those things, the monks distribute disgusting bread'—an obvious reference to the Eucharist.[44] These are essentially later witnesses, but the argument that Christians eat and hence also defecate the body of Christ was in fact often voiced (rather sarcastically) by medieval Jewish polemicists, expressing both their disdain for the Christian notion of transubstantiation and their disgust for Christian Eucharistic rituals.[45] Scatological language was of course not limited to Jewish polemicists and appears as a widely shared polemical strategy in medieval sources. Christian authors turned to similar tropes and often associated Jews with filthy animals, corrupting diseases, haemorrhoidal blood-spill and menstruation, or other sources of impurity.[46] Alexandra Cuffel has pointed to the importance of this 'rhetoric of disgust' in medieval religious polemics, as a way to instil horror and revulsion and enforce social boundaries. As she writes: 'Describing one's opponent and his or her religion as disgusting and polluted' differs from other polemical strategies (such as subtle theological argumentation), 'by evoking a gut-wrenching emotional antipathy that is closely linked to a variety of other feelings: fear, contempt, hatred'.[47] This strategy is particularly evident in Jewish discussions of the incarnation, presented as an utterly irrational idea, but also described in graphic terms meant to inspire revulsion, underlining the impure aspect of the motherly womb, where the child Jesus would have felt the movements of his mother's bowels and be defiled by her faeces, urine, and blood.[48] One thirteenth-century Jewish polemicist from France insisted that Jesus was in fact born from filth.[49] These tropes need not derive from *Toledot Yeshu*, but they certainly find expression in the *Toledot* tradition, where the account of Jesus' conception highlights his filthy origins, stressing that he was conceived while his mother was menstruating and that he is thus a 'bastard and the child of an impure woman' (*mamzer u-ben ha-niddah*).

The Jews' inverted Christmas

The afterlife of Ebendorfer's *Falsitates Judaeorum*, if there was one, is difficult to trace. Only two manuscripts of the work survive, and it is never mentioned by later authors. Yet his assertion that *Toledot Yeshu* was read on the night of Christmas as part of a Jewish anti-Christian ritual does resurface in a number of later sources, most conspicuously in the works of Christian converts from Judaism writing in the German territories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The existence of Jewish traditions related to Christmas, it must be noted, is also independently attested in a number of later Jewish sources. Halakhic discussions thus refer to various customs carried out by (some) Ashkenazi Jews on the night of Christmas, including sexual abstinence, eating garlic, merry-making or playing cards until late in the night, and refraining from studying the Torah.[50] The origins of these customs have long puzzled scholars of Judaism, yet it is clear that they relate to the common belief that the night of Christmas represents a highly dangerous time, in which Jews need to defend themselves against evil

supernatural forces. Some cabbalistic authors for instance insist that the powers of the *sitra ahra* or 'other side' (i.e. evil) are exalted on that night and that Jews should seek to weaken its powers.[51] Other sources associate the evil force at work on the night of Christmas more explicitly with Jesus. Rebecca Scharbach-Wollenberg cites the ethnographic data collected by Yiddish folklorists in the interwar period, where various explanations for the Jews' Christmas traditions are recorded.[52] These testify to the popular belief that Jesus sought to return to earth on Christmas Eve in order to taunt the Jews and that refraining from studying the Torah, for instance, prevents him from doing so. Some informants suggest that the revenant Jesus could fly around on Christmas Eve, and if Jews are not cautious, he will 'hide in a holy book and won't come out', insisting that he too was once a great scholar—motifs that are obviously reminiscent of *Toledot Yeshu*.[53] The scatological overtones of these stories are also clear. One informant thus relates that '[w]henever he [Jesus] comes across an open holy book, he defecates on it in hatred and disgust'.[54]

The earliest evidence for these Jewish Christmas traditions, however, comes from the works of early modern converts from Judaism, which seem to reflect at least in part actual anti-Christian rites and traditions among contemporary Jews and may well shed light on their emotional underpinnings. The early sixteenth century witnessed a revival of Christian anti-Jewish polemics, particularly in the German-speaking lands, which by then had become one of the last refuges for Jews in the Western European world. The printing press offered a new medium for the dissemination of anti-Jewish themes and ideas, but also contributed to the emergence of a new genre of anti-Jewish literature, marked by a novel ethnographic interest in the beliefs and customs of contemporary Jews.[55] Christian converts from Judaism, claiming to offer an "insider" perspective on Jewish life and customs first hand, played a central role in this context.[56] While indeed witnessing to a new interest in living Jews, such ethnographies of Jews and Judaism did not entirely break from earlier polemics against the Talmud and Jewish literature. Jewish blasphemy very much remained a matter of anxiety, along with other hostile activities attributed to Jews. Yet to the textual material inherited from medieval anti-Jewish polemics was now added the converts' direct knowledge of the Jews' hidden transcript. A number of converts point to the Jewish traditions associated with Christmas, and they emphasize the role of *Toledot Yeshu*.

Early modern variations

One of the earliest converts from Judaism to appear on the stage as a prominent anti-Jewish polemicist in the early modern period is Johannes Pfefferkorn, whose campaign against Jewish books and lengthy conflict with the Humanist scholar Johannes Reuchlin are well known.[57] To a large extent, Pfefferkorn recycled materials drawn from earlier anti-Jewish polemics, repeating age-old accusations against the Talmud and the Jews' blasphemous

writings. In 1510, however, Emperor Maximilian I granted him the right to confiscate the 'worthless' books of the Jews, 'fabricated and designed to scorn, ridicule, and eradicate the Christian faith'.[58] Several hundred books were indeed confiscated in Worms and Frankfurt, but the campaign was eventually put to a halt following protest by the archbishop of Mainz, who insisted that Pfefferkorn's actions infringed on his authority. A commission was charged with examining the matter and deciding whether further confiscations should be ordered.[59] Among the scholars consulted in that context, only Reuchlin argued against the confiscation and destruction of Jewish books. Reuchlin proposed that Jewish books should not be condemned indiscriminately and that only works that slandered Christianity should be an object of reproach. Reuchlin named two such books, *Sefer Nizzaḥon* and *Toledot Yeshu*, adding that the Jews themselves regarded these as apocryphal and had taken measures to ban them.[60]

In his *Hand Mirror*, published in 1511, Pfefferkorn replied to Reuchlin, refuting the latter's claim. Regarding *Toledot Yeshu* in particular, he noted:

> The other book about which Dr Reuchlin writes, which is supposedly forbidden and banned among the Jews, is called and named *Tholdos Jescho*, and contains such huge mockeries and slurs against the birth of Christ, that I almost dare not write about it and expose it.

This book, he added, 'is commonly read and preached [among Jews]', and more particularly 'on the night of Christmas'. Indeed, wrote Pfefferkorn:

> [The Jews] believe and maintain that the lord Jesus, punished by God because of his apostasy and false teaching, has to wander in all pits of excrement or latrines throughout the world that same night. Thus, did I learn and believe unthinkingly from my youth on. When it was Christmas Eve I urinated outside the privy because of worry and fear of the hanged Jesus, for he was acting in a filthy way that night.[61]

In other words, Pfefferkorn not only insisted that *Toledot Yeshu* circulated among Jews, but he also noted again the didactic function of the narrative, which he connected to Jewish traditions pertaining to Christmas (and associated scatological discourse) and to the fostering of deeply engrained feelings of disgust and fear among Jewish children. The trustfulness of such an account is of course a matter of debate. For Reuchlin, such accusations were to be dismissed and Pfefferkorn was guilty of spreading hatred among unlearned people.[62] Yet, as we have seen, even if Pfefferkorn was here using the evidence as part of an anti-Jewish discourse on Jewish blasphemy and hatred of Christianity, he was clearly aware, like Ebendorfer before him, of the ritual and emotional framework within which the Jews' hidden transcript was indeed expressed and transmitted.

Jesus the bogeyman

Similar accounts to that provided by Pfefferkorn (and Ebendorfer before him) would be often repeated by later converts from Judaism turned anti-Jewish polemicists. A case, for instance, is that of Ernst Ferdinand Hess, whose *Juden Geissel* was published no less than ten times between 1598 and 1608.[63] Hess referred to the blasphemies uttered by the Jews on the night of Christmas:

> hearing the bells ringing, you utter these awful and terrible blasphemous words: At this time the *mamzer* crawls through all *moschovim*! That is, now the whore's son must walk through all the sewers and latrines… Thereby you instil in your small children and all the house staff such a great fright, that they will not go out to the latrines on that night even if they need to very badly.[64]

Quoting Hess in his *Entdecktes Judenthum* (written 1700), the ill-famed Christian Hebraist Johann Eisenmenger claimed to have himself witnessed how little Jewish children refused to go to the privies on their own on Christmas night for fear of Jesus.[65] Hess asserted that he had heard the story of Jesus as a child and that it was read from a 'secret' book called '*doldos Jeschu*, that is, on the birth of Jesus'.

In the early seventeenth century, another convert from Judaism, Samuel Friederich Brenz, recalling the names of abuse the Jews use for Jesus, reported that they also read his story from a book entitled *Maase Thola* (Story of the Hanged One), another popular title of *Toledot Yeshu*, which he claimed was not printed but written only in cursive script. The Jews read this book in their homes, Brenz noted, with great secrecy on the night of Christmas.[66] Another convert, Dietrich Schwab, wrote the following on Jewish practices at Christmas:

> [The Jews] are also not permitted to study or pray during the time of Christmas, which they call *Nittel*, that is, the festival of the hanged one. The reason for this is that they believe that on this night Christ is in terrible anguish, and thus he has no rest or respite. Rather, they do nothing but curse and blaspheme Christ.[67]

Schwab then went on to discuss the lies the Jews tell concerning the miracles Jesus performed and the way he was put to death, his body trampled on and thrown in the latrines, where he was to crawl eternally.

The motif was echoed by Christian polemicists such as Eisenmenger, of course, and the Lutheran pastor Georg Nigrinus (Schwartz), who claimed that *Toledot Yeshu* was so blasphemous that even 'baptized Jews say that they are embarrassed to reveal the blasphemies found in this book'.[68] Yet Nigrinus repeated their claim that Jews gather to read *Toledot Yeshu* on the night of Christmas and teach their children that Jesus led his people astray and was thus

condemned to haunt the sewers eternally. Thus, wrote Nigrinus, 'they entertain their children in the fear of that Name, like we teach our children to fear the bogeyman'.

Assessing how independent and reliable these sources are is clearly a matter of discussion. Yet the fact that the same motifs also appear in Jewish sources suggests that these authors may indeed have based their arguments on some form of ethnographic knowledge.[69] As such, they may well teach us something about the ways anti-Christian feelings were internalized among late medieval and early modern Jews. The tropes and customs at which these authors pointed would have become central components of a Jewish anti-Christian culture, impressing upon Jews, consciously or unconsciously, specific sentiments of inclusion and exclusion, of identity and alterity. These sentiments would have helped Jews to withstand the influence of Christianity. However, the specific times and places when these tropes and customs became part of such a culture remain somewhat obscure.

Marc Shapiro and Rebecca Scharbach have suggested that the Jewish traditions associated with Christmas truly became popular in the Ashkenazi world in the early modern age, but these undoubtedly took shape in earlier times, as both Ebendorfer and Pfefferkorn evince. Scharbach also observes that these traditions bear witness to the deep inter-connections between Jewish and Christian cultures in the late medieval and early modern periods. She suggests that the various Jewish beliefs and customs associated with Christmas emerged in relation to the Christian traditions that developed in central Europe in the late middle ages, which they mirror and partly appropriate. Indeed, for Christians as well as Jews, Christmas could appear a dangerous time, in which revenants, witches, and other frightening spirits were active and threatened to harm the community. The return of these demonic forces could moreover be staged, particularly in German-speaking lands, in the context of Christmas pageants in which masked actors roamed the streets, ringing bells and terrifying children. The Christmas season was therefore also a time for particular customs and rituals aimed at protecting the community from these demonic forces. Keeping a vigil, for instance, and eating, drinking, and singing all night could counter the power of the dead by creating 'spaces that belong unambiguously to the living—spaces filled to bursting with walking bodies, light, noise and celebration'.[70]

The parallel customs attested in the Jewish world highlight the shared anxieties of Christians and Jews around the Christmas season, the partial overlap of the two emotional communities. They also underline the symbolic inversions at work in that context, as the Christian tradition and imagery inevitably came to be adapted 'in a way that expresses the particular sensibilities and fears of (its) adoptive (Jewish) community'.[71] For Jews, it was Jesus—himself a magician condemned to suffer the torments of hell—who embodied the bogeyman meant to inspire fear among children. The Jewish story of Jesus, and the various feelings associated with the narrative, understandably played an important role in this context. In a way, the inverted Christian narrative of *Toledot Yeshu* laid the ground for the Jews' inverted Christmas.

The Jews' 'catechism': concluding remarks

There is something quite startling in the notion that as Christians celebrated the birth of Christ on the night of Christmas, Jews read *Toledot Yeshu* to their children, as a way of instructing them in the knowledge of Christianity and doubtless inspiring the way they should feel about Christianity, its history, beliefs, rituals, and institutions. Learning to be a Jew was in a way also learning *not* to be a Christian. Moreover, I would argue that learning to *feel* Jewish also meant learning how to *feel* towards Christians. The Jews' hidden transcript and the range of anti-Christian sentiments to which it gave way—ranging from amusement to contempt—could only infuriate its Christian readers and be interpreted as an outrageous act of insubordination towards the Christian order, a proof of the Jews' blind obstinacy and hatred. Martin Luther, in his late anti-Jewish pamphlets, relayed the accusations and claims put forward by Christian converts from Judaism and pointed to *Toledot Yeshu* as the epitome of Jewish blasphemy, a Jewish 'catechism … inspired by sheer hatred and spite, solely for the purpose of bitterly poisoning the minds of their poor youth and the simple Jews against the person of our Lord, lest they adhere to his doctrine (which they cannot refute)'.[72] If the Jews endured in their faith and did not convert to Christianity, as he had once hoped they would in the new era hallowed by the Reformation, it was precisely because such teachings turned them into senseless beasts. The Jews' catechism prevented them from understanding the truth of the gospel or even *feeling* the message of Christ by corrupting their hearts. 'The Jewish heart', he noted, was thus 'as hard as stone and iron and cannot be moved by any means'.

While locating the history of *Toledot Yeshu* within the framework of a Christian discourse on the Jews' anti-Christian emotions, I have also sought to look at the other side of the mirror, namely, at the ways in which Jewish hearts were in fact moved by this powerful and emotional story, albeit not in the direction hoped for by Christians. Undeniably, the narrative opens a window onto the emotional strategies through which Jews sought to subvert the Christian story and assert their identity in a Christian world. But the story, and furthermore its collective and repeated performance, also contributed to nurturing the Jews' feeling of exclusion from the Christian narrative and inclusion in a Jewish one. It invited me to explore how Jews integrated shared emotional norms within the Christian world and were thus made into an emotional community of their own. In other words, while *Toledot Yeshu* allowed medieval and early modern Jews to vent and express their emotions, it also contributed to their very making as Jews. For Christians, by contrast, the story was a paradigmatic example of the Jews' obstinacy and deep hatred of Christianity—feelings that both caused and justified their enduring status as a despised and subjected minority. From the vantage point of both sides, the Jewish life of Jesus served to draw the line separating the two emotional communities, Jews and Christians, reflecting their entrenched feelings of mutual distrust and exclusion as well as their inextricable connections.

Notes

1 Martin Luther, *Vom Schem hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi*, in *Werke*, vol. 53 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1920), 579.

2 Jules Isaac, *The Teaching of Contempt: Christian Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York and Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Wineston, 1964).

3 See Philippe Borgeaud, *Exercices d'histoire des religions. Comparaison, rites, mythes et émotions*, ed. D. Barbu and Philippe Matthey (Leiden: Brill, 2016); J. Samuel Preus, *Explaining Religion. Criticism and Theory from Bodin to Freud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

4 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), here at 2 and 15, referring to Arlie R. Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 76.

5 See also Giovanni Tarantino, "Feeling White in the Pre-Modern Western World: Beneath and Beyond," in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe 1100–1700*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch (London; New York: Routledge, 2020), 303–19.

6 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 54.

7 Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 15–26.

8 Elisheva Carlebach, "Jewish Responses to Christianity in Reformation Germany," in *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. Dean Phillip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 455.

9 James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

10 Israel J. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 92–134.

11 See Marc M. Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Ivan G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

12 See now Michael Meerson and Peter Schäfer, *Toledot Yeshu: The Life Story of Jesus*, 2 vols (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

13 Daniel Barbu, "The Case About Jesus: (Counter-)History and Casuistry in *Toledot Yeshu*," in *A Historical Approach to Casuistry: Norms and Exceptions in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. Carlo Ginzburg and Lucio Basori (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 65–97; Daniel Barbu, "Some Remarks on the Jewish Life of Jesus (*Toledot Yeshu*) in Early Modern Europe," *Journal for Religion, Film, and Media* 5, no.1 (2018): 29–45.

14 The citation is taken from the letter addressed to James II of Aragon in 1305 by a Dominican friar, concerning blasphemies allegedly uttered by a Jew. See Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929), 1:184–88 (N° 157).

15 See *Das jüdische Leben Jesu* Toledot Jeschu*: die älteste lateinische Übersetzung in den Falsitates Judeorum von Thomas Ebendorfer*, ed. Brigitta Callsen, Fritz P. Knapp, Manuela Nieser, and Martin Pryzbilski (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003). On Ebendorfer, see Alphons Lhotsky, *Thomas Ebendorfer: ein österreichischer Geschichtschreiber, Theologe und Diplomat des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1957).

16 See Daniel Barbu and Yann Dahhaoui, "Un manuscrit français des *Toledot Yeshu*: le ms. lat. 12722 et l'enquête de 1429 contre les juifs de Trévoux," *Henoch. Historical and Textual Studies in Ancient and Medieval Judaism and Christianity* 40, no.2 (2018): 223–28. On Ebendorfer's text of *Toledot Yeshu*, see also Ruth Mazo Karras, "The

Aerial Battle in the *Toledot Yeshu* and Sodomy in the Late Middle Ages," *Medieval Encounters* 19 (2013): 493–533.

17 For a survey of the Christian reception of *Toledot Yeshu*, see Yaacov Deutsch, "The Second Life of the Life of Jesus: Christian Reception of *Toledot Yeshu*," in Peter Schäfer, Michael Meerson, and Yaacov Deutsch ed., Toledot Yeshu *("The Life Story of Jesus") Revisited: A Princeton Conference* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 283–95.

18 *Toledot Yeshu*, Ms. Strasbourg, BnU 3974, fols 170r–175v, Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire, Strasbourg. See Meerson and Schäfer, *Toledot Yeshu*, 1:166–84 (English) and, 2:82–95 (Hebrew); William Horbury, "The Strasbourg Text of the *Toledot*," in *Toledot Yeshu … Revisited*, 49–59; Barbu and Dahhaoui, "Un manuscrit français."

19 On the events, see the classical study by Samuel Krauss, *Die Wiener Geserah vom Jahre 1421* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1920); Michael H. Shank, *"Unless You Believe, You Shall Not Understand:" Logic, University and Society in Late Medieval Vienna* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 191–97; Klaus Lohrmann, *Judenrecht und Judenpolitik im mittelalterlichen Österreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1990), 298–309. For a discussion on the date of the *Falsititates*, see Manuela Niesner, "Einführung," in *Das jüdische Leben Jesu Toldot Jeschu*, 25–33; Mazo Karras, "The Aerial Battle," 497–99.

20 Schank, *Unless You Believe*, 197–98. That the attack on the Jewish community was essentially a way to confiscate Jewish wealth is emphasized in Jewish sources relating the events; see Arthur Goldmann, *Das Judenbuch der Scheffstrasse zu Wien (1389–1420)* (Vienna and Leipzig: K.U.K. Hof, 1908), 112–33.

21 See Schank, *Unless You Believe*, 199; Mazo Karras, "The Aerial Battle," 498–99.

22 Mazo Karras, "The Aerial Battle," 498.

23 Lhotsky, *Thomas Ebendorfer*, 11–12.

24 *Das jüdische Leben Jesu* Toldot Jeschu, 36 (my translation).

25 Peter the Venerable, *Against the Inveterate Obduracy of the Jews*, trans. Irven M. Resnick (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013), 286–87.

26 Alexander Patschovsky, "Der 'Talmudjude'. Vom Mittelalterlichen Ursprung Eines Neuzeitlichen Themas," in *Juden in der Christlichen Umwelt*, ed. A. Haverkamp and F.-J. Ziwes (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992), 13–27. On the change of attitude towards Jews and Judaism in the later middle ages, see Amos Funkenstein, "Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* 2 (1971): 373–82; Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 313–89.

27 Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIII*[th] *Century* (New York: Hermon Press, 1966), 250–51.

28 Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents; 492–1404* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 262 (N° 255). See also Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 332.

29 *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240*, ed. Robert Chazan, Jean Hoff, and John Friedman (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 118–19; Gilbert Dahan, "La prière juive au regard des chrétiens au moyen âge," *Revue des études juives* 154, no.3–4 (1995): 437–48. For sermons, see also Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 204 (Ramon Llull), and 239 (Giordano da Pisa). Yuval, *Two Nations*, 92–134, surveys the Jewish evidence for anti-Christian curses in the medieval context. See also the discussion in Barbu and Dahhaoui, "Un manuscrit français," 250–51n102, with further references. On Christian discussions of the Jewish curse against the heretics, see Ruth Langer, *Cursing the Christians? A History of the Birkat Haminim* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 66–101.

30 Nicholas of Lyra, *Quaestio de adventu Christi* (n.p., 1309), quoted in *Biblia sacra, cum glossis, interlineari, et ordinaria, Nicolai Lyranni postilla, ac mortalitatibus, Burgensis additionibus, et Thoringi replicis …* (Venice, 1588), 6:280CD.

31 *Biblia sacra…*, 6:280CD. See Aristotle, *Met.* II 995a, www.loebclassics.com/view/aristotle-metaphysics/1933/pb_LCL271.95.xml. Nicholas may here be relying on Averroes' prologue to the long commentary on Physics (III). See Schmieja Horst, "Drei Prologe im grossen Physikkommentar des Averroes?" in *Aristotelisches Erbe im arabisch-lateinischen Mittelalter: Übersetzungen, Kommentare, Interpretationen*, ed. A. Zimmermann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986), 175–89, here at 177. I thank Christophe Grellard for this observation and reference.

32 On the reception of the *Quaestio de adventu Christi*, see Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 180–85; Deena Copeland Klepper. *The Insight of Unbelievers. Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Readings of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 111–17. See also Manuela Niesner, "Über die Duldung der Juden in der christlichen Gesellschaft—Eine lateinisch-deutsche *Quaestio* aus der Zeit um 1400," *Mediaevistik* 20 (2007): 185–214, with a focus on the German-speaking lands. Already in the early thirteenth century, the Austrian theologian Nicholas Vischel, who had studied in Paris before settling in the Cistercian abbey of the Holy Cross, next to Vienna, used Nicholas' work as well as the proceedings of the Paris Talmud trial in his *Contra perfidios Iudaeos*. See Severin Grill, "Nikolaus Vischel von Heiligenkreuz. Ein österreichischer Scholastiker, c.1250–1330," *Cistencienser-Chronik* 49.578 (1937): 97–108; Manuela Niesner, *"Wer mit juden well disputiren". Deutschprachige Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2005), 407–13. Note also Martin Luther, *On the Jews and their Lies* (1543), in *Werke*, 53:419, 449, 481.

33 See Niesner, *"Wer mit juden well disputiren"*, 417–18.

34 Alois Madre, *Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl: Leben und Schriften* (Münster: Äschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 130–33; see Schank, *Unless You Believe*, 192–94.

35 For Ebendorder's statement see the quotation above at note 24, and for Nicholas of Lyra's similar claim, see note 30.

36 Meerson and Schäfer, *Toledot Yeshu*, 1:12.

37 According to the editors of Ebendorfer's text, the word *ga'awa*, (pride), should be read here.

38 Ebendorfer, *Das jüdische Leben Jesu*, 58. The same reading is attested by a French translation of *Toledot Yeshu* made during an investigation against Jewish books in the town of Trévoux in 1429, also on the basis of a Strasbourg-type text. See Barbu and Dahhaoui, "Un manuscrit français."

39 Samuel Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1902), 55; for the text, see Meerson and Schäfer, *Toledot Yeshu*, 2:89 (Hebrew), 1:174 (English), with the curious suggestion that *Weihnacht* means 'night of weeping' (which it does not).

40 Peter Schäfer, *Jesus in the Talmud* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 82–94.

41 Only the late-medieval Huldreich version explicitly refers to *b. Gittin* 57a when narrating that Jesus' body was in truth buried in a sewer (*martef/latrina*), and adding that Jesus' corpse lay in 'a trench with garbage and excrement'. See Meerson and Schäfer, *Toledot Yeshu*, 1:316–18 (English), 2:248–49 (Hebrew). Jesus' afterworldly punishment is mentioned also in the colophon of a type Wagenseil manuscript, copied in Prague, 1630, after a manuscript from 1615, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Oxford, Op. 749, fol. 103r.

42 For the various readings of Jesus' burial in an aqueduct or sewer, see Meerson and Schäfer, *Toledot Yeshu*, 1:101–103. Jesus is explicitly soiled with excrements in the early modern Italian versions of the narrative; see *Toledot Yeshu*, 1:251, 256 (English), 2:167, 174 (Hebrew).

43 *Toledot Yeshu*, 1:349 (English), 2:290 (Hebrew).

44 *Toledot Yeshu*, 1:363 (English), 2:303 (Hebrew).

45 See Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 137–39. Medieval Jewish sources also

sometimes referred to the Host as 'polluted bread' and to churches and other Christian buildings as 'latrines'. See also Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 1999), 93–103, who refers to Christian responses.

46 Claudine Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast: Jews, Christians, and the Pig* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 97–128; Irven M. Resnick, *Mark of Distinctions: Perception of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012).

47 Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 7.

48 *Gendering Disgust*, 124–31.

49 *Sefer Yosef ha-Mekane*, 65, quoted in Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 130.

50 See Marc Shapiro, "Torah Study on Christmas Eve," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 8 (1999): 319–53; Rebecca Scharbach, "The Ghost in the Privy: On the Origins of Nittel Nacht and Modes of Cultural Exchange," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 20, no.4 (2013): 340–71. See also Carlebach, "Jewish Responses to Christianity."

51 Shapiro, "Torah Study," 12; Scharbach, "The Ghost in the Privy," 347–48.

52 Jeffrey Shandler, *Jews, God and Videotape* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 191–92, quoted in Scharbach, "The Ghost in the Privy," 348–49.

53 Some of the manuscripts of *Toledot Yeshu* in fact refer to the prohibition to read Scripture on Christmas; so the colophon of Ms. Princeton 28, fol. 16r.

54 Shandler, *Jews, God and Videotape*, 191.

55 See now also the studies gathered in Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, eds, *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writings about Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), in particular the editors' introduction, "Jewish Life and Books under Scrutiny: Ethnography, Polemics, and Converts," 3–24.

56 Deutsch lists more than sixty books describing Jewish customs and ceremonies published between 1500 and 1785. Two thirds of these were authored by converts. Yaacov Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 34–76. See also Elisheva Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 170–99.

57 There is an abundant literature on the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy. See recently David Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Erika Rummel, *The Case against Johann Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). On the confiscation campaign, see also Avner Shamir, *Christian Conceptions of Jewish Books. The Pfefferkorn Affair* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2011).

58 The list of books to be confiscated included *Nizzaḥon Vetus* and *Toledot Yeshu*. See Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Zu lob vnd Ere des aller durchleichtigisten vnd großmechtigisten Fürsten vnd herren. Herr Maximilian* (Augsburg, 1510), chap. 6. See also *Defensio Ioannis Pepericorni contra famosas et criminales obscurorum virorum epistolas* (n.p., 1516), in Eduard Böcking, *Ulrichi Hutteni equitis Operum supplementum* (Leipzig, 1864), 105; Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, 17–35 and 37–54.

59 Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, 55–74.

60 Reuchlin, *Augenspiegel*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4, *Schriften zum Bücherstreit*, 29, translated in Daniel O'Callaghan, *The Preservation of Jewish Religious Books in Sixteenth-Century Germany: Johannes Reuchlin's* Augenspiegel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 125–26. It must be noted that when he calls for the conversion of Jews in his 1505 "Tütsch Missive" (*Sämtliche Werke*, 4:5–12), Reuchlin himself denounced Jewish anti-Christian slanders and blasphemies, referring *inter alia* to *Sefer Nizzaḥon* and *Toledot Yeshu*.

61 Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Handspiegel* (Mainz, 1511), 11*; Shapiro, "Torah Study," 334.

62 O'Callaghan, *The Preservation of Jewish Religious Books*, 138.

63 Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, 36n10.

64 Ernst Ferdinand Hess, *Juden Geissel* (Frankfurt, 1703), 181–82, quoted in Shapiro, "Torah Study," 334–35.

65 Johann A. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum* (Franfurt, 1711), 1:563–64, where he claims that he almost assisted in a public reading of *Toledot Yeshu* on the night of Christmas, but because he was present, the Jews did not carry the practice through.

66 Samuel F. Brenz, *Jüdischer abgestreiffter Schlangen-Balg*, 1st ed. (Nuremberg and Augsburg, 1614), 2. On Brenz and Zalman Zvi of Aufhausen's response (*Yudischer Theriak*, 1615), see [Zalman Zvi,] Yudisher Theriak*: An Early Modern Yiddish defense of Judaism*, trans. Morris M. Faierstein (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 2011), 48–49.

67 Dietrich Schwab, *Delectum Velum Mosaicum Iudaeorum nostri temporis, das ist: Jüdischer Deckmantel …* (Mainz, 1619), 14; the passage is translated in Shapiro, "Torah Study," 344.

68 Georg Nigrinus, *Jueden Feind: Von den edelen Fruechten der Thalmudischer Jueden, so jetziger zeit in Teutschlande wonen …* (n.p., 1570), chap. 2, quoted in Carlebach, "Jewish Responses to Christianity," 454.

69 On Ebendorfer's Jewish informants, see Mazo Karras, "The Aerial Battle," 499–500.

70 Scharbach, "The Ghost in the Privy," 361.

71 Scharbach, "The Ghost in the Privy," 365.

72 Luther, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, 514; and on Luther and the Jews more broadly, see Thomas Kaufmann, *Luther's Jews* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

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11

TOWARDS AN ALIEN COMMUNITY OF DANCING WITCHES IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE[*]

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Strategies of exclusion are at the heart of the phenomenon of the European witch-hunt. The witches of early modern Europe were generally understood to be extremely malicious and aggressive figures; for this reason, they had to be excluded from the benefits and protections of church and state. They had to be made alien, to be created as other; indeed, they had to *appear* alien and other. "Otherness" was projected onto them, and their projected emotions were key to how observers would in turn feel about them, namely, that such vile creatures had no place in their own society. While closer attention has recently been given to the rhetorical techniques used to shape the responses of those reading texts describing the activities of witchcraft,[1] little close attention has been given to the visual strategies used by artists to stimulate similar emotions in their viewers. Even less consideration has been given to the emotions deeply encoded in the visualized behaviour of witches, that is, the emotions witches were shown performing in visual media. In a Europe in which literacy was still limited outside the major urban centres, visual media served to distance witches from their viewers as alien and in many cases to represent them as a moral, social, political, or even physical threat.[2]

In this chapter, I want to explore how the witches' dance, and emotions performed in the depictions of that dance, showed witches transgressing the behavioural and emotional norms of Christian society, thereby identifying them as outsiders and a potential threat that required their prosecution, expulsion, or

even extermination. A curious aspect of the witches' dance is that it was almost completely absent from images of witchcraft before the last decade of the sixteenth century. While the dance certainly featured in earlier literary representations of witchcraft and in trial testimony, it is only from the 1590s that it becomes incorporated into visual images, and in particular into scenes of witches' meetings or Sabbaths. This suggests that prior to the last two decades of the sixteenth century, witches' dances had not yet become a fundamental and universal component of the Sabbath and of what is frequently referred to as 'the cumulative concept of witchcraft'.[3] By the late seventeenth century, however, the witches' dance had become almost synonymous with the Sabbath. Yet the witches' dance has not been given any serious scholarly attention, and the most comprehensive witchcraft encyclopedia does not include an entry.[4] This chapter will explore how and why the witches' dance emerged as a way of depicting witches as members of a totally alien community that presented Christian society with a serious threat. It will therefore focus on the period up to the turn of the seventeenth century when witches' dances began to appear in visual media, and will examine both visual and literary sources in order to clarify the forms dancing took and the conceptual and emotional messages it sought to convey.

I want to first consider a remarkable early seventeenth-century image that illustrates how central dancing had become to depictions of witchcraft by this time. The image I offer—a 1626 print by the prominent Frankfurt artist, Matthäus Merian the Elder, based on a design of a less well-known, but significant Nuremberg painter and engraver, Michael Herr (Figure 11.1)—is also important because of the influence it exerted on witchcraft images well into the eighteenth century.[5] This striking scene of pandemonium survives in two formats. One version is simply entitled *Zauberey* (Witchcraft) and includes Latin verses below by Johann Ludwig Gottfried, a historian and Reformed theologian from the Palatinate, who worked for Merian in Frankfurt from 1624 as a proofreader, while also a pastor in Offenbach. Beneath the Latin verses are five columns of verses by an unknown author in German. A second version includes a longer caption above (Figure 11.1), and German verses by Johann Claj below.[6] The broadsheet was the work of a number of highly respected artists and writers from southern Germany.

The image itself conveys a strong sense of frenzy, a turbulence created by billowing smoke and gas, bodies tumbling and flying through the air, an almost audible cacophony created by the raucous dancers, a shrieking witch, and hybrid spirits—some screaming with mouths agape and others beating drums. The emotional pull is electric, and it draws on the theatricality, energy, and movement found in the work of other artists: the paintings and prints of Frans Francken the Younger created approximately fifteen to twenty years earlier; the drawings of Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, and in particular, the only drawing he intentionally released for broader circulation through a 1610 engraving; and most especially, the 1613 etching of the Polish artist, Jan Ziarnko, inserted in the second edition of Pierre de Lancre's *Description of the Inconstancy of Evil*

FIGURE 11.1   Matthäus Merian, after Michael Herr, *A Precise Sketch and Depiction of an Ungodly and Cursed Witches' Festival*, c.1626 (?), etching. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, HB25872.

Angels and Demons, to illustrate the witches' Sabbath in the Basque country.[7] Such borrowings and influences are also clearly seen in two of Michael Herr's surviving drawings, generally considered to be preparatory drawings for this later broadsheet.[8]

The upper left section of the print (Figure 11.2), which features a witches' dance in which masses of male and female witches swarm around and up a mountain labelled 'Blocksberg', seems original in much of its imagery. The Blocksberg (also called the Brocken) was the highest of the Harz Mountains of central Germany, and from the later sixteenth century it became well known as one of the most significant locations for witches' assemblies and dances.[9] Here the dancers follow their satyr-like leader, Satan, depicted with raised flaming arms; while interspersed among witches in the gyrating line of dancers are musicians and devils, one of them in full frontal naked pose, with whom the female witches dance wildly and perform sexual acts. The dancers convey a loss of emotional and bodily control, a view supported by the wine barrels half way up and at the top of the mountain, and the inebriated figures in the left foreground, including a lewd devil groping a drunken woman in front of a large tankard, his tongue sticking out as he draws near to her cheek and wraps a leg around her waist. The scene above is framed by a witch riding a goat, while another, possibly thrown off by the force of the vapours spewing from the cauldrons below, reveals her bare buttocks and genitals.[10]

FIGURE 11.2 Matthäus Merian, after Michael Herr, *A Precise Sketch and Depiction of an Ungodly and Cursed Witches' Festival* (detail), c.1626 (?), etching. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, HB25872.

Uncontrolled lechery, the flaunting of sensual bodies, jagged and gyrating movement—the erotic and the erratic—are on full view. The witches' dance in this broadsheet by Merian, then, represents witches as governed by their lusts and their inability to control their base desires. Added to this are examples of the destructive nature and outcomes of witches' activities (Figure 11.1): the small group of women around the cauldron in the centre of the print, with its strewn bones and the emaciated cadaver of a horse nearby; a dead horse in the centre foreground; a human cadaver and skull under the central cauldron; the skulls and dead baby visible under a cover by the group of witches following

magical rituals in the right foreground; and the burning church and town in the middle distance, the gallows and wheel suggesting that this too was the destructive work of these criminals.

The message of the print is also partly related to the massed character of the scene. These are not simply individuals; this is society at work. Witches are members of a truly frenzied and destructive society, involving innumerable adepts and rampaging devils that are shown stretching around the mountain following their Satanic leader. In that way the print makes visible the 'terrifying, alien, chaotic and wild' nature of the scene described in the German verses below.[11] Lack of bodily control signals the domination of the senses and lust, as well as a lack of emotional control. The lack of moral order suggests the threat to the social order. These witches are certainly meant to stimulate curiosity in the viewer. But given their large numbers, they represent a society—a large, odious, and destructive society—and this incites fear, threat, even terror. This combination of factors, I believe, is why the new image of a wild processional dance captures the imagination of so many artists through to the mid-eighteenth century.[12] But how and why did such images of witchcraft take root from the 1590s? To attempt an answer, we need first to survey witches' dances from the fifteenth century.

The first known case of witches' dances occurs in a Flemish miniature found in one of the four different surviving French versions of a *Treatise against the Sect of the Waldensians*, written by the Cologne theologian Johann Tinctor in the wake of the *Vauderie* of Arras.[13] This involved the prosecution of a group of male and female Waldensians in the northern French town of Arras in 1459–1460, who were accused of worshipping the Devil in the form of various animals and riding implements and beasts through the air in the manner of witches. In a manuscript of c.1460–1470, the group are depicted performing the ritual of the obscene kiss in a village street setting, each of the four devotees holding a candle, one with pursed brown lips to suggest she has just kissed the backside of the goat (Figure 11.3). Three of their female colleagues ride a scythe, a broom, and a spindle through the sky, and a fourth is just emerging from a chimney. In the left background, moreover, two couples—whether female Waldensians and devils is unclear—are shown dancing (Figure 11.4). The male of one couple is quite prominent, the jewellery around his neck glistening as he lifts one arm in a flamboyant move, while clasping his partner's hand with the other. The second couple is clearly engaged in sexual play, with the female's arms clasped around the shoulders of her male partner, her over-garment drawn back as his left hand is strategically placed near the woman's genital area. Waldensian witchcraft clearly involved dancing and sexual pleasure, according to this artist, even if that was somewhat in the background, as it is compositionally in this illumination.[14] Indeed, Martin le Franc's long allegorical poem of 1451, *Le Champion des Dames*, described a similar 'synagogue' (as it was called) involving the ritual of the obscene kiss in the valley of Valpute. As well as the learning of perverse arts and sorceries from the Devil, and much feasting and drinking, le Franc also refers to dancing, even if only in a single line: 'some would take their pleasure in dance'.[15]
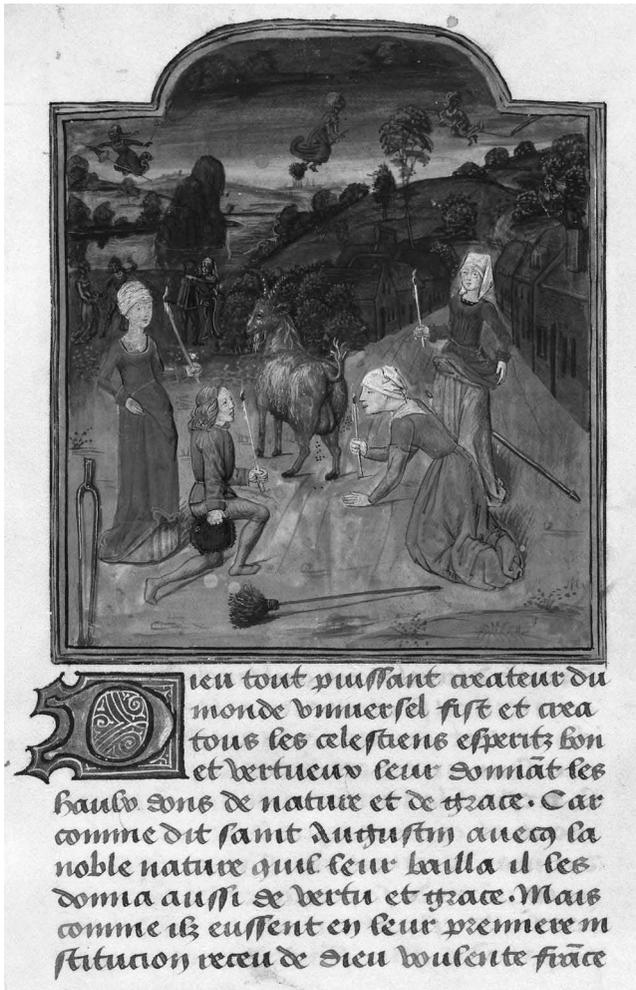
FIGURE 11.3 *Waldensians Worshipping the Devil*, illumination, in Johannes Tinctor, *Tractatus contra sectam Valdensium*, c.1470. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS Rawl D. 410, fol. 1r.

Images of devils dancing with female partners certainly do exist, such as the wedding of the Devil and Injustice surrounded by musicians, found in illustrated manuscripts of Hans Vintler's *Book of Virtues*.[16] But the dance is not with witches. Likewise, the various woodcuts depicting the embrace of a witch and the Devil, found in more than twenty illustrated editions of Ulrich Molitor's *On Female Witches and Seers* published by 1510, show no more than a sensual and lewd embrace signifying the sexual nature of the diabolical pact.[17] The only images of witches dancing that I have found between the Waldensian witches of c.1460–1470 and images of a century later are in three Paris versions of the

FIGURE 11.4 *Waldensians Worshipping the Devil* (detail), illumination, in Johannes Tinctor, *Tractatus contra sectam Valdensium*, c.1470. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS Rawl D. 410, fol. 1r.

Women's Dance of Death of 1491, 1499, and c.1500.[18] While suggestive of the emergence of the witch as a particular (female) social category in the late fifteenth century, and informative concerning her symbolic attributes, these images tell us nothing about the relationship of witches and dancing.

Witches dancing with devils finally appear in a number of drawings illustrating trial evidence collected by the Zurich pastor Johann Jakob Wick for his 'Wonderbook', a mass of diverse documentary and visual material now in twenty-four folio volumes documenting the state of Europe between 1560 and 1587.[19] Accompanying the account of a mother and daughter who were tried and executed for witchcraft in Berne in August 1568, a coloured pen and ink drawing depicts the wedding feast celebrating the marriage of the two women with devils (Figure 11.5). It is significant that the court trying these women first considered their account as a case of diabolical fantasy and deception.[20] The illustration, however, depicts what later convinced them that the two women should be condemned to death. A devil is shown warming the food for the wedding feast, while his two colleagues dance with their new brides to the sound of drum and fife.

A notable aspect of this striking, though quite unsophisticated, drawing is that the three groups of figures at top left—the musicians, the dancing mother and her diabolic consort, and the figure wrapped around the tree—all bear a marked

FIGURE 11.5 *A mother and daughter dance at their wedding with devils; then they are tried and executed as witches in Berne in 1568*, pen and ink, coloured, in Wickiana, F. 18, fol. 146v. Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.

similarity to the main figures in Lucas van Leyden's 1519 engraving of *The Dance of Mary Magdalene* (Figure 11.6). The central scene in that print depicts Mary Magdelene's sinful life before her conversion, dressed as a courtesan and led by her partner in a dance in an outdoor setting amongst a group of couples making love and song. An unusual theme in visual media prior to the sixteenth century, a dancing and singing Magdalene appeared in many medieval passion plays, in some cases dancing with Lucifer and other demons.[21] Although haloed, in recognition of her later sainthood, the Magdelene's sinful behaviour is visibly called out by the figure of a gesturing fool emerging from behind a tree on the left perimeter of the print. That fool figure, a common reference to immorality in late medieval illustration, makes sense of the puzzling figure to the left of the wedding dance in the Wick illustration, shown straddling and peering out from behind a tree.

It seems like the unknown artist was familiar with Lucas van Leyden's print when he set about to represent evidence from a Berne witchcraft trial fifty years later, and he may have been also aware of the role Magdalene played in contemporary passion plays. So he included the fool figure, in case any viewer was seduced by the energy and joy of the diabolical feast. Indeed, in 1574 when a woman from Bremgarten, Regula Mayerin, and her daughter, Anna

FIGURE 11.6   Lucas van Leyden, *The Dance of Mary Magdalene*, 1519, engraving, 28.7 x 39.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1927, Accession No. 27.5.3. Public Domain.

Langin, confessed to having had sex with the very same devil (named Lüzel-hüpsch), another not quite so proficient artist decided to copy the drawing used to illustrate the Berne case of six years earlier—and he also included a figure wrapped around a tree, more obviously demonic in appearance than the one in the earlier image.[22] These dances with devils were clearly not routine or ritualized events associated with witches more generally. As dancing represented a propensity to sensual pleasure and possibly sexual lust in traditional Christian culture, in these few cases it emphasized the sinful nature of the witch's diabolical pact and strongly suggested an incapacity to keep sensual desires in check.

In literary sources, dancing was more often linked to witchcraft through accounts of witches' meetings or assemblies. One early source for the witches' dance, especially in Italy, is the set of folkloric traditions associated with the walnut tree of Benevento. These traditions originated with a tree-worshipping cult of the Lombards in the seventh century, and a particular walnut tree was subsequently associated with harmful individuals and evil effects, as well as those, like witches, considered to be the source of such evil acts.[23] St Bernardino of Siena, for instance, referred to the tree in a 1427 sermon, in which he described how a cardinal's page went to Benevento one night and when he saw 'women and children and young people dancing in an open field', he himself joined in

and they all continued dancing till the bells struck matins. Although Bernardino's story did not mention any diabolical involvement with these predominantly female dancers, a whole night of dancing linked them to the periodic assemblies of women belonging to the Society of the pagan goddess Diana and to stories of the Italian *tregenda*, regular night conventicles that gradually morphed into the witches' Sabbath. Bernardino identified these night dancers as 'enchanters' or witches, who had to be 'exterminated'.[24] A year later in the central Italian town of Todi, a female sorcerer and healer, Matteuccia di Francesco, was burnt as a witch for the invocation of spirits and the murder of infants whose sucked blood was used, together with other ingredients, for the unguent that allowed them to ride through the air—to the walnut tree of Benevento. Yet even though the description of this assembly of numerous witches seems to provide a nascent view of the witches' Sabbath, a dance does not seem to feature in the trial testimony.[25]

In most fifteenth-century works concerned with witchcraft, there is little detailed description of dancing. Typical is the reference to dancing in a 1460 account of the diabolical 'synagogue' of Waldensian witches in Lyons. While this includes a description of the rituals involving idolatry, the desecration of Christian objects, the preparation of powders and unguents, and the sexual copulation with devils and each other, the only reference to dancing is that 'immediately after paying homage [to the Devil], they begin to dance to the sound of a soft buccin [a form of trombone] or a bagpipe'.[26] A 1460 account of the Waldensian heretics of Arras by an anonymous author, most probably Jacques du Bois, the dean of the Arras cathedral chapter, is similar, referring only to the dances (*tripudia*) that initiates at witches' meetings sometimes attended and that were accompanied by stringed instruments and drums.[27] Later tracts on witchcraft, such as by the Master of the Sacred Palace, Sylvester Mazzolini Prieras, the Dominican Inquisitor of Modena, Bartolomeo Spina, and the Dominican Inquisitor of Como, Bernard of Como, likewise refer to witnesses who have observed dancing as part of the witches' meeting or 'game' (*ludus*); but apart from the large number of dancers, they provide no details.[28]

A significant exception is the *Treatise on Heretics and Sorcerers* by Paolo Grillando, originally written c.1524 and then printed in Lyons in 1536, 1545, and 1547, in Rome in 1581, and in Frankfurt in 1592.[29] The widespread influence of Grillando's work is clear from its many editions, and it was cited extensively later in the century by Jean Bodin. Grillando was a doctor of both canon and civil law, served as a judge in the vicinity of Rome, and heard criminal cases in Arezzo for the papal vicar, Andrea di Giacomo. His information concerning witches' dances came from reports he had heard of an unnamed male peasant from a village near Rome who accompanied his wife to the 'game' (*ludum*) after he noticed she kept disappearing from their bed each night; the report of a sixteen-year-old village girl from the same Sabine region, who had been seduced by a witch and

was carried to their assembly; and from his own investigation in September 1524, of two women who had been imprisoned as witches in the Castle Nazzano, just north of Rome, by the Abbot of the monastery of San Paolo de Urbe in nearby Civitella San Paolo.[30]

All these reports expressed amazement at the large numbers of men and women who engaged in dancing and singing to the sweet sounds of cymbals, tympani, and other instruments at these meetings—at one point called the 'Benevento games'.[31] The dances were a *tripudium*, with suggestions of a ritualized liturgical dance, a *c(h)orrea*, a ring dance, and a *saltatio*, a leaping dance—and they were performed backwards, 'against the custom of nature and the order of such dances'.[32] Informants referred to the captivating pleasures, immense joy, and delirious delight of the games and the magnificent power of the dances performed with great exuberance and charm.[33]They occurred after homage had been paid to Satan and before all sat down to the feast, which was followed in turn by sexual coupling with the devils.

The accounts of witches' dances in Grillando's work are radically different to the other ceremonies described in considerable detail in this and most earlier works on witchcraft. Those ceremonies describe the rituals of induction into a congregation of witches in great detail. Initiates are referred to as making either solemn public or private profession, in the manner of novices entering a religious order, who make a profession of their vows before being accepted as full members. The witch novices abjure God and the sacraments, they adore and pay homage to the Devil, offer prayers and sacrifices, engage in sexual union with the Devil and the congregation's other members, and are finally given their particular evil commissions to go out into the wider world and wreak destruction in the name of their master, Satan. By contrast, the dances that feature in the stories provided by village women and girls are clearly based on popular traditions. In the case of Grillando's work, they are stories related to the walnut tree of Benevento, which have been grafted on to claims about a congregation of witches, modelled on inverted and utterly perverse monastic structures, rituals, and community. But these stories offer a first hint of alternative forms of association by witches, modelled more on their own bodies and dispositions than on hierarchical institutional structures.

Perhaps it was the wide circulation of stories of the 'Benevento games' in Grillando's work in the late 1530s and 1540s that influenced this undated drawing of the witches of Benevento by the Italian sculptor and stucco designer, Guglielmo della Porta, created sometime between the mid–1530s and his death in 1577 (Figure 11.7). The dancing witches on the right, their nakedness showing through flowing dresses that further accentuate their jagged movements, convey well the discordance of these dances, while the walnut tree at centre appears almost alive in its wildness, seeming to welcome the women arriving at the games. No other depiction of such events from the sixteenth century seems to have survived. Della Porta moved to Rome in 1537, created some of his major works in the city (such as the tomb of Pope Paul III in St Peter's

Basilica), and was also appointed to the papal mint in 1547. He certainly moved in the right circles to hear of the stories of witches' dances that emanated from Latium and the Sabine hills, and the current discussions of witchcraft by Roman theologians such as Bartolomeo della Spina.

The widespread influence of Grillando's work, including his accounts of dances at Benevento, is clear from a reading of the most influential treatise on witchcraft in the later sixteenth century, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches* (1580), by the French jurist and political philosopher, Jean Bodin.[34] Book II, chapter 4 of this work, which ran into twenty editions, including translations into Latin, German, and Italian by 1602, considers the renunciation of God and the Christian faith by witches, and how the Devil marks them publicly as his devotees. There Bodin cites Grillando's story of the peasant couple from a village near Rome who saw a huge number of men and women dancing in a circle, back to back with their faces facing outward.[35] He also tells the story of Grillando's sixteen-year-old village girl (here she is thirteen), who was taken by an older witch to a witches' meeting, as well as that of the woman from the castle of Nazzano, who joyfully danced at Benevento and had sex with the Devil before being transported back home.[36] But as well as the Benevento walnut tree as the location for these witches' dances, Bodin argues on the basis of other French examples, that such dances also take place at local village crosses, sometimes also at a cross road.[37] Most other references to dancing in Bodin's work, such as the examples drawn from the works of Lambert Daneau and Joachim Camerarius, are mere mentions without further elaboration, simply listing dancing as a component of witches' meetings. But there is one significant exception—evidence from a witches' meeting held near Logny (in Laon), in which six witches renounced God, kissed their devils, then danced with their brooms in their hands.

FIGURE 11.7 Guglielmo della Porta, *The Witches at the Walnut Tree of Benevento*, 1534–1577, pen & brown ink, 6 × 18.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cephas G. Thompson, 1887, Accession No. 87.12.37. Public Domain.

[And] while dancing they would cry 'Har, har, Devil, Devil, jump here, jump there, play here, play there.' And the others would chant, 'sabbath, sabbath,' that is to say, the feast and day of rest, raising their hands and brooms up high to testify and give a sure witness of gladness and that they willingly serve and worship the devil—and also to mimic the worship of God.[38]

Significantly, writes Bodin, whenever these witches hold an assembly, they always dance.

This claim seems to prompt Bodin to suggest a number of possible explanations for these dances. Firstly, dancing expresses the joy and happiness of the devotee,[39] the movements of the body raising the heart—just as the Jews danced when they brought sacrifices to the Temple, as the prophets of Samuel danced when Saul was chosen king, as David danced before the Ark of the Covenant, or as many ancient peoples danced during their sacred sacrifices and festivals. Secondly, and by contrast, witches' dances 'make men frenzied and women abort'.[40] In support, Bodin claims that the insolent and lascivious movements of *La volta*—a spinning dance that involves a close and intimate hold between a couple, with the woman being lifted into the air assisted by the thigh of the male, while the couple turns 270 degrees—was brought by witches to France from Italy and has caused numerous murders and abortions. Thirdly, Bodin suggests that dancing is a form of provocation by the Devil against Christian states. In support, he cites the report of a young girl in Geneva who made everyone dance after touching them with an iron wand she had received from the Devil—and she did this because 'the city of Geneva hates dances more than anything.'[41] Fourthly, this frenzied dancing might well have the same cause as those who suffer from St Vitus' dance or who are mad. For, Bodin claims, they also engage in the same kind of dances and 'violent leaps', and are only cured by being made to dance to a very slow rhythm.[42]

Bodin also makes a clear distinction between holy and diabolical dances. Although diabolical dances are certainly performed to mimic the godly, instilling and demonstrating devotion and loyalty, a range of additional emotions motivate the dancers, and these lead to quite different outcomes. Witches' dances are stimulated by sexual desire and a frenzy associated with madness; they generate further frenzy in turn, which leads to murder and miscarriages. Moreover, as Bodin states very clearly, these dances are therefore not only a threat to the moral order, but 'a matter of the highest consequence for a state'.[43] By his suggestion that the Devil promotes dancing in Geneva because this society hates dancing so much, he ratchets up the threat that witches' dances pose for society as a whole. As we have already seen, the dancing of witches was linked in visual and literary sources with sexual desire. Bodin builds on such links by identifying witches as those who brought the *volta* to France. But he also links dances to the disordered passions of those who

suffer from derangement and dancing mania. Furthermore, he emphasizes that in some locations at least, like Longny, dancing is an integral and identifiable component in witches' meetings.

Many of Bodin's claims about witches' dances were further developed by Nicolas Remy, privy councillor to Duke Charles III of Lorraine from 1575, supervisory judge at the ducal court in Nancy from 1576 to 1591, and chief prosecutor of Lorraine until 1606.[44] In 1595 Remy published *Demonolatry*, an influential work that was reprinted in Cologne and Frankfurt in 1596, in Frankfurt again in 1597, and in German translation in Frankfurt in 1598.[45] The work drew on a large number of trials in the Lorraine—but contrary to Remy's claim, on only a few of those over which he himself had presided—as well as classical and more recent demonological literature.[46] Remy's description of the 'nocturnal synagogues' of witches and their dances (primarily found in Book 1, chapters 14, 17, and 19) is certainly the most comprehensive treatment of the subject to that time. It draws considerably on Jean Bodin, and likewise emphasizes the 'uncommon' manner of the back-to-back ring dances, serving to confirm this as fact by reference to evidence provided by no less than eight different witnesses in recent trials.[47] Remy is unsure whether this is the result of individuals not wishing to be recognized by others if they happen to be accused; whether they simply love everything that is absurd and unseemly; or (as he suggests when relating a story in which such dances are called 'preposterous' and 'ridiculous') this is the behaviour of 'a stupid and deranged crowd'.[48] As he concludes very significantly: the inverted gestures they insert into their rituals and backward dancing is 'most alien to all the behaviour of other humans'.[49] These dances clearly demonstrate how alien witches are to the rest of society, and this is further underwritten by the fact that dancing leads to sin, either to lust and vice or to fanatical frenzy and madness.[50] Such claims are already found in Bodin; but with Remy they are far clearer, more pronounced, and insistent.

Remy moves well beyond Bodin's account of witches' dances, however, in three fundamental ways. Firstly, by drawing on a wide range of examples from ancient history, he argues that there is historical continuity between the witches' dances in the present and the worship of demons in the ancient past. It was the pagans who cultivated dancing—Greeks, Romans, Phoenecians, Druids—encouraged by demons who saw this as a way of inclining humans to sin. A complementary and defining example is that of the Israelites, who turned to idolatry and 'danced in a ring around the calf which was molten from their golden trinkets'. The witches' dances of the present are direct extensions of these ceremonies in pre-Christian times, a form of dancing maintained by demons in witches' secret assemblies.[51] The second critical new claim made by Remy is 'that no one may be excused from dancing'. Remy refers to this as 'the most pitiable and unjust condition' imposed on witches, given dancing's wide-ranging and deleterious effects. Any who plead to not take part, because of sickness or age, are immediately subjected to violent

beatings.[52] While Bodin made a similar claim for particular regional assemblies, such as that in Laon, Remy is claiming it to be universal, to be true for all witches' assemblies. So for Remy, witches' dances not only have a long history stretching back to the ancients; they are also an integral part of all witches' assemblies in the present. In this way the relevance of witches' dances is established, and their potential threat becomes more widely applicable and more urgent.

The third innovation Remy brings to his account of witches' dances is a much stronger sense of the bodily experience of dancing—the movement of multiple rather than just single bodies, their gestures and sounds, the music to which bodies respond, the emotions they release, the different social purposes dances serve. Perhaps Remy was stimulated by Bodin's account of the movement and cries of the witches' dances at Laon. But he comes to his subject through an appreciation of the emotional power of music: as music affects the mind in different ways, he argues, to dampen or stimulate spirits, or to drive individuals to frenzy, so the sounds of trumpets and drums, human shouts and cries, the leaping of bodies and beating of shields were used by the Lacedaemonians and Batavians when going into battle or by the priests of Cybele and devotees of Bacchus when performing their rituals. This explains the discordant sounds and frenzied movements of witches and demons in their dances: 'harsh and discordant sounds have the power to drive and goad even the most peaceable to a frenzy', just as drums, trumpets, and shouts accompanied those about to enter the danger of battle, 'whetting their warriors' zeal with shouts and trumpets.'[53] Since witches' dances might be viewed as preambles to battle, Remy also focuses on the dark side of zeal, the dampening or even eradication, of human kindness:

> Now there must be, at the witches' night meetings, some similar music of a kind to exclude from them all human kindness (if they are at all touched by it). For it is agreed that they leave [these meetings] raging like animals and as though inflamed by madness, the more ready and eager to compass the downfall and destruction of the human race, which is the Demons' one purpose and intention. Therefore all is done to a marvelous medley and confusion of noises, and it is beyond the power of words to describe the uncouth, absurd and discordant sounds that are uttered there.[54]

Even though Remy makes no mention of it, he was most likely conscious of the common, though not universal, view among writers on witchcraft, that witches could not shed tears, that they did not feel compassion.[55] Here he seems to be identifying the performance of the witches' dance as a form of communal training that served to remove and replace emotions such as compassion that were central to Christian experience. Remy has recognized what has become a common claim in recent history of emotions research, that emotions are learnt through regular routinized practice, and especially through communal performance.[56] But given the aim of this dance to create

a community of witches imbued with a zeal that eradicates the compassion required of Christians and whose ultimate aim is to destroy Christian society, the performance of the dance also marks out this community of witches as totally other—a politically, intellectually, and emotionally alternative society, or more correctly, a counter-society.

With Remy's publication of *Demonolatry* in the 1590s, the witches' dance had become part of a long history of Devil-worship from ancient times and an integral component of all witches' meetings, displaying the frenzied and lascivious nature of witches as well as their hardened and merciless zeal in creating evil and instilling terror so as to ultimately destroy Christian communities. Two subsequent publications, important for their visual imagery, followed in Remy's footsteps. Francesco Maria Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* of 1608 largely restated the claims found in Remy and drew examples from Bodin as well.[57] Pierre de Lancre expanded on the examples provided by Remy by including others from both ancient and contemporary Basque societies, and in addition to the more familiar tropes of dancing as sexual foreplay, he developed further Remy's notion of witches' dances as communal performances in preparation for war.[58]

In visual media there were parallel developments. In 1593, a woodcut previously used in the 1567 edition of Olaus Magnus' *History of the Northern Peoples*—and modelled on an earlier version in the first edition of 1555— became the new title-page woodcut for the third Basel edition of a work attacking witchcraft persecution, *Christian Thoughts and Reflections on Witchcraft,* by the Heidelberg Professor of Greek and Mathematics at the University of Heidelberg, Hermann Witekind (Figure 11.8).[59] The original 1555 woodcut illustrated belief in the nocturnal dance of the elves in Scandinavian folklore, while the 1567 Basel version presented a diabolized version, in which the satyr figures were now quite demonic and two of them were shown dancing with female partners (Figure 11.9). There is little doubt that the printer who published the 1593 edition of Witekind's work, Sebastian Henricpetri, used the woodcut he received from his father precisely because it could be viewed as a depiction of a witches' dance at a Sabbath under the guidance of Satan and his two assistants.

More importantly, in 1593 another unknown artist depicted for the very first time a massed assembly of witches at a supposed Sabbath in the electoral principality of Trier, which featured at its centre a wild and uninhibited witches' dance led by a demon (Figure 11.10).[60] The print depicts numerous witches engaged in activities associated with the Sabbath: feasting and drinking, processing behind a witch mounted on the cadaver of a horse, consulting instructions in magic books, rubbing the bodies of those about to ride through the air, performing different magics around a cauldron, invoking spirits from a magic circle, and preparing to ride up chimneys to release the storms and fires depicted in the background. Sexuality is pervasive in this print, as are the signs and symbols of death, and
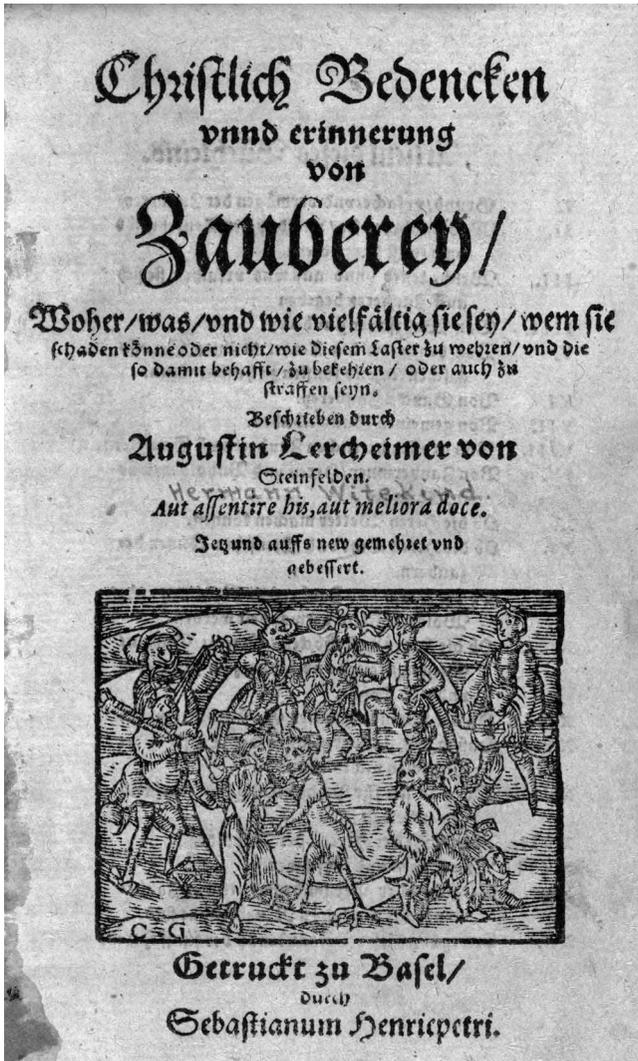
FIGURE 11.8   Title-page engraving of Augustine Lerchheimer [Hermann Witekind], *Christlich Bedenken unnd Erinnerung von* Zauberey (Basel: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1593). Cornell University Library, Witchcraft BF1583.A2 W82 1593 Text. Public Domain.

frantic magical activity. The artist has drawn on motifs and details from Pieter Bruegel the Elder in particular, but the quite novel element and visual focus of the print is the central cameo of the dance around a column, on top of which the Devil sits in the form of a toad. The dancers—several of them naked, and accompanied by death and an animal demon—fling up their arms and kick up their legs to the sound of the trumpeters behind. It is a wild and lewd dance, but also an idolatrous one,

FIGURE 11.9 Master CG, *The nocturnal dance of elves and demons*, woodcut, in Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentium Septentrionalium* (Basel: Adam Henricpetri, 1567), 107. Cornell University Library, RMC2006_0172. Public Domain.

clearly modelled on images of the Israelites dancing around the golden calf.[61] The dance has now become central in a complex scene of witch-craft, creating an axis with the cauldron, the most common code for witch-craft in the previous century. It is not yet the mass phenomenon depicted in the later print of Matthäus Merian (Figures 11.1 & 11.2), but it already provides clear visual evidence of witches as members of a diabolical com-munity—united not only in their idolatry and loyalty to their god, but also in their uncontrolled lust, the way their sensual desires are being given free reign. Wild movement, discordant sounds, and accentuated gestures point to the destruction and ruin behind.

Through the seventeenth-century images of witchcraft with dancing at their centre become almost standard, shaped and strengthened by elements imported from broader iconographies of dance, whether of New World natives, the peasantry or the court, the gods of mythology, ancient rites, or contemporary celebration.[62] But for that to happen, dance had first to be established as a significant code for witchcraft by theorists such as Jean Bodin and Nicolas Remy. Only then could witches be depicted as members of a wholly alien society, whose bodily behaviour as well as uncontrolled lust, uninhibited frenzy, and hardened zeal would bring their true nature and the threat they posed into much sharper public view.

FIGURE 11.10 *The so-called witches' Sabbath in Trier*, engraving, in Thomas Sigfrid, *Richtige Antwort auff die Frage: ob die Zeuberer und Zeuberin mit ihrem zauber Pulfer, Kranckheiten, oder den Todt selber beybringen können…*, (Erfurt, 1593). Cornell University Library, RMC2015_0250. Public Domain.

Notes

1 For some recent examples, see Laura Kounine, *Imagining the Witch: Emotions, Gender, and Selfhood in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Charlotte-Rose Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2017); Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling, eds, *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Lyndal Roper, *The Witch in the Western Imagination* (Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), esp. chap. 4.

2 I have attempted to explore such techniques in a number of recent essays: "Emotions, Exclusion and Witchcraft Imagery," in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe 1100–1700*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch, (London; New York: Routledge, 2020), 233–55; Zika, "The Transformation of Sabbath Rituals," in *Emotion, Ritual and Power in Europe, 1200–1920: Family, State and Church*, ed. Merridee L. Bailey and Katie Barclay (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 261–84; Zika, "The Cruelty of Witchcraft: The Drawings of Jacques de Gheyn the Younger," in *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft*, ed. Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 37–56.

3 Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 4th ed. (Abingdon, Oxon.; New York: Routledge, 2016), 29–56.

4 Richard M. Golden, ed., *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*, 4 vols. (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2006).

5 Tilman Falk, ed., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, vol. 26. *Matthaeus Merian the Elder* (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: Sound & Vision, 1989), 156–57; Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, *Das druckgraphische Werk von Matthäus Merian d. Ä.*, vol.1. *Einzelblätter und Blattfolgen* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1966), 161–62. For Herr, see Silke Gatenbröker, *Michael Herr (1591–1661): Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Nürnbergs im 17. Jahrhundert; mit Werkverzeichnis* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1996) (and for this broadsheet, 56–58, 606–9). For the later influence of the print see Charles Zika, "The Witch and Magician in European Art," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Witchcraft and Magic*, ed. Owen Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 153–54.

6 For discussion and further literature on the broadsheet's unclear dating history, and the disputed identity of Claj, see Doris Gruber, "Der Hexensabbat: Zeitgenössische Darstellungen auf illustrierten Flugblättern" (M.Phil. thesis, Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz, 2013), 50–71; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Central European Drawings in the Collection of the Crocker Art Museum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 480.

7 For scenes of witchcraft by these artists, see Linda C. Hults, *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 109–44; Ursula Härting, *Frans Francken der Jüngere (1581–1642): die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog* (Freren: Luca, 1989), 68–71, 360–62; Zika, "The Cruelty of Witchcraft," 45–46; Zika, "The Transformation of Sabbath Rituals," 268–74; Judith Venjakob, *Der Hexenflug in der frühneuzeitlichen Druckgrafik: Entstehung, Rezeption und Symbolik eines Bildtypus* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2016), 225–30.

8 One is in the Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, the other in the Staatlichen Museen, Berlin. See William Breazeale, with Cara Denison, Stacey Sell, and Freyda Spira, *A Pioneering Collection: Master Drawings from the Crocker Art Museum* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing; Sacramento, CA: Crocker Art Museum, 2010), 134–35; Gatenbröker, *Michael Herr*, 57, 100, 243 (no. Z47); Kaufmann, *Central European Drawings*, 47–49.

9 Stories of the Blocksberg primarily circulated in northern Germany and featured in many trials in the Rostock area from the 1570s, as well as in the works of the lawyer, Johann Georg Gödelmann, *Von Zäuberern, Hexen und Unholden* (Frankfurt am Main, 1592), and the journalist, Heinrich Kornmann, *Mons Veneris, Fraw Veneris Berg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1614).

10 This and other figures in the billowing smoke have recently been interpreted as representations of the 'fall' of the witches, in the manner of Simon Magus. See Judith Venjakob, *Der Hexenflug*, 221–24.

11 'Sieh an O Leser dieses Bild/So schröcklich seltzam wüst und wild'.

12 For some examples, Charles Zika, "Recalibrating Witchcraft Through Recycling," in *The Primacy of the Image in Northern European Art, 1400–1700* ed. Debra Cashion, Henry Luttikhuizen and Ashley West (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 394–98; Zika, "Emotions, Exclusion and Witchcraft Imagery," 249–52.

13 Renilde Vervoort, *Bruegel's Witches: Witchcraft Images in the Low Countries Between 1450 and 1700*, trans. Paul and Gregory Arblaster (Bruges: Van de Wiele, 2015), 62–68; *The Arras Witch Treatises*, ed. Andrew Gow, Robert Desjardins, and François Pageau (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

14 Vervoort, *Bruegel's Witches*, 62–68; Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 65–66.

15 Joseph Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963), 102, l. 27: 'Aux aultres les danses plaisoient'. Also see Martine Ostorero, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Kathrin Utz Tremp and Catherine Chène, eds, *L'Imaginaire du sabbat. Edition critique des textes les plus anciens (1430c.–1440c.)* (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1999), 456, l. 17,477. A second mention of witches dancing (458, l. 17,542) connects it to jubilation.

16 Hans Vintler, "Buch der Tugend," Gotha, c.1500, fol. 37r; and Vienna, c.1400–1450, fol. 59r. For Vintler, Zika, *Appearance of Witchcraft*, 39–46.

17 Ulrich Molitor, *De laniis et phitonicis mulieribus Teutonice Unholden vel Hexen* (Reutlingen, after 1489). For a list of the editions, see Nancy Kwan, "Woodcuts and Witches: Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, 1489–1669," *German History* 30, no.4 (2012): 524–25. Also Zika, *Appearance of Witchcraft*, 18–27.

18 *Grant danse macabre des femmes* (Paris, 1491); *La grant danse macabre des femmes hystoiriée* (Paris, 1499); "Danse Macabre des Femmes" (c.1500), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms fr. 995. See Zika, *Appearance of Witchcraft*, 21, 239n34.

19 See Charles Zika, "Visual Signs of Imminent Disaster in the Sixteenth-Century Zurich Archive of Johann Jakob Wick," in *Disaster as Image: Iconographies and Media Strategies across Europe and Asia*, ed. Monica Juneja and Gerrit Jasper Schenk (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2014), 43–53, 217–20.

20 Johann Jakob Wick, "Sammlung von Nachrichten zur Zeitgeschichte aus den Jahren 1560–87," Zentralbibliothek Zürich (hereafter ZBZ), Wickiana, F. 18, fols. 145r–46v. See also Zika, *Appearance of Witchcraft*, 200–202.

21 Colin Slim claims that the hand and feet positions of the dancers and the musicians suggest a basse dance: Slim, "Mary Magdalene, Musician and Dancer," *Early Music* 8 (1980), 462–65. Also see Peter Parshall, "Lucas van Leyden's narrative style," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 29 (1978): 223–29. For Magdalen dancing with Lucifer and demons, see "The Alsfeld Passion Play," in *Das Drama des Mittelalters. Die Lateinischen Osterfeiern und ihre Entwicklung in Deutschland*, ed. Richard Froning (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 630–33, l. 1770–853.

22 For this trial and execution, which also included that of Verena Trostin, see ZBZ, Wickiana, F. 23, fols. 399–422; Zika, *Appearance of Witchcraft*, 196–97, 201–6, fig. 7.12.

23 Paolo Portone, "Benevento, Walnut Tree of," in Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 1:109–10; Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 61–67.

24 Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 67–68.

25 For this case, Domenico Mammoli, *The Record of the Trial and Condemnation of a Witch, Matteuccia di Francesco at Todi, 20 March 1428* (Rome: n.p., 1972); Candida Peruzzi, "Un processo di stregoneria a Todi nel '400," *Lares* 21, no.1–2 (1955): 1–17. Also Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), 73–74; Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 72–77.

26 "La Vauderye de Lyonois en brief," in Hansen, *Quellen*, 191: 'Item, in ipsa convencione, statim facto homagio, ut premissum est, coreizare incipient ad sonum cuiusdam surde bucine seu musete.' For this work in the broader context of Waldensianism, see Wolfgang Behringer, "Vaudois (Waldensians)," in Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 4:1160–66.

27 "Recollectio casus, status et condicionis Valdensium ydolatrarum," in Hansen, *Quellen*, 162; Gow, *The Arras Witch Treatises*, 42–43.

28 Sylvester Mazzolini, *De Strigimagarum daemnumque mirandis* (Rome, 1521), 136; Bartolomeo della Spina, *Quaestio de Strigibus* (Rome, 1576; first edition [Venice], 1523), 49–50, 58; Bernard of Como, *De Strigiis*, in *Lucerna inquisitorum haereticae praevitatis et tractatus de strigibus* (Rome, 1584), 143. This last work was written c.1508 and first published in Milan, 1566.

29 Paolo Grillando, *Tractatus de hereticis et sortilegiis …* (Lyons, 1536). For Grillando, see Drie Vanysacker, "Grillando (Grillandus), Paolo (Paulus) (1st Half 16th Century)," in Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 1:459–60.

30 Grillando, *Tractatus*, fols. 39v–43r; Hansen, *Quellen*, 340–41; Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft*, ed. Arthur C. Howland, 3 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), 1:403–5.

31 Grillando, *Tractatus*, fol. 43ra.

32 Grillando, *Tractatus*, fol. 40rb: 'ordine quodam retrograde contra morem naturae et ordinem corearum.'

33 Grillando, *Tractatus*, fols. 41ra, 42rb.

34 Jean Bodin, *La Démonomanie des sorciers …* (Paris, 1580). For Bodin, see Rune Hagen, "Bodin, Jean (1529/1530–1596)," in Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 1:129–31; Jonathan L. Pearl, *The Crime of Crimes: Demonology and Politics in France, 1560–1620* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 110–26.

35 Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fol. 82v: 'une danse en rond les faces tournees hors le rondeau'; Jean Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, trans. Randy A. Scott, intro. Jonathan L. Pearl (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995), 115–16.

36 Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fols. 83r–84v. These two cases are omitted from Randy Scott's abbreviated translation.

37 Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fols. 83v, 86v; Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania*, 116, 118. The description of these ceremonies and their dances is very similar to that of the Waldensian witches.

38 Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fols. 87v–88r; Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania*, 120.

39 Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fol. 88r: 'pour testifier et donner un certain tesmoignage d'allegresse, & que de bon Coeur ils servent & adorent le Diable'; Jean Bodin, *De Magorum Daemonomania* (Basel, 1581), 169: 'ut testificarentur certo quanta alacritate animi studioque colerunt diabolum atque adorarent.'

40 Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fol. 88r: 'rendent les hommes furieux, & sont avorter les femmes.' Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania*, 120. The German translation by Johann Fischart translates '*furieux*' as '*rasend und wütig*' (frenzied and raging). See Jean Bodin, *Vom aussgelasnen wütigen Teuffelsheer, Übersetzt von Johann Fischart* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1973), 111.

41 Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania*, 120; Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fol. 88v.

42 Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fol. 88v: 'tous les hommes furieux, & forcenez usent de tells danses, & sauts violens'; Bodin, *De Magorum Daemonomania*, 171: 'constat non alios quam furiosos & vaesonos homines tripudiationibus istis & & [sic] saltationibus violentis uti'. Here the Latin is possibly more explicit in distinguishing between the more processional form of the *tripudium* and the leaping nature of the *saltatio*.

43 Bodin, *De Magorum Daemonomania*, 170: 'quod homicidia & abortus innumeri ex ea accidunt: quod in republica in primis consyderari oportet, & severissime prohiberi'; Bodin, *Démonomanie*, fol. 88v.

44 Robin Briggs, *The Witches of Lorraine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 20–23; William Monter and Edward Peters, "Rémy, Nicolas (ca.1530–1612)," in Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 4:955–57.

45 Nicolas Remy, *Daemonolatria* (Lyons, 1595). See Kounine, *Imagining the Witch*, 198–220. The work was very influential in the seventeenth century and appeared in at least eight further editions and translations.

46 Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine*, 48–50.

47 Remy, *Daemonolatria*, 134; Nicolas Remy, *Demonolatry*, ed. Montague Summers, trans. E. A. Ashwin (Secaucus, N.J.: University Books, 1974), 61. See also the following note.

48 Remy, *Daemonolatria*, 135, and 114: 'ac saltantium choreas oculis otiosus collustrat, forte rei insoletiam admiratus (nam praepostera, ridiculaque illic errant omnia) Deus bone (inquit) unde isthaec nobis tam stulta, amensque turba'; also 115: 'advertit in arvo finitimo chorum in orbem saltantium, tum virorum, tum mulierum: Verum quod praeter solitum aliorum hominum morem aversi, tergaque ostendentes id faciebant'. Remy, *Demonolatry*, 49–50, 61.

49 Remy, *Daemonolatria*, 135: 'ab omni consuetudine reliquorum hominum alienissima';
    Remy, *Demonolatry*, 61.

50 Remy, *Daemonolatria*, 135: 'vel ad luxuriam ac nequitiam … vel ad fanaticos furors ac
    dementiam'; Remy, *Demonolatry*, 61. Ashwin incorrectly translates 'luxuriam' as
    'luxury' in this passage.

51 Remy, *Daemonolatria*, 133–34; Remy, *Demonolatry*, 60.

52 Remy, *Daemonolatria*, 134; Remy, *Demonolatry*, 61.

53 Remy, *Demonolatry*, 64; Remy, *Daemonolatria*, 139–41.

54 Remy, *Daemonolatria*, 141: 'Horum autem simile aliquid intercedere oportet in
    sagarum nocturnis conventibus, quo ab humanitate omni, si quae illas forte adhuc
    tangit, deducantur. Nam illinc efferatas discedere convenit ac quasi rabie accensas:
    quo scilicet sint ad mortalium perniciem, exitumque (cui uni rei incumbent Dae-
    mones) instructiores, ac paratiores.' The translation is my adaptation of Ashwin's
    loose translation, which also omits some key phrases (see Remy, *Demonolatry*, 64).

55 Zika, "The Cruelty of Witchcraft," 46–49.

56 Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them
    Have a History)?: A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and
    Theory* 51 (2012), 193–220.

57 Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendivm maleficarvm* … (Milan, 1608); Francesco Maria
    Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*, ed. Montague Summers, trans. E. A. Ashwin
    (Secaucus, N.J.: University Books, 1974), especially book 1, chapter 12. The illustra-
    tions to Guazzo are in need of close analysis, but lie beyond the scope of this paper.

58 Pierre de Lancre, *On the Inconstancy of Witches: Pierre de Lancre's* Tableau de l'incon-
    stance des mauvais anges et demons *(1612),* ed. Gerhild Scholz Williams, trans. Har-
    riet Stone and Gerhild Scholz Williams (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and
    Renaissance Studies; Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); and for Jan Ziarnko's illustration of
    de Lancre's Sabbath, Zika, "The Transformation of Sabbath Rituals," 266–74.

59 Witekind, born as Hermann Wilcken, published the book under a pseudonym
    Augustin Lercheimer, *Christlich bendencken und erinnerung* (Heidelberg, 1585).

60 For a detailed account of this work, Renata Voltmer, "'Hört an neu schrecklich abentheuer
    von den unholden ungeheuer': zur multimedialen Vermittlung des Fahndungsbildes 'Hex-
    erei' im Kontext konfessioneller Polemik," in *Repräsentationen von Kriminalität und öffentlicher
    Sicherheit: Bilder, Vorstellungen und Diskurse vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Karl Härter,
    Gerhard Sälter and Eva Wiebel (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 2010), 89–163.

61 Images of dancing around the golden calf become common in the sixteenth century,
    for as well as featuring in bibles, they are often used to illustrate the first command-
    ment in catechisms, and also chapter 61 on dancing in the numerous editions of
    Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*.

62 For recent exploration of such themes, see Alessandro Arcangeli, *L'altro che danza: Il villano,
    il selvaggio, la Strega nell'immaginario della prima età moderna* (Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 2018).

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12

VISUAL PROVOCATIONS

Bernard Picart's illustrative strategies in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde**

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One may imagine the many subscribers to *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* and other interested *curieux* gathering time and again over the years to discuss the most recently printed fascicules. The single tracts, and not least individual sheets within the large body of elaborate engravings in this encyclopaedic publishing endeavour of the early Enlightenment, were in all like-lihood put next to each other and compared even before being bound into vol-umes, following the specific instructions—and intentions—of the authors.[1] Printed between 1723 and 1737 in Amsterdam in seven magnificent folio vol-umes by the Huguenot man of letters and publisher, Jean Frédéric Bernard, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* surveyed the religious ceremonies and usages of the world as it was then known in a carefully compiled structure.[2] An ambitious phenomenological approach characterized the work: a rich, select collection of materials was meant to encourage a critical interdenominational and intercultural examination of ritual as one of the universal aspects of religious practice. The authors considered such customs and acts to be what today might be referred to as a key anthropological constant; and, as Bernard explained in his introductory texts, the intention of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* was to invite a further, in-depth, and discerning engagement with these.[3]

The roughly 600 single illustrations, choreographed on more than 250 plates and furnished with captions, comprised an important element, if not the point of departure, for the publication. The publisher argued for a primacy of pictorial

evidence. Furthermore, the medium of print as an iterative process, which enabled the reproduction and distribution of images, was meant to highlight the likewise iterative dimension of the ceremonies themselves as external religious practices that could be observed and represented. Clearly, it was intended that the stylistically heterogeneous illustrations, documenting the practices of Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims, as well as those of the so-called idolatrous peoples, be perceived as a compilation like the text.[4] Bernard in the first subscription advertised the aesthetic quality of the sheets and highlighted the importance to science of the 'instructive and precise' engravings.[5]

The person responsible for these plates and prominently credited in red capital letters on the title-page was Bernard Picart, son of the successful engraver Etienne Picart and himself a widely recognized and experienced master of his trade. The immediate as well as the long-term success of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* was due in large part to the rich body of illustrations this skilled engraver compiled, developed, and delivered to the public over the course of a decade.[6]

At the time of publication, both Bernard and Picart were French exiles and well integrated into the Protestant refugee community in Amsterdam. Bernard had fled to the Netherlands already as a child with his father, a Huguenot pastor, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Picart grew up Catholic in Paris but for years moved in circles that were critical of the Roman Catholic Church. He was a sympathizer of Jansenism and sharply condemned its persecution by the state and the Church.[7] In 1710, he finally left France, no doubt driven by the hope of economic betterment but equally by his conviction that he could find work and living conditions with more ideological freedom in another country.

This personal motivation, the continuous evolution of which was vividly recounted over twenty years later by his fellow exile and friend Prosper Marchand in the *Eloge historique*,[8] seems an apt starting point for posing the question whether and to what extent traces of the artist's emotional experience as well as intellectual references to this self-imposed exile can be explicitly discerned in single engravings of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* or even throughout the whole seven volumes. Picart was responsible not just for the execution, but also for the conception, selection, and organization of the visual apparatus. He was highly conscious not only of the formal possibilities and functions of printed images as instruments of mediation and communication, but also of the engraver's role and responsibility, which in his mind were inextricably intertwined.[9] While Bernard and Picart proclaimed that they had assembled their compilation using purely objective criteria, it is argued here that the illustrator's selection of sources and, above all, what I propose to call the 'con-visualization' of the images—that is, their sequence, size, style, adaptation, and placement within the overall pictorial programme of the volumes—also demand attention as highly sophisticated elements of an emotional strategy articulated on various levels.

In this context, it seems worth considering how much the structure, content, and presentation of the editorial project of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*—and thus the overall conception and con-visualization of the images—were altered from the very first subscription announcement in the *Journal des Sçavans* in December 1720. Originally, eight volumes in-quarto had been planned. The first three volumes were to present the religious ceremonies of all contemporary peoples; the fourth volume was to deal with birth, marriage, and death rituals; volumes five and six were to describe secular ceremonies;[10] the seventh volume, clothing; and the eighth volume, finally, ceremonies from antiquity. The changes made before the actual '*mise en imprimé*'[11] in 1723 were significant and obviously well thought out. A weighty new format, the encyclopaedic in-folio that notably enhanced the impact of the visual parts, was chosen for the now seven volumes. Also, the thematic organization was new, presenting the ceremonies by religion, and in the case of the 'idolaters', in two separate volumes arranged by continent and region. Birth, marriage, and death rites, for instance, were no longer grouped together but included instead in the single sections on a religion or geographical area. Furthermore, the representations of both ancient and secular ceremonies were left out, with Bernard explaining maliciously in the introduction that the almost infinite number of present-day religious customs had imposed such a limitation.[12]

The subscribers to the edition were thus, after a long delay, presented with a product quite different from the one originally described, one now characterized by a significantly more purposeful pictorial choreography. Within the large corpus of illustrations, all provided with captions, all individually signed and marked by Picart with such terms as 'invenit', 'delineavit', 'sculpsit' or 'sculptura direxit', in order to clarify his involvement in their conception and execution, we certainly do find images that in topic and rendering are extremely troubling—the sacrificial immolation of children or captives to a deity in the Americas, the burning alive of a widow in India, the torture and executions of the Inquisition. Still, a closer look at the overall extra-visual implications makes it quite evident that the central goal of Picart's pictorial argument is clearly not to be located predominantly in such sensationalistic stimulation of emotion. Rather, Picart—and Bernard—relied on the intaglio technique's power of sensual and emotional persuasion on a much subtler level, one that should not simply provoke shock or disgust, but instead—along with and beyond a clearly targeted attack on the Roman Catholic Church—help initiate a more general, in-depth reflection on the nature of ceremonies and on the essence of religion.

The image that opened the first volume of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* and at the same time served as a visual overture to the rich and engaging section dedicated to Jewish ceremonies was a splendid large sheet, a double-page engraving of the Esnoga, the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam (Figure 12.1).[13] Dated 1721, it is one of the earliest pieces Picart produced for what was to be his most ambitious and meaningful project. He furnished the image with only a few captions: one highlighting the famous Torah Ark worked in precious Brazilian Jacaranda wood, a second one indicating the

FIGURE 12.1   Bernard Picart (after Romeyn de Hooghe), *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam*, engraving, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1723), part 1, 101. Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Q 35. © Courtesy Zentralbibliothek, Q 35.

Teva, the pulpit from which the Torah is read and prayers are recited, a third marking the women's galleries. The fourth and last caption in the key, however, did not refer to architectural elements, but instead to a historical dimension of the scene: the commemoration of the inauguration day of the synagogue on 2 August 1675. A small chapter in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* was devoted to a description of this event.[14]

Picart was to depict the interior of this remarkable building, which could host over 1600 people and for many decades remained the largest Jewish structure in Europe, several times over the following years, offering different views of its interior.[15] The pictorial introduction of the Esnoga within *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, however, was purposely executed in accordance with the spectacular perspective and choreography of its very first official representation. This was an etching of the festivities uniting Jews and Christians as welcome guests in the Portuguese synagogue—for which the Sephardic community had commissioned the famous Dutch artist Romeyn de Hooghe.[16] Those viewing Picart's image would have immediately recognized this visual quotation—not first and foremost

as a masterly representation of a religious house, but rather as a skilful reference tying the new engraving to a historical moment, to a strongly emotional symbol of the unique religious tolerance that had made the building's construction possible. By quoting de Hooghe, Picart inserted himself into an iconographic and, by the same token, cultural tradition, thereby affirming and perpetuating it. At the same time, he transformed de Hooghe's allegorical baroque history piece into a contemporary scene of genuine tolerance, by among other things adapting the clothing style, and thereby bridging the fifty-year gap between the two images. With this pictorial strategy, Picart appealed directly to his viewers' sentiments and referred to his own biographical background as an exile who had been welcomed in the Netherlands.

The ceremonies of Roman Catholicism, which received by far the largest treatment in the project, directly followed the Jewish ones in the first and second volumes of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, the various parts of which were given to subscribers in the course of the year 1723. Therefore, it seems interesting to compare the strong visual opening statement of the Esnoga—that in its scope was much more than just the first in a series of remarkably sensuous and lively images depicting Jewish ceremonies—with one of the plates devoted to Catholicism, an image dated 1722 that is just as large, elaborate and aesthetically refined (Figure 12.2). In this instance, too, Picart chose to quote a widely circulated visual representation, again of a monumental building well known all over Europe, St Peter's Papal Basilica. This piece had also been commissioned to
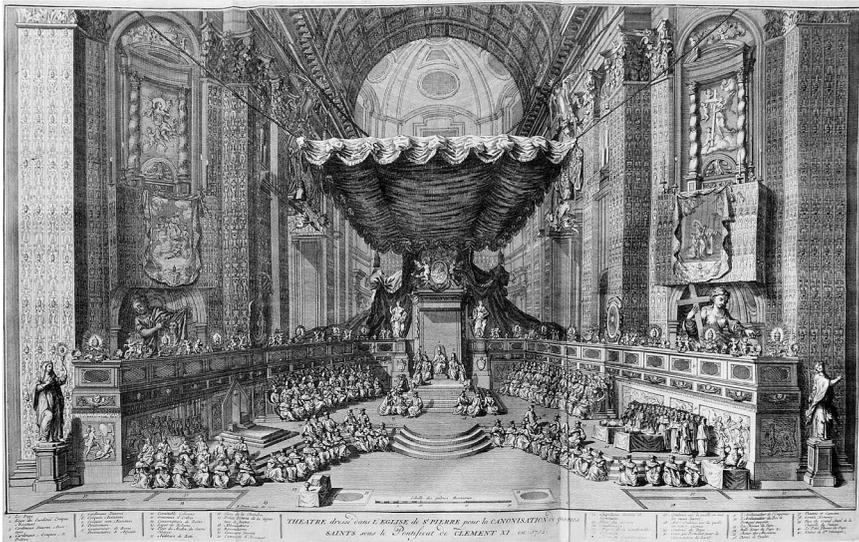
FIGURE 12.2 Bernard Picart (after Federico Mastrozzi), *St. Peter's Papal Basilica in Rome*, engraving, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1723), part 2, 150. © Private collection.

commemorate a historical moment, this time an event of significance for the Catholic Church. The etching by Federico Mastrozzi, after a composition by Antonio Valerio and drawn by Pietro Ostini, was one of two broadsheets realized to immortalize the canonizations of Pope Pius V, Andrea Avellino, Felix of Cantalice, and Catharina de' Vigri of Bologna in St Peter's on 22 May 1712.[17] As was the case for the inauguration of the Portuguese synagogue, here too a chapter, but a much longer one, was dedicated to a description of this solemn liturgical function.[18]

The formal correspondences between these two engravings in the same volume are many, not least the wide-angle lens perspective that further accentuates the media effect of the staged ceremonies. Clearly, such correspondences were meant to invite a comparison by the observer that would inevitably draw the viewer's attention to the evident, striking contrasts. In the Roman Basilica, there appears to be no human interaction. No individual physiognomies or facial expressions are recognizable, the space and the people are organized in static, isolated groups, an effect accentuated by the many captions identifying the clerical hierarchy in great detail. Also, the temporal and personal dimensions of this rather gloomy scene contrast dramatically with the luminous engraving of the Esnoga. As the caption states, it was Clement XI who presided over the canonization ceremony with all the assembled ecclesiastical and civic dignitaries—the same pope who a year later, 1713, was to sign the bull *Unigenitus* against the Jansenists, condemning 101 propositions of Pasquier Quesnel's *Réflexions morales*. Moreover, the pontiff being canonized, Pius V, previously an inquisitor, was one of the protagonists of the Counter-Reformation, an opponent of the Huguenots and a fierce proponent of orthodoxy and liturgy.

Due to Picart's many-layered strategy of con-visualization within *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, Mastrozzi's etching—commissioned to glorify the Church— no longer appears as a glamorous commemoration, but rather as an intimidating and obnoxious demonstration of power.[19]

Indeed, the pictorial representations dedicated to Catholic ceremonies, which total a noteworthy forty-four plates (not including the five visualizing the Inquisition), began with a series of images on the conclave and ended with the ceremonies performed in connection with the pontiff's death.[20] There were clear historical references in most of these images and—again—specifically to one pope: the election of Giovanni Francesco Albani as Pope Clement XI on 23 November 1700; his formal possession of the Lateran Basilica in a long procession on 10 April 1701; his deeds, namely the canonizations he performed; and finally, his death in 1721—incidentally the year of the execution of the first series of plates for *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*.

These representations frame the rest of the material on Catholic ceremonies, the overall visual orchestration communicating clearly how the Church's apparatus of power, its goals and mechanisms, control the system. The idea of a rigid hierarchy, a merciless set of rules and a negation of individuality is persistently conveyed in the many subsequent plates on the practices of the Catholic clergy.

Picart avails himself of various formal means to elicit irritation in viewers against this kind of subjection to needless ceremonies: first by aggregating numerous single images of these mandatory practices on one plate (in most cases six, in some instances even nine), an arrangement aimed at increasing their impersonal, serial effect; further, through the careful and intentional adoption of the rather functional style of the originals—various important, official Catholic reference works such as the *Histoire des Conclaves* and the *Pontificale Romanum*—in which the people are depicted not as individuals but rather as marionettes mechanically performing prescribed procedures (Figure 12.3).[21] The imposing, double-page representations of historical moments in papal Rome, such as the canonization ceremony discussed above, or the bombastically staged procession for the enthroning of Clement XI, time and again interrupt the monotonous rhythm in this sequence of little images, only to emphasize clerical oversight and the mighty hierarchical structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Picart creates an additional, very effective contrast with all these plates. He juxtaposes them with the more engaging, livelier engravings of Catholic everyday life, depicting personal moments such as the christening of a child, marriage, communion, or the anointing of the sick.

Critics could not have accused Picart of having made a polemical choice of images. The sources for his illustrations in this section were, without exception, Catholic. And yet the con-visualization of the plates was bound to encourage direct and critical comparisons on various grounds. The persuasive use of emotion in the engravings dedicated to the Dutch Protestant community, for instance, a small number of exquisite plates completed for the most part in 1732 only one year before Picart's death, and published as part of the third volume of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, is striking. The people portrayed in these images are of flesh and blood, with recognizable, individual features. They are often placed in airy rooms, where they engage in common activities as a congregation. The plates are marked 'B. *Picart invenit et del[ineavit]*'—designed and drawn by Picart. In other words, the artist executed the preparatory drawings for the engravings and personally visited the places and communities he represented. In fact, in the captions to the single scenes he noted that one of the Pentecost customs depicted had been observed in the north-western village of Schermerhorn and another one in The Hague. In other cases he specified that the feast of the Epiphany in Amsterdam was illustrated, or the funeral ceremonies as celebrated 'in Amsterdam and many other cities in Holland', or the way they were 'done in The Hague and a few other cities'.[22]

In the case of the Catholic ceremonies, on the other hand, the plates were often signed 'B. *Picart sculpt[ura] dir[exit]*', clarifying that Picart had only overseen the execution of the plates by his studio. The detailed marking and signing of individual sheets by Picart added a further dimension of personalization—and a further ground for comparison—to the corpus of illustrations. In such targeted use of terminological conventions,[23] it may be argued, the distance from the subject depicted in one case and the specificity and importance of the visual representation in the other received additional emphasis.

Images within the plate (captions):
CONSECRATION de la grande CROIX. ǁ L'ENCENSEMENT des CROIX.

Le BATÊME de la CLOCHE. ǁ BENEDICTION de la CLOCHE.

On PARFUME la CLOCHE. ǁ CONSECRATION d'une JMAGE.
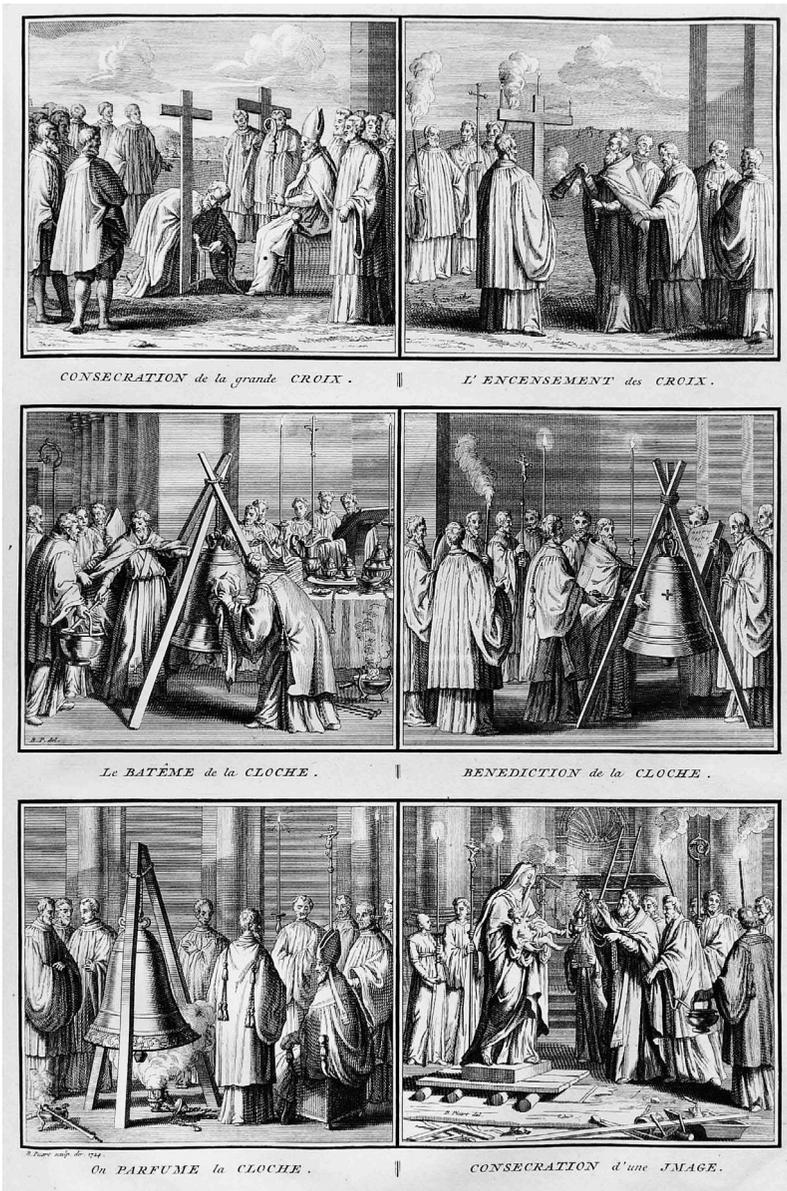
FIGURE 12.3 Bernard Picart (after engravings in *Pontificale Romanum*), *Practices of the Roman Catholic Church*, engraving, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1723), part 2, 104. © Private collection.

One of the plates of the Dutch Protestants, a magnificent sheet with two frames, depicts a baptism as well as a gathering for communion (Figure 12.4). Both images, one staging the welcoming of an infant in the Walloon church
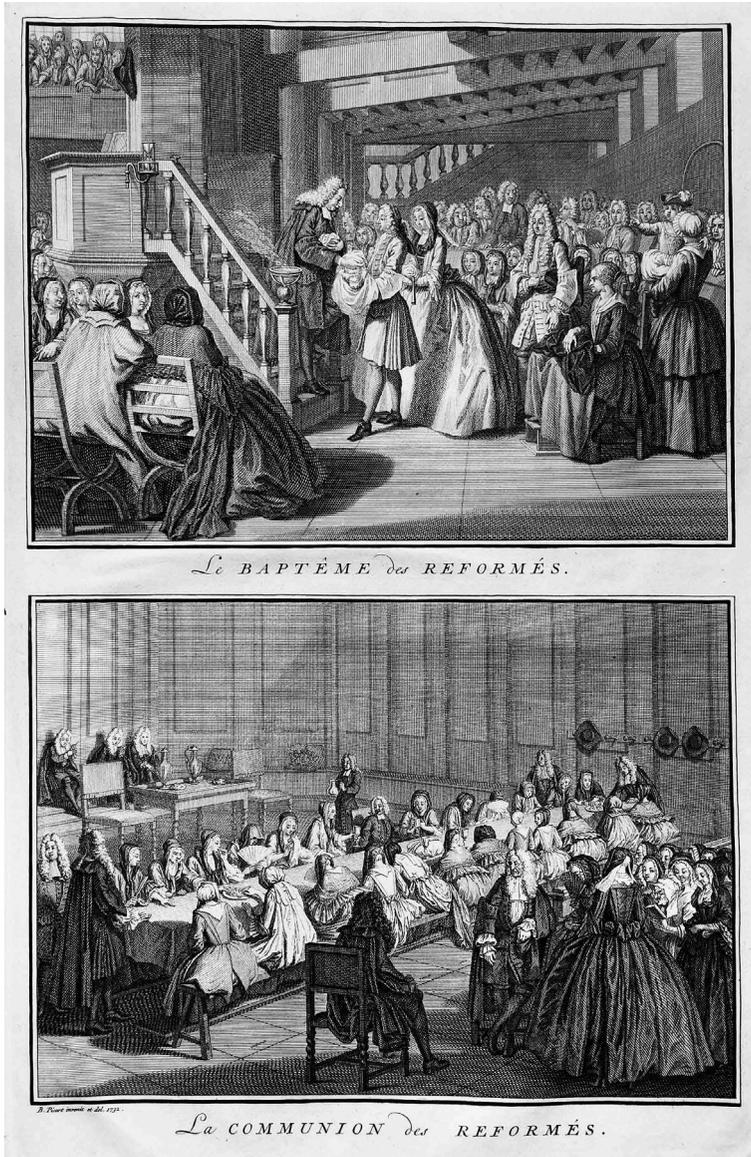
FIGURE 12.4   Bernard Picart, *Baptism* and *Coming Together for Communion in the Walloon Church in Amsterdam*, engraving, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1732), 394. © Private collection.

in Amsterdam, the other a central moment in the life of the congregation, radiate naturalness, solemnity, and movement in their compositions and lighting. By specifically pointing out that they don't require a long description, the author of the *Dissertation sur la religion des Protestans* stresses the simplicity of the ceremonies accompanying these two sacraments, the only ones accepted by the Protestants. The images 'speak to the eyes and express much more than any dissertation'.[24]

Picart, indeed, conceived his compositions very well. He was a highly skilled illustrator and experienced in many fields. He had a broad knowledge of pictorial traditions and conventions and made sophisticated use of this common visual language; he mastered the theatrical principles for staging a scene in discursive representations; he arranged people and spaces with a freshness and spontaneity that invited the viewers to engage in a dialogue with the scene presented. The richness of visual information, the exquisite artistic quality, the appeal to all the senses and the sensibility for human impulses and emotions in the plates on the Dutch Protestants are remarkable—as are the plates depicting the Jewish communities in the Netherlands.

The most famous of these images, to this day, is a representation of the Seder in the home of Alvaro Nunes da Costa, a prominent member of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam (Figure 12.5).[25] Picart's biographer Marchand lingers on the genesis of this composition, finally realized in 1725, as the most important print of the Jewish ceremonies. According to the skilfully built account on exclusion and inclusion in the *Eloge historique*, Picart had to wait four years before being able to participate in the ritual feast marking the beginning of Passover.[26]

The beautiful engraving shows an interior lit only by the flames in the fireplace and by the Shabbat lamp over the round table of the da Costa family. Numerous captions explain the rich details of the image, such as the different foods placed on the Seder Plate. The presence of a dark-skinned domestic, who on this special day has taken a seat at the table, also finds mention in the key.[27] One other person may be singled out visually, a man wearing street clothes and a three-cornered hat. He sits across from the *pater familias* and, like the others, holds the Haggadah, narrating the Israelites' exodus from Egypt. Remarkably, Picart has represented himself in the engraving as a welcome guest at this yearly commemoration of exile.[28] Sitting together at one table are thus different people, all united by a personal or historical background of exclusion. The Seder image, officially the last engraving to have been completed in the Jewish section,[29] offers a personal dimension, a confirmation, now in an intimate, private space (as a complement to the open, official one of the Portuguese synagogue) of religious and more generally of cultural tolerance, of dialogue based on mutual respect and interest.

Picart had been invited to participate in the Seder and accordingly chose a particular phrasing—'*dessiné d'après nature*'—for signing the plate, making it abundantly clear that he gave it particular importance.[30] The naturalism of this

FIGURE 12.5 Bernard Picart, *Ritual Feast of Seder, engraving*, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1723), part 1, 120. Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Q 35. © Courtesy Zentralbibliothek, Q 35.

engraving, its remarkable documentary value and, no doubt, the self-portrait of the artist it included have been determining factors in the history of its immediate and long-term reception and success. All the more, it seems relevant in the present context to point to an interesting visual correspondence overlooked thus far. Over a century before, in a popular late mannerist representation of Concord, the famous Antwerp artist Marten de Vos conveyed the notion of human harmony allegorically by showing a family assembled around a round table for a common meal in a hospitable room warmed by a fire (Figure 12.6).[31] Even in the instance of a scene documenting a real moment and breathing the spontaneity of direct observation, Picart had made insightful and subtle use of an iconographic tradition, thus engaging not only with the sympathy but also with the collective memory and imagination of his public.

A second, very different kind of self-referential representation by Picart in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* deserves mention, one that also served the purpose of further delineating the emotional and intellectual biography of the artist, a provocative image offering some clues as to the course of events preceding Picart's self-imposed exile from France. The plate illustrates various paraphernalia of Catholicism (Figure 12.7) and like the Seder image is part of the first volume

Within the engraving the following text is visible:

CONCORDIA

Diligis dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo: et in tota anima tua. Deut. 6.a. Matth. 22

Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum. Deut. 6.a. Matth. 22

M. de Vos figurauit

Crispianus vande Passe Sculp. et excud. Coloniae Agrippinae

Melius est vocari ad olera cum charitate
Quam ad Vitulum saginatum cum odio. *Prouerb: 15. a. 17.*

En paix auons contentement
En Noises tout desbauchement

Beßer ein weinig ist mit lieb
Dan viel auß haß vnd mit betrüb

PAX ALIT INGENIA, ET PRÆCLARAS EXCITAT ARTES, PAX HOMINI LARGA DAT BONA CVNCTA MANV.

FIGURE 12.6 Crispijn van de Passe (after Marten de Vos), *Concordia or A family sitting round the dinner table*, 1589, engraving. Wellcome Library, London, no. 38954i. Wellcome Library, London. Wellcome Images. CC BY 4.0.

and dated 1725. A scapular, a blessed medal, a little bread of Saint Genevieve, a finger ring of the Maltese knights, various rosaries, and a paper sheet printed by the Apostolic Camera are presented in a paradigmatic manner.[32] A lengthy caption points out that the document depicted, an indulgence, is the exact copy of an original, and a second caption specifically notes that the coat of arms on the paper is that of Pope Alexander VII, who provided this very indulgence.[33]

Again, the *Eloge historique* offers useful background information. In an emotionally loaded scene, a confrontation is described between Picart and the notorious lieutenant general of police, Marc-René de Voyer de Paulmy et Marquis d'Argenson, who was supported by the Jesuits. Picart had repeatedly attacked the Roman Church, the pope, and the Jesuits in various engravings that had subsequently been banned. After having examined his conscience for a long time, according to Marchand's account, Picart decided to leave France and applied for a visa to Sweden. No sooner had he done so than he was summoned by d'Argenson. The chief of police, who also supervised the printing trade, confronted Picart with threats should he depart. Realizing that
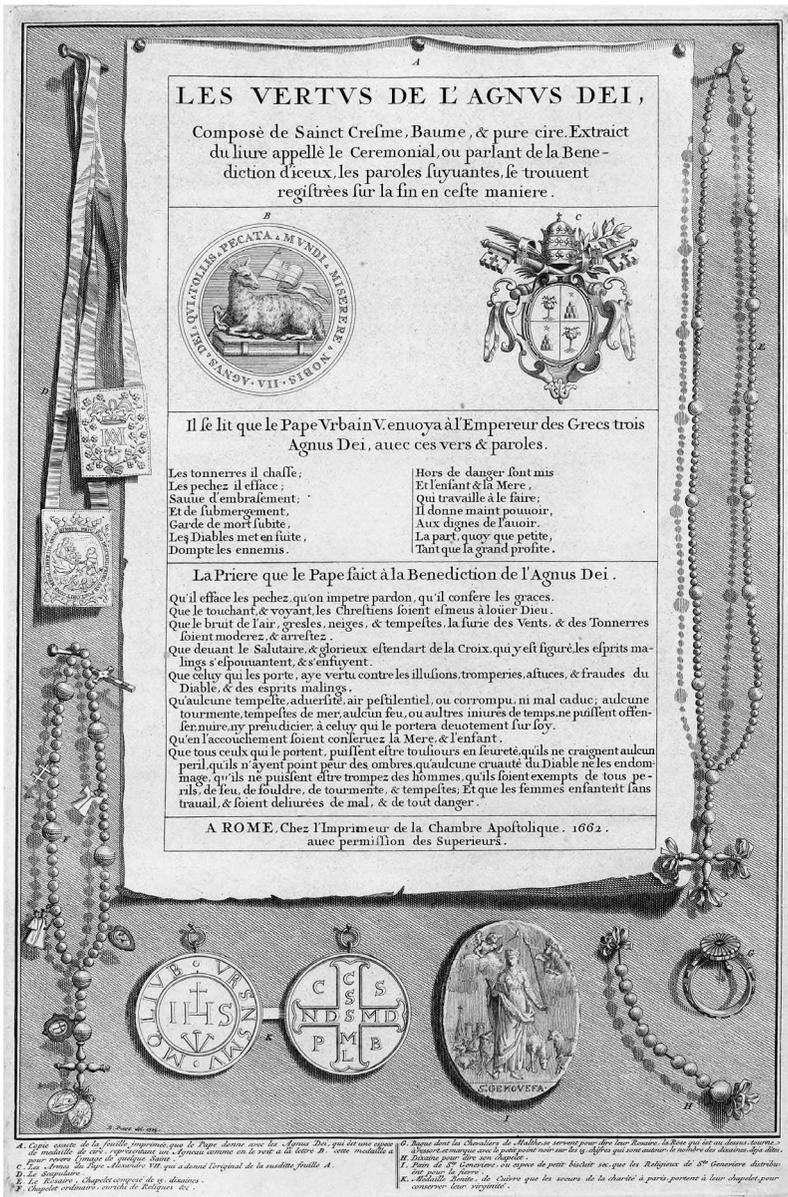
FIGURE 12.7 Bernard Picart, *Catholic Paraphernalia*, engraving, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1723), part 2, 176. Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Q 35. © Courtesy Zentralbibliothek, Q 35.

d'Argenson's concern was grounded in the issue of his religious identity, Picart returned to the chief of police the next day bearing proof of his Catholic faith, specifically the indulgence that had been given to his father and that, as we are told, was valid for three generations. The whole episode is entertainingly recounted in the *Eloge historique*.[34] The indulgence, as is derisively pointed out, could of course be no proof of Picart's Catholicism. And yet, the papal document—thus Marchand reports—surprisingly, and luckily, seems to have convinced d'Argenson to allow the artist to leave.

As apocryphal as this whole episode that was retold so many years later may have been, it still provides a valuable dimension for situating the engraving and for understanding its intention and ensuing reception. The inclusion of the indulgence and of a key allowing its identification on the plate certainly seems quite a malicious choice by Picart; a polemical or at least a provocative display of a paper that bought him freedom, the freedom, among other things, to realize a project like *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*.[35]

A closer examination of various plates against the background of Picart's experience of exile thus reveals a clear hostility towards the Roman Catholic Church. It also makes clear the benevolent, open, and participatory viewpoints that underpin the compositions dedicated to the Jewish and Protestant communities of the Netherlands—and this in spite of the fundamental criticism of religious ceremonies formulated in the introduction to the seven volumes by Jean Frédéric Bernard.[36] The same is true for a particularly sophisticated sheet, the *Tableau des principales religions du monde*, which Picart originally conceived as the frontispiece for the Dutch translation of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (Figure 12.8).[37] A Parisian book dealer once characterized this plate as 'the most beautiful and accomplished piece by this famous artist'.[38] Indeed, the composition is remarkably dense, both aesthetically and with regard to the variety of genres and the number of intra-visual references deployed. It was finished in 1727, four years after the volume on Jewish and Catholic ceremonies as well as the first part of the ceremonies of the Idolaters, and thus a considerable number of engravings had already been published.[39] By virtue of its position in the book, it was no doubt intended as a visual prelude. Still, given the date of its completion, the title page might also be understood as a sharp, polemical synthesis of the visual argument built up in a subtler fashion by means of the con-visualization of documentary plates within the volumes, as discussed above.

The detailed caption offering an interpretation of the *Tableau* takes as its point of departure the personification of Christian Religion, represented under a large tree holding an open Bible that a Franciscan monk tries to close with one hand, while pointing with the other to the large volume prominently displayed at centre right in which is written '*Concilia et Traditiones*' (Councils and Tradition) and on which the Roman Church is resting.[40] The representation is programmatic: the personification of Christian Religion, clad in white, is flanked by Reformation, which points to the Holy Scripture with her right hand and is surrounded by illustrous figures from the history of the Reformation. The personification of the Catholic Church is placed higher and dominates the

FIGURE 12.8 Bernard Picart, *Frontispiece for the Dutch edition of Cérémonies (Naaukeurige Beschryving der uitwendige Godtsdienst-Plichten, Kerk-Zeden en Gewoontens van alle Volkeren der Waereldt, The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, 1727–1738)*, engraving, 1727, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*. Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Q 35. © Courtesy Zentralbibliothek, Q 35.

composition. A dark shadow covers her head, which bears the papal tiara, and part of her breasts, prominently displayed to allude to Mother Church. She stands on a fallen rabbi and the ruins of the Roman Empire, and she is surrounded by Catholic dignitaries and representatives of various religious orders. One figure deserves particular mention, the dark personification of Superstition. She holds a rosary in her left hand, and a scapular hangs over her arm. A small sheet with the inscription '*Indulgentiae absolutae vulgo plenariae*' (absolute indulgences commonly called plenary), seemingly falling out of the pages marked '*Concilia et traditiones*', appears next to her head, and she kneels on an indulgence labelled '*Agnus Dei*'—the references to the plate on Catholic paraphernalia discussed above couldn't be more obvious.

Picart had created many single sheets that contained visual attacks on the Church and the Jesuits.[41] In a certain sense, the frontispiece, opposing the delicate, luminous figures of Christian Religion and Reformation to the dark, dominating Roman Catholic Church, may be included among them, given its explicit temporal references, specifically to the papal bull *Unigenitus* that condemned Jansenism, which is depicted in the hands of a Jesuit presenting it to a bishop 'who seems to refuse it'.[42]

In fact, the artist appears to be quoting himself, by carrying on a visual discourse from earlier works and thereby testifying to his consistent, openly displayed engagement in this field and his personal as well as intellectual authority. One reference is the figure of the Jesuit scheming in the dark. It is rendered in the same way as on the title page for a commission, in 1706, for a Huguenot edition of *La Satyre Menippée,* a violent criticism of religious fanaticism, the black aristocracy, and the pope.[43] A second reference is in the personification of Religion. Picart in 1708 had executed the cover for a dissertation in philosophy, *L'accord de la religion avec la Philosophie ou de la raison avec la foi*. In this composition, which included a long caption, Religion had also been represented as a figure clad in white, pointing at an open Bible, and illuminated by divine light.[44]

The iconographic and discursive importance as well as the emotional impact of this recurrent radiant, white-clad figure may be substantiated further by another image that was clearly intended to be a visual counter-statement to Picart's powerful frontispiece. Nicolas Cochin the Younger was entrusted with the creation of a new title page for the catholicized edition of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* published in Paris in 1741 (Figure 12.9).[45] Again, the delicate figure dressed in white forms the heart and centre of the composition, resting on brightly lit clouds. But in Cochin's vignette she has become a personification of the Roman Catholic Church, holding the Eucharist in her raised left hand and a palm branch in the right. In the book behind her '*Biblia sacra*' and '*Concilia et traditiones*' are arranged on a double page. Also worth noting is that Cochin relegates the personifications of Jewish religion, of Islam, and of paganism to the dark and gloomy reign of bats and ignorance. In Picart's *Tableau des principales religions du monde;* however, Islam was depicted by means of several figures in

FIGURE 12.9   Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Fleuron for the Title Page*, engraving, in *Histoire générale des cérémonies, moeurs et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Paris, 1741). Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, 9.1: a/F. © Courtesy Zentralbibliothek, 9.1: a/F.

the very foreground[46] and—though 'in the background', as the caption states—'the Pagodas and the Gods of the East Indies on the right and those of the West Indies on the left' were represented in an inclusive manner.[47]

The impatience of the subscribers—as Bernard informed the readers in the *Préface générale*—led the editors to change the originally intended sequence and to publish a first volume on the idolatrous ceremonies right after the ones on Jewish and Catholic ceremonies, with all appearing in 1723.[48] It seems very likely that this change, too, was part of Picart's strategy of allowing for a direct, immediate juxtaposition, particularly of the Catholic ceremonies, with a carefully selected compilation of ethnographic material: scenes of devotion in front of peculiar images of exotic gods, strange practices of asceticism, spectacular temple interiors. Thus, the readers and viewers of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* had already been acquainted with many of the 'exotic' subjects chosen to represent the idolatries of Asia and the Americas in this panoramic frontispiece by the time it appeared.[49] Picart, in the *Tableau des principales religions du monde* again, took up a dialogue with his public, using pictorial references that he knew would be recognized and understood. He was addressing his viewers as insiders, emotionally and intellectually, in order to make an argument for relativism through demonstrative pictorial action, suggesting that all religious ceremonies

of the world could and should be compared, even if he always accompanied this with a generally critical attitude towards ceremonialism.

In this context—and in conclusion—one of the changes already mentioned with regard to the original editorial plan must be highlighted once more. The first announcement in the *Journal des Sçavans* at the end of 1720 had envisioned an organization of the volumes by topic, one of which would contain all the ceremonies concerning birth, marriage, and death. This would have been quite typical for the time as well as for publications of previous centuries, some of which were quoted in the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*.[50] However, the structure ultimately chosen for the volumes—grouping them by confession and geography—meant that these *rites de passage*, as well as other moments of collective emotions, of narratives expressing a sense of community, were brought to the attention of the viewers again and again throughout the seven volumes. This encouraged the perception of these ceremonies not, or not just, as specific to one religion or ethnic group, but as universal expressions of human feelings and needs. In fact, Picart specifically created additional scenes illustrating such instances. Many beautiful and expressive plates are marked accordingly, '*B. Picart delineavit*', or in several cases even '*B. Picart invenit*', testifying to the artist's manifest intention of highlighting these central moments in life (Figures 12.10 and 12.11).[51]

Le premier jour de la grande FÊTE du SOLEÏL, L'YNCAS lui présente un Vase plein de Liqueur, et l'invite a boire.
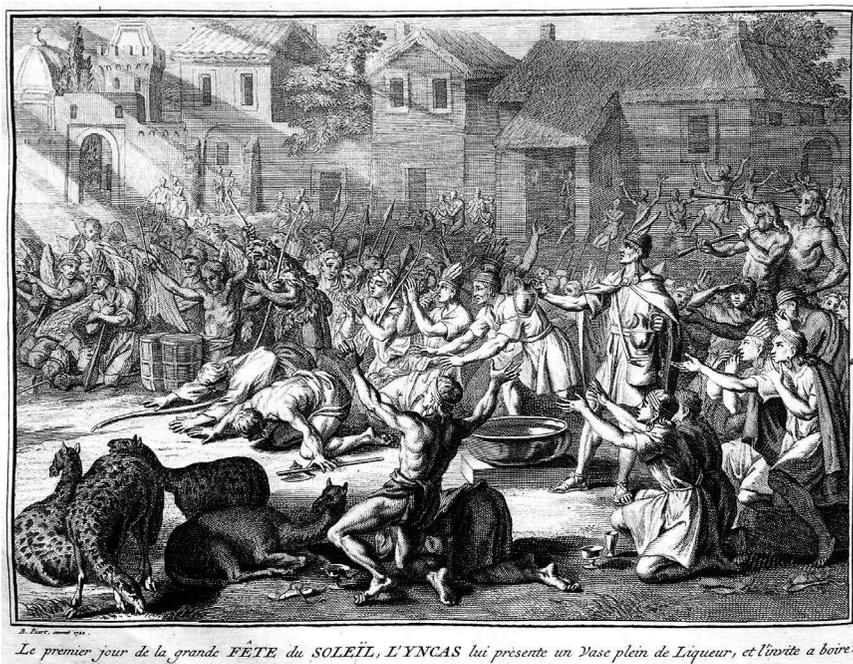
FIGURE 12.10   Bernard Picart, *Inca Festival in Honour of the Sun*, engraving, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des peuples idolatres*, vol. 1 (vol. 6 in the official numbering, Amsterdam, 1723), part 1, 127. © Private collection.
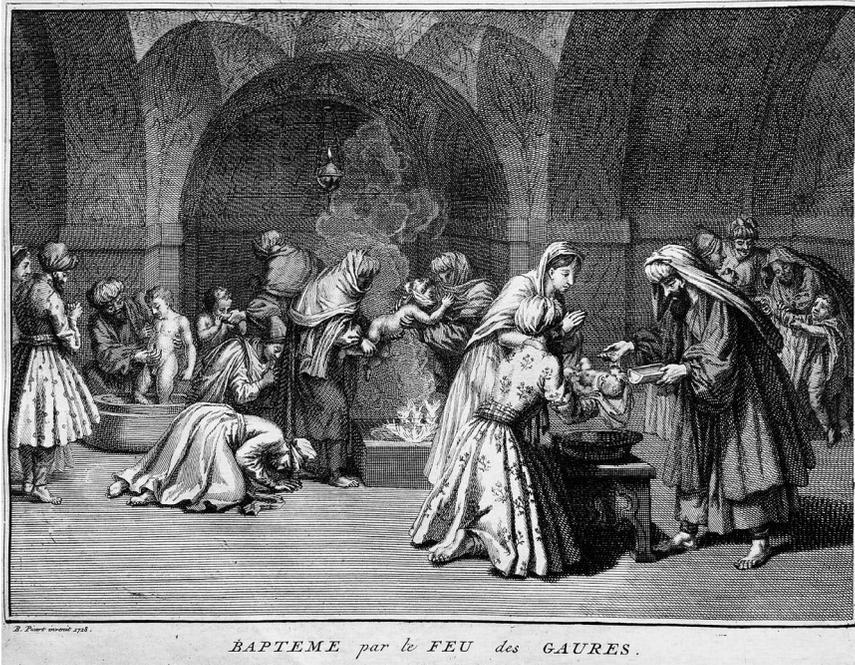
FIGURE 12.11   Bernard Picart, *Parsee Baptism,* engraving, in 'Dissertation sur la religion des Gaures,' *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des peuples idolatres*, vol. 2 (vol. 7 in the official numbering, Amsterdam, 1728), 31. © Private collection.

A strong personal investment, evident on many levels, characterizes all the engravings in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*. In this way, Bernard Picart, who himself had strong emotional and intellectual experiences associated with being a refugee and exile of conscience, emphasized his argument for tolerance towards ceremonies that were on the one hand criticized as being merely external manifestations essentially foreign to internal rationally based religion, but at the same time understood as based on a deeply human need to express feelings, receive guidance, and form a sense of community.

The examples offered here, in all their heterogeneity, may be considered a case in point for a more general discussion about the use—that is, the expressive power, role, and significance—of printed illustrations as tools in emotionally laden visual strategies. Picart meant to elicit emotions of sympathy or irritation, of identification or rejection. Clearly, he specifically intended to criticize and relativize Catholicism. He was, however, even more strongly determined to stimulate individual reflection beyond questions of denomination, confession, or race. His carefully selected and choreographed body of illustrations must be considered—to put it in the terms of the British anthropologist Alfred Gell—a

'source of, and target for, social agency'.[52] The artistic conception and comprehensive con-visualization of images in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* offered a many-layered, thought-provoking challenge to the public to see religious ceremonies as an anthropological constant, to compare, to ponder and to raise doubts, to recognize their universal aspects, the needs they fulfil, and the dangers this entails. Picart's representations—in the creative way he arranged the single elements of his visual argument to highlight similarities and differences—both permitted and demanded the viewer's active intervention. The series of engravings he created, with their sophisticated internal referencing, had a strong impact and were no doubt characteristic of the emotional strategy of an age. The images achieved remarkably high circulation in the many editions of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*. Their reception was broad and worked as a profound force for change.

Notes

1 These were specified in the *Avis au relieur*. The sequence of the images and their reference to the text could also be looked up in the *Table pour placer les Figures*.

2 Several studies have been devoted to *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* in recent years: Margaret C. Jacob, "Bernard Picart and the Turn Toward Modernity," *De Achttiende Eeuw* 37, no.1 (2005): 3–16; Silvia Berti, "Bernard Picart e Jean-Frédéric Bernard dalla religione riformata al deismo, Un incontro con il mondo ebraico nell'Amsterdam del primo Settecento," *Rivista storica italiana*, 117, no.3 (2005): 974–1001; Paola von Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder der frühen Aufklärung, Bernard Picarts Bildtafeln für die Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Wabern: Benteli, 2006); Silvia Berti, "Ancora su Bernard Picart. Alcune sue importanti opere ritrovate," *Rivista storica italiana*, 119, no.2 (2007): 818–34; Rolando Minuti, "Comparativismo e idolatrie orientali nelle "Cérémonies religieuses" di Bernard et Picart," *Rivista storica italiana*, 121, no.3 (2009): 1028–72; Paola von Wyss-Giacosa, "'Dessiné d'après nature', Die Repräsentation jüdischer Religion in Bernard Picarts Bildtafeln für die 'Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde'," in *Religiöse Blicke—Blicke auf das Religiöse, Visualität und Religion*, ed. Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler, Daria Pezzoli-Olgiati, and Joachim Valentin (Zurich: TVZ, 2010), 283–310; Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart & Bernard's Religious Ceremonies of the World* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press, 2010); Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, eds., *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010); Luisa Simonutti, "Inquietudine religiosa e relativismo critico: l'iconografia di Bernard Picart," in *I filosofi e la società senza religione*, ed. Marco Geuna and Giambattista Gori (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011), 257–300; Giovanni Tarantino, "From Labeling and Ridicule to Understanding: The Legacy of Bernard and Picart's Religious Comparativism," in *Through Your Eyes: Debating Religious Alterities (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)*, ed. Giovanni Tarantino and Paola von Wyss-Giacosa (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

3 *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (Amsterdam, 1723), vol. 1, Préface générale and Dissertation sur le culte religieux. See also Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 33–57. On Bernard see Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 39–54; Paola von Wyss-Giacosa, "Et plus ultra. Gedanken des Amsterdamer Buchhändlers Jean Frédéric Bernard über das Reisen," in *Genauigkeit: Schöne Wissenschaft*, ed. Wolfgang Marschall, Paola von

Wyss-Giacosa and Andreas Isler (Berne and Sulgen: Benteli, 2008), 110–19; Wijnand Mijnhardt, "Jean Frederic Bernard as Author and Publisher," in Hunt, Jacob, and Mijnhardt, *First Global Vision of Religion*, 17–34.

4 Bernard repeatedly argued for the specific epistemological value of compilations. Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 39–40.

5 *Journal des Sçavans* (December, 1720): 622: 'Le Libraire s'engage aussi de son côté à ne donner au Public rien qui ne puisse lui être utile, & à ne faire graver que des Figures instructives & nécessaires, dont le dessein soit beau & correct: car on se propose d'expliquer, & de donner une idée claire des sujets qu'on traite, autant pour le moins que de satisfaire la vûë, qui ne laissera pas d'y trouver son compte; puisque les figures seront dessinées de la [main] du sieur Bernard Picart, & autres habiles Maîtres dans le dessein.'

6 See also "Catalogue des pièces qui composent l' Œuvre de Bernard Picart, Dessinateur et Graveur," in Bernard Picart, *Impostures innocentes* (Amsterdam, 1734).

7 See also Pierre Wachenheim, "Bernard Picart graveur des Jansénistes: Proposition pour un corps séditieux," in *Interkulturelle Kommunikation in der europäischen Druckgraphik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Philipp Kaenel and Rolf Reichardt (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Olms, 2007), 333–56. See also G.A.J.M. Terwen, Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck and Anton W. A. Boschloo, *Franse Refugie's en nederlandse boekillustraties, Prosper Marchand (1678–1756), Bernard Picart (1673–1733), Jacob van der Schley (1715–1779)* (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek en Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit, 1985).

8 Prosper Marchand, "Eloge historique," in *Impostures innocentes* (Amsterdam, 1734). On Marchand: Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand et l'histoire du livre* (Bruges: Drukkereij Sinte Catharina, 1978) and Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand, La vie et l'œuvre (1678–1756)* (Leiden: Brill, 1987); Elisabeth L. Eisenstein, *Grub Street Abroad: Aspects of the French Cosmopolitan Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). On Marchand and Picart's relationship: Berti, "Dalla religione riformata al deismo."

9 Bernard Picart, "Discours sur les Préjugéz de certains Curieux touchant la Gravure," in *Impostures innocentes* (1734). On Picart's tract: Dick Venemans, "Het Discours sur les Préjugéz de certains Curieux touchant la Gravure door Bernard Picart," in *Delineavit et sculpsit* 15 (May 1995): 23–31; Sarah Helen Monks, *Bernard Picart's "Impostures innocentes": Constructing the Early Eighteenth-Century French Reproductive Printmaker* (London: University of London, Courtauld Institute, 1996); Christophe Henry, "Les Impostures innocentes de Bernard Picart ou la revanche du marchand forain," in *Théorie des arts et création artistique dans l'Europe du Nord du XVIe au début du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Michèle-Caroline Heck, Frédérique Lemerle and Yves Pauwels (Lille: Université Charles-de-Gaulle, 2002), 313–32; Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 59–65; Ann Jensen Adams, "Reproduction and Authenticity in Bernard Picart's 'Impostures Innocentes,' and Louis Marchesano, "The 'Impostures Innocentes': Bernard Picart's Defense of the Professional Engraver," both in Hunt, Jacob, and Mijnhardt, *First Global Vision of Religion*, 75–104, 105–35.

10 A comparable categorization was chosen thirty years later by Denis Diderot for his article on ceremonies in the *Encyclopédie*: 1st ed. (Paris, 1752–1772), 2:839. He writes: 'Nous observerons … qu'il y a, selon notre définition, trois sortes de cérémonies; des cérémonies politiques …, des cérémonies religieuses …, des cérémonies politico-religieuses.'

11 Roger Chartier, "Le livre des livres, entretiens avec les auteurs," *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France* 29 (1984): 314–21: 'Ce qui était donné à lire, ce n'est pas un texte, mais une ,mise en imprimé' de ce texte: quand un même texte circule à travers des formes typographiques différentes, il peut porter à des lectures différentes.'

12 *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, vol. 1, Préface générale.

13 There is, actually, one illustration preceding it, accompanying the opening *Dissertation sur le culte religieux* by Jean Frédéric Bernard, and showing various *antiquitates sacrae*. This engraving, however, differs considerably in its subject matter and style from all the other plates in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* and is not signed by Picart, as almost every other image is. The references to the position and sequence of the illustrations within the volumes of *Cérémonies* follow those given by Bernard and Picart in their *Table pour placer les figures*, see above and footnote 2.

14 "La dedicace ou la consecration de la Synagogue," in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, vol. 1, 101.

15 See also Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 74–100; Samantha Baskind, "Bernard Picart's Etchings of Amsterdam's Jews," *Jewish Social Studies* 13, no.2 (2007): 40–64; Wyss-Giacosa, "Dessiné d'après nature."

16 On de Hooghe's etching, see Judith Belinfante, "1675: Romeijn de Hooghe and the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam," in *Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Treasures of Jewish Booklore*, ed. Adri K. Offenberg, Emile G.L. Schrijver, and Frits J. Hoogewoud (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 44–46.

17 See also the volume edited by the master of the Pontifical liturgical celebrations featuring, among others, the etching discussed here: Giustiniano Chiapponi, *Acta canonizationis sanctorum Pii V. Pont Max., Andreae Avellini, Felicis à Cantalicio, et Catherinae de Bononia habitae a sanctissimo domino nostro Clemente XI pontefice maximo* (Rome, 1720).

18 "Procession générale qui se fit à Rome le 22. Mai 1712. jour de la Canonisation des quatre Saints," in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, vol. 1, 145–52.

19 Picart may have intended additional juxtapositions, such as the contrast with the modest, plain space of a Protestant church or a Japanese temple interior crowded with idolatrous images. Such double-page size prints were included in volume 3 and volume 7 (*Cérémonies des peuples idolatres*, vol. 2).

20 The plates devoted to the Catholics were the highest number. Odile Faliu, *Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde dessinées par Bernard Picart* (Paris: Herscher, 1988).

21 Faliu, *Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*, already pointed to Picart's main sources in this context. See also Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 66–74, 100–105.

22 See also plates 11 and 16 following the *Table pour placer les figures* in volume 3 of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*.

23 On these abbreviations see: Walter Koschatzky, *Die Kunst der Graphik. Technik, Geschichte, Meisterwerke* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1988).

24 'La simplicité des ceremonies qui accompagnent les deux Sacremens reconnus par les Reformés ne fournit pas une longue description. Les deux figures qu'on voit ici parlent aux yeux & disent beaucoup plus qu'un discours.' *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* (Amsterdam, 1733), vol. 3, 394.

25 Much has been written on this important visual document. Berti, "Dalla religione riformata al deismo"; Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 77–84; Berti, "Ancora su Picart"; Wyss-Giacosa, "Dessiné d'après nature".

26 Marchand, "Eloge historique", 9. A former pupil of Picart's, David Herrliberger, a few years later published the Jewish plates and retold the story for a German-speaking public. See also Wyss-Giacosa, "Dessiné d'après nature," 283–84.

27 'NB tous les Domestiques Juifs sont à la même table, avec lui [le Père de famille]'.

28 About the identities of the people portrayed, see: Isabella Henriette van Eeghen, "Bernard Picart en de Joods Godsdienstplichten," *Amstelodamum* 65 (1978): 58–63, Berti, "Dalla religione riformata al deismo"; Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 78–82; Berti, "Ancora su Picart"; Wyss-Giacosa, "Déssiné d'après nature," 304–6.

29 Thus Marchand in the "Eloge historique". Six of the plates in the Jewish section are dated 1725.

30 This wording is found on only seven plates in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, all dedicated to Jewish ceremonies. Wyss-Giacosa, "Dessiné d'après nature."

31 There exists a similar composition by Robert Boissart. I thank Raffaella Sarti for having called my attention to this image.

32 This type of illustration is used by Picart a few times within *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*—for instance in the Jewish section and in sections devoted to the "idolatrous peoples".

33 'A. Copie exacte de la feuille imprimée que le Pape donne avec les Agnus Dei, qui est une espece de medaille de cire, representant un Agneau comme on le voit à la lettre B'; 'C. Les Armes du Pape Alexandre VII. qui a donné l'original de la suedite feuille A'.

34 Prosper Marchand, "Eloge historique," 5: 'Ayant découvert, que la raison pour laquelle on vouloit le retenir, étoit qu'on le regardoit comme Nouveau-Converti, il [Picart] crut devoir profiter du mal-entendu. Pour cet effet, il fit présenter à Mr. d'Argenson un Placet, où il lui représentoit qu'il étoit né Catholique, & de Pére & d'Ancêtres Catholiques. Il y joignit, non seulement son Extrait Batistaire, & celui de son Pére, mais encore quelques papiers que son Pére avoit aportez de Rome; comme entre autres une Indulgence du Pape Alexandre VII. pour lui & ses Enfans jusqu'à la troisiéme Génération, une Médaille d'argent dont ce Pape l'avoit honnoré pendant son séjour à Rome, & quelques attestations de visite & de Communion à Notre-Dame de Lorette, &c. Tout cela, de quelque peu de poids qu'il fût pour la Catholicité de B. Picart, ne laissa pas d'en persuader tellement Mr. d'Argenson, qu'il écrivit d'abord à Mr. de Torci qu'on s'étoit trompé au sujet dudit B. Picart, qu'il étoit Catholique, & très habile homme.'

35 Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 69.

36 *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, vol. 1, Préface générale and Dissertation sur le culte religieux.

37 *Naaukeurige Beschryving der uitwendige Godtsdienst-Plichten, Kerk-Zeden en Gewoontens van alle Volkeren der Waereldt* (The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, 1727–1738). After 1727 the first edition too was enriched by this frontispiece.

38 "Cette planche de gravure, regardée comme le morceau le plus beau & le plus fini de la main de ce fameux artiste," Guillaume-François de Bure, *Bibliographie instructive ou Traité de la connoissance des livres rares et singuliers* (Paris, 1768), 450.

39 Volumes 1 and 2 of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* were published in 1723, as was the first volume of the *Cérémonies des peuples idolatres* (volume 6 in the official numbering). The second volume of the *Idolatres* followed in 1728 (volume 7 in the official numbering). In 1733, volume 3 on the ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox and the Protestants, was published; in 1736 volume 4 on Anglicans, Quakers, Anabaptists, Pietists; and finally, in 1737 volume 5 on the Mohammedan ceremonies.

40 'En premier lieu on voit la RELIGION CHRETIENNE au pied d'un grand arbre présentant la BIBLE ouverte, qu'un Moine Franciscain s'efforce de fermer d'une main en montrant de l'autre le livre où est écrit CONCILES et TRADITIONS sur lequel L'EGLISE ROMAINE est appuyée.'

41 Wachenheim, "Bernard Picart, graveur des Jansénistes"; Simonutti, "Inquietudine religiosa."

42 This is the explanation in the caption.

43 Simonutti, "Inquietudine religiosa," offers an excellent analysis of this sheet. See pages 264–67, 291–93.

44 On this sheet see: Simonutti, "Inquietudine religiosa," 269–73, 296–98.

45 Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder*, 323–27.

46 On the depiction of Islam in the frontispiece and in the work, see: David Brafman, "Picart, Bernard, Hermes and Muhammad (Not necessarily in that Order)," and Kishwar Rizvi, "Persian Pictures: Art, Documentation, and Self-Reflection in Jean

Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart's Representation of Islam," both in Hunt, Jacob, and Mijnhardt, *First Global Vision of Religion*, 139–68, 169–96.

47 'A droite le lointain représente les Pagodes et les Dieux des Indes Orientales, et à gauche ceux des Indes Occidentales.'

48 'Ce volume [the first volume on the ceremonies of the idolatrous peoples] a été donné à la fin de 1723, pour satisfaire à l'impatience des souscripteurs.'

49 Picart, in the background of the frontispiece, shows details from the following engravings in the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*: "Ofrande que les Floridiens font d'un cerf au soleil," 1721; "Les Virginiens adorent le feu," 1721; "Le grand temple de Vitsliputsli dans la ville de Mexique," 1722; "Ixora sous le nom de Mahadeu," 1722; "L'Yncas consacre son vaze au soleil," 1723; "Tiedebaik, divinité du Japon," 1724; "Puzza ou la Cybele des Chinois," 1726; "Stor-Junkare, Divinité des Lapons," 1726; "Manipa Idole ou Divinité de Lassa," 1727; "Prêtres mendians de la Chine," 1728.

50 There were many overviews on ceremonies of mourning, marriage rites etc. of 'all the peoples in the world' (with similar titles), such as Pierre Muret's *Ceremonies funebres de toutes les Nations* (1679) and Louis de Gaya's *Ceremonies nuptiales de toutes les Nations* (1681). See also: Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Six-teenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 295–349.

51 In addition to the plates on the Dutch Protestants, some of the most noteworthy to be marked '*invenit*' include those depicting Greek baptism and ceremonies of mourn-ing, Parsee baptism and marriage, the desolation of the Mexicans at the end of a century and their joyousness at the beginning of a new one, and scenes of the Inca festival in honour of the sun.

52 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 96: 'The basic thesis of this work … is that works of art, images, icons, and the like have to be treated, in the context of an anthropological theory, as person-like; that is, sources of, and targets for, social agency.'

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13

FEELING UPSIDE DOWN

Witchcraft and exclusion in the twilight of early modern Spain*

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> During those days … the people were so moved that three more possessed souls emerged.[1]

> Individuals die; but collective bodies do not. The same passions are perpetuated, and their vehement malice, immortal as the fiend which inspires it, has always the same activity.[2]

A people is 'moved' to the point of 'not being responsible for preventing that which cannot be prevented', a 'frenetic' and 'ferocious' people is struck down by all manner of suffering, as if it were an individual. Such striking ideas and images compel us to reflect on the inter-related nature of personal and collective emotions.[3] According to a report issued in 1814 by its legal representatives, the village of Tosos (Zaragoza) during the previous two years had descended into 'a hell where no order reigned, but instead everlasting disorder'. In the words of Mateo de León, the local parish priest, that 'time of confusion' and 'revolution' had posed a grave risk to his life and the lives of all those who had dared confront the will of the majority, since 'the ferocity of a people tramples on all laws'.[4]

At this time Spain was in the throes of the Peninsular War against the armies of Napoleon (1808–1813). Moreover, these were 'revolutionary' years, marking the beginning of the end of the country's *Ancien Régime*[5];

for while the ceding of sovereignty by Charles IV and Ferdinand VII to Napoleon had been legally irreproachable, the Spanish saw it as an imposition. After the uprising of May 1808, therefore, they adopted the principle of national sovereignty for the first time in their history, establishing their own governmental bodies quite separate from the official authority embodied in the figure of Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother. The local ruling body, or assembly, set up in Tosos was named the *Junta de Probidad* (Assembly of Probity), since its members were all supposedly honest and morally upright individuals.[6] According to General Palafox,[7] these kinds of assemblies constituted 'a sort of urban militia made up of leading local citizens and other honest folk', whose role was to keep in check those who threatened to disturb the peace of the community and who had become accustomed to saying: 'today there's no justice, there's no mayor to order us around'.[8]

The broader context of the war years, therefore, created a kind of emotional breeding-ground for rebellion, as is revealed in some of the seditious attitudes displayed by the lower classes at the time. For example, this is the response given in 1808 by a patroller in another Aragonese village to the bailiff who had threatened him on account of his scandalous behaviour: 'To hell with it, there's no king here, we're all one. I'll never go to jail unless they drag me or drug me'.[9] The events that took place in Tosos have to be seen in the context of this new politically aware and emotionally charged atmosphere. However, these trends were present throughout Spain and are not enough in themselves to explain the emotional specificity of the model under examination. This is where the dialectic between the general and the specific (or, to narrow down our focus, between a given community and some of its individual members) plays a key role.[10]

The report issued by the *Assembly of Probity* stated: 'that which took place in this village of Tosos in the recent past is undoubtedly the most extraordinary case ever seen'.[11] While the individual roots of the collective emotion that swept through the population of Tosos between 1812 and 1814 extended some way back, the scandal began at a specific time on a specific day, and it was no coincidence that the date in question was that of one of the most important festivals in the Catholic calendar, *Corpus Christi*. To quote the Assembly's report again:

> In the year 1812, on the evening of the feast of *Corpus Christi* … there appeared in the procession eight possessed women … making the same grimaces and violent gestures as are usually made by those who have been placed under an evil spell. All the people at once believed this to be real, and this with the approval of the physicians, who confirmed it to be so. The priest did at first think it the effect of extreme exaltation and overheated blood … and made efforts to treat them at the time. But all was in vain, since this disease spread such that, eight days having passed, there

were thirty-two who said they had been cursed, and thus this village became a hell where no order reigned, but instead everlasting disorder.[12]

From the start, there were obviously two radically opposed versions of events. Much of the population steadfastly believed that the Devil had taken possession of several of the villagers (most of them women), and that the person responsible was one of their neighbours, Joaquina Martínez, whom they dubbed a witch and sorceress, which would mean her exclusion from the village. On the other hand, the representatives of the new assembly felt that the majority of those involved were faking their possession and that some were either ill or insane. Using the medical terminology of the day, some of the women were labelled 'excitable hysterics', carried away by a 'damaged and overwrought' imagination.[13]

While the possessed women's bodies were wracked by violent movements—described as 'uncontrolled gestures and contortions', 'furious displays'[14]—some of the few men who claimed to have fallen victim directed their violence against the alleged witch herself. One of these men went twice to Joaquina's house armed with a knife and an axe and fully intending to kill her. However, he confined himself to breaking down the door and throwing much of her furniture and personal belongings out into the street. This and other such episodes of aggression meant the definitive exclusion of the accused as a witch, since eventually Joaquina and her family had to leave the village without any possibility of return.

As the situation worsened, and it became impossible for the parish priest, Mateo de León, to meet the constant demands for exorcism from the possessed women and their families, Mateo wrote to the bishop of Huesca for advice.[15] The bishop's implacable response did nothing, however, to calm the situation. The symptoms of 'those involved in the incident', he wrote, were very ambiguous and might simply have been due to natural causes. Therefore it was necessary

> not to continue with the exorcisms, but to tell the parents of the young girls and the husbands of the married women to set them to work, in such a way as not to allow them one minute of idleness. That they should take them to the nearest river or stream and bathe them more frequently than usual, giving them food only in moderation. In case of disobedience or any trouble at home, they should lock them up or punish them. If they caused a commotion in the church or the street, those persons responsible for law and order should seize them and escort them to the public jail, where they should be given nothing but bread and water for three or four days. They should not be released until they agree to mend their ways, and they should never be allowed to agitate the people again on this or any other pretext.[16]

In an attempt to comply with this order, the parish priest of Tosos decided to convene a meeting with the relevant husbands and fathers at his home. He read the bishop's letter to them and tried to convince them to behave as the bishop suggested. But the men

started to rise up and shout: Our daughters are already suffering the evil imposed on them by God or the Devil, and we are to add to their torment by locking them up or putting them to work …! This we shall not do, whoever may order it! They will leave the house whenever they want, they will go to the church, which is the house of us all … If they should shout and cause uproar, let them shout and cause uproar! And if the forces of justice or the church should lay a hand on them, we will break their necks.[17]

That same day, the women claiming to be possessed gathered in front of the priest's house armed with sticks and stones, shouting:

Kill him, kill him! He is to blame for the evil afflicting us, he has the remedy in the sacristy and he doesn't want to use it because he is convinced we are mad and not under a spell![18]

So violent were their threats that the priest, in an act similar to self-exile, or rather self-exclusion, fled in fear of his life to the neighbouring village of Villanueva de Huerva and stayed there for the next three months. According to the report produced a year later by the secular authorities at the request of the archbishop of Zaragoza, anarchy ruled during those months, with everyone living 'just as they pleased':

there was no human force to restrain these madwomen, far less their friends and relatives, who clung with such obstinacy to the belief that their wives and daughters were possessed that they would have killed anyone who said otherwise.[19]

Conflicting emotional styles

According to an explanatory model embedded in a language of demonic possession, which would ultimately be upheld by most of the villagers, the emotional disturbances experienced by many of the neighbours at this time were caused by evil spells and demons invoked by the woman accused of witchcraft, Joaquina Martínez. The solution, therefore, was to expel her from the village and to look to the clergy to carry out exorcisms as necessary. The agreement by the villagers that the violent threats of these women towards the parish priest was the result of bewitchment, for which the women themselves had no responsibility, as well as their approval of the violent action taken against Joaquina, present a marked contrast. to the stance adopted by the ecclesiastical authorities in general, and the episcopal court in particular.

The explanatory model of the ecclesiastical authorities, with its appeal to the language of reason and enlightenment, dictated that most of the afflicted were faking their possession; in fact, the real superstition lay in believing in their trickery, specifically the accusation of witchcraft levelled at Joaquina. Only thus

can we explain the fact that, two centuries on from the end of the 'witch-hunt' in Tosos and most of Spain, and as if in a 'looking-glass world', we find ourselves dealing not with a witch trial, that is, a case brought against an alleged witch, but with a trial of those supposedly possessed and bent on blaming Joaquina for their ill fortune. The episcopal court decided to treat them rather than Joaquina as criminals for threatening the life of a woman whose supposed magical powers had in no way been proven and for justifying their behaviour on the grounds that they were not responsible for their own actions.

Clearly, the highest authorities of the Church no longer believed in witchcraft.[20] In an earlier period, they had gone so far as to encourage the idea that certain women, aided by the Devil, had the power to harm others, but such ideas were now regarded as merely remnants of superstitions believed only by the ignorant—irrational, fraudulent beliefs. The concept of "superstition" had done an about-turn: instead of designating false religion, that dangerous enemy against which Catholicism had fought on equal terms two centuries earlier, it now implied an absurd way of thinking that could only be explained (according to the ecclesiastical authorities) by the lower classes' extreme poverty and lack of education. According to the Church's new perspective, far removed from the views it had once shared with its parishioners,[21] the only thing the possessed and their supporters needed was the right religious education.

The episcopal judges, far from considering Joaquina to be a witch, described her as a 'God-fearing woman who frequents the sacraments'.[22] Hence their principal objective was to 'convince the villagers' that they should 'banish any idea of witchcraft'.[23] As the archbishop's prosecutor stated, having heard the witnesses' testimony:

> This Martínez is a good woman … and there is nothing to be held against her on the basis of the indiscreet conversations and suspicions of ignorant people. The prosecutor believes she should be freed and cleared of any suspicion of enchantment or fraud. But because this matter, if it is to be remedied sensibly and soundly, needs the learning of a good pastor who can correct the opinion of these simple people … the prosecutor considers it essential to assign this job to the priest of Tosos.[24]

The conflict that broke out in Tosos demonstrates that two opposing explanatory models concerning the reality of witchcraft coexisted well into the nineteenth century: one followed by those who believed in it, the other by those who did not. These two explanatory models were closely linked to two types of emotionality, one old and one new, as expressed in the words used by Pedro Valero, Auxiliary Bishop of Zaragoza, in summing up the attitude of the villagers:

> A village of people most of whom are inconsiderate and unprincipled, taken up by a somewhat outdated preoccupation and enthusiasm.[25]

Valero was referring to antiquated emotions, not ideas, and yet the close connection between the two brings us to the most recent studies in the field of cognitive psychology, according to which emotions cannot be separated from the mental world of thoughts, beliefs, and hopes.[26] The intimate relationship between thought and emotion (emotions as 'upheavals of thought', 'emotionally held thoughts', 'embodied thoughts'[27]) also tells us something about the cultural construction of emotions, as 'overlearned cognitive habits' (which explains the fact that they may be involuntary in the short term).[28] Hence the importance of the most recent studies on emotions in history, a new field of historical study that has obvious points of contact with other, more familiar disciplines, such as psychology or sociology. Taken to its ultimate conclusion, the idea of emotional styles would leave no room for any 'natural' or instinctive emotion,[29] in other words any emotion that might run counter to reason/civilization.

In Tosos, it was the minority educated class, in particular the members of the high clergy, who worked with the episcopal court and by this time no longer believed in witchcraft. They, along with a few other individuals (such as the doctor), manifested a rational, distant stance—one that would be characterized as cold, emotionally speaking. The rest of the villagers, meanwhile, were clearly very much inclined, if not to believe implicitly in witchcraft, at least to drive away the woman they believed to be the cause of the demonic possession. Significantly, the attitude of ecclesiastical representatives varied according to their relative proximity to the scene.

For Pedro Valero, Auxiliary Bishop of Zaragoza, who never visited the village but confined himself to passing judgement from his office, the explanation was simple: fraud or simulation. In the letter Valero wrote on hearing of the events in Tosos, he stated that those affected were merely 'people who, pretending to be possessed, are causing a disturbance and destroying the peace of mind of others'.[30] A year later, after receiving witness statements and other information from the envoy he sent out to investigate the matter, his opinion had not altered in the slightest, as is clear from this letter the archbishop's representative addressed to Mateo de León, the parish priest:

> Reverend Father: I have received the documents regarding the affair of the possessed in this village. Some may be driven by malice, some by madness, others by stupidity; but in all cases I am sure that the possession is false, and I am equally certain that the Martínez woman is not guilty of witchcraft. For it is not to be believed that God has put at her disposal a host of devils, to be passed on to anyone she wishes.[31]

The letter to the parish priest continued in an arrogant and ironic tone. Expeditious rather than instructive, his words displayed his complete ignorance of the situation, of the disorder caused by the demoniacs:

I understand that a young man of this village, being in the army, attempted to behave as if possessed; the corporal, knowing his trick, exorcized him with a good thrashing. When he did it again, the corporal increased the treatment and, with no further ado, the devils vanished. The same will happen with those others; they pay no heed to my benevolent decree … Therefore it will be necessary to call on the secular authorities, who will be informed about the people causing these disturbances. Then the devils will leave them, with punishment, just as they did the soldier.[32]

The local parish priest, however, had a quite different perspective on the matter. He had heard with his own ears the yells and shrieks uttered by eight of his parishioners during the *Corpus Christi* procession; he had seen with his own eyes their 'unmeasured contorsions and gestures', and had seen the ceremony designed to praise the Blessed Sacrament profaned by the 'indecorous and insulting … [and] furious demonstrations' of the women supposedly possessed.[33] From the parish priest's viewpoint, the entire population had been caught up by the emotion of such excesses, and more seriously still, in a process of gradual empathy or emotional identification with those appearing to be possessed,[34] the evil had spread like wildfire—within the space of a week as many as thirty-two villagers (mostly women) had declared themselves possessed by the Devil. The priest felt it was his responsibility, at least in the spiritual domain, to find a cure for these ills.

Given the circumstances, and because he was the one charged with the 'care of souls' in the village, the parish priest devoted himself for several days to exorcising those who sought his help, aided by Fray José de la Huerta, the friar who worked as his assistant. Meanwhile, the parish priest had written to the bishop of Huesca for advice, as I indicate above.[35] But in spite of the prelate's consequent orders to stop the exorcisms immediately, on the assumption that this was all nonsense and that what those involved needed was to be disciplined (bathed, locked up, punished and, above all, set to work and not allowed 'one minute of idleness'[36]), the parish priest had no choice but to continue with the exorcisms. After the priest's initial attempt to do as the bishop said, by trying to convince the families of those affected to put his advice into practice, many of the villagers turned against him and threatened to murder him. The situation then escalated when the women concerned, along with their relatives, 'rose up and surrounded his house, armed with sticks and stones, shrieking like madwomen'[37] that, if he did not continue to carry out the exorcisms, they would kill him. To that end, 'they began throwing stones at the doors and windows'.[38] In the face of such violence, the priest, who was inside the house at the time and 'who certainly believed that day to be the last of his life', had no option but to 'flee through a dug-out door' to the nearby village of Villanueva de Huerva, 5.6 kilometres away, where he took refuge for the next three months, with the bishop's approval.

On the same day as the attack on the priest's house, Julián de Gracia, a fanatical young man, tried to kill Joaquina with a knife and an axe, prompting Pedro Valero, Zaragoza's auxiliary bishop, to order the mayor of Tosos to take all those supposedly possessed into custody. They were not arrested, however, and Joaquina and her husband, Miguel Pascual, therefore decided that they too had to leave Tosos and move to Villanueva de la Huerva. Despite their pleas to the bishop to help them return home, the situation remained unresolved. Indeed, it gradually worsened, since all parties became more and more entrenched in their attitudes. In January 1814, once all the inquiries he had ordered had been carried out (gathering information, questioning witnesses), the archbishop reached the conclusion that Joaquina was not a witch (and was free of all 'suspicion of enchantment or fraud'[39]) and that, therefore, she had every right to return to the village, as soon as peace had been restored there.

The following month, however, the mayor of Tosos, the Assembly of Probity, and the parish priest together presented a report to the archbishop, asking him to leave things as they stood. Their main objective was to ensure that Joaquina did not return under any circumstances. As the report stated, although the village had gone through some very serious times, the storm had abated, and it would simply be tempting fate to allow her back:

> The village continued in the midst of that disorder and confusion for three or four months …Yet in the end this frenzy began to calm down a little … and since that time … the village has become as calm as a mill-pond … when before it was an inferno, especially on feast days.[40]

The different perspectives of the Tosos parish priest and the representative of the archbishop of Zaragoza, Pedro Valero, tell us something about the key importance of emotional spaces, in this case, the rural space as opposed to the urban. The fact is that different members of the clergy defined themselves not so much by their ideological identification with the directives of the Catholic Church as by the geographical area in which they worked. The central feature of the stance adopted by the city-dwelling bishops was scepticism. As Pedro Valero wrote, 'our Holy Religion … abominates and detests all kinds of superstition'[41]. In most rural communities, it was parish priests who lived side by side with their parishioners and acted as intermediaries between the emerging educated class and the working classes.

There was a third group within the clergy, however, also based in the countryside, whose members encouraged and indeed perpetuated the old ways of thinking. These were the friars, who specialized in carrying out exorcisms at Spain's many rural shrines.[42] One that attracted a particularly large number of pilgrims seeking a cure for possession—a tradition documented since at least as far back as the sixteenth century—was the Santo Cristo shrine in Calatorao, a village some thirty kilometres north of Tosos. There, it was believed that the miraculous power of the crucifix, together with the

exorcisms performed by those in charge of the shrine, could cure the possessed who had made pilgrimages not only from neighbouring regions, but from all over Europe.

According to the 1814 report issued by the mayor, the priest, and the Assembly of Probity, the prevailing attitude towards those claiming to be possessed had at first been one of incredulity. However, after one of the women had travelled to Calatorao, most of the villagers underwent a radical change of mind. The young woman in question experienced a miraculous cure, in full view of many witnesses, sweeping away any lingering doubts as to the veracity of the women's claims. The people of Tosos, educated or not, became increasingly convinced that 'their' possessed were genuine:

> There is no doubt that in this village there are some women who are truly possessed and bewitched. At first this was thought to be but a fantasy, yet now it has been proved by that which happened to one of them in the village of Calatorao. Joaquina García, unmarried, a native of Tosos, alleged to be possessed, went to that Holy Chapel with her parents and others. The priest began his exorcism, and she to make her usual violent movements. But finally, thanks to the power of the spell … she stripped off her shirt from her body as quickly and forcefully as a ray of light shines down through a cloud. Her outer garments remained intact. This made a powerful impression on all present. The shirt was taken and folded and hung in the chapel as a memorial of the miracle wrought by the divine Jesus Christ.[43]

Each of the two conflicting explanations of the events in Tosos had in its own way, therefore, been ratified, and there seemed no prospect of them ever being reconciled. While the episcopal court's investigations constituted palpable 'proof' of fraud for those arguing that the possessed were faking their affliction, the miracle at Calatorao was equally convincing for those who believed the claims of possession to be genuine.[44] Well into the nineteenth century, in a situation of widespread disorder, however rational and enlightened the language used by the bishops, what ultimately prevailed in this case was the language of witchcraft, which had claimed so many victims in previous centuries.[45] This language implied regulating human relationships in accordance with certain assumptions, but it was also a way of justifying certain unacknowledged emotions.[46]

Veiling emotions

To understand the origins of the outbreak of collective emotion in Tosos, it is necessary to narrow our focus somewhat. At the root of the entire conflict lay a relationship between two women: Joaquina and Antonia. In line with the classic witch's profile, Joaquina was poor and not native to the village. Originally

from Villanueva de Huerva, she had come to Tosos some years earlier with her family in search of a new life. According to the Assembly of Probity's 1814 report rejecting Joaquina's request to move back to Tosos:

> This Joaquina Martínez is a native of Villanueva. She grew up in extreme poverty and distress, and came to Tosos with a large family. There she was given the job of taking care of the village stables. She remained in this job for some years and she recently rented the shop. This certainly ensured that she had enough to eat. But all her properties do not exceed 200 dineros, and she can work this property and these lands, due to their closeness to Tosos, while remaining in Villanueva.[47]

When her situation was financially precarious, Joaquina was accepted into the community and, as several witnesses stated, she became very friendly with Antonia Ramo, among others. However, at some point, these women all turned against her. In 1817, the priest Francisco Marcos put together a report on life in the village over the five years since the first outbreak of demonic possession:

> During the French rule some disagreements arose in the village, the most well known being that between [Antonia] Ramo and [Joaquina] Martí-nez … both shopkeepers and involved in the sale of goods. Each became envious about the other's abilities to sell her merchandise, and Ramo said that Martínez had sold a bewitched cheese and that all those eating it would become possessed. It happened that, at that time, either through fear of the French or for reasons known only to the doctors, many women and some men suffered some kind of affliction causing them to make extraordinary gestures which, because people were anxious and because it was in Ramo's interest to encourage the idea of possession, were seen as proof of such. Martínez's life was threatened, and she had to move to Villanueva de Huerva, where she currently resides.[48]

It is clear, therefore, that the accusation of evil-doing levelled at Joaquina had been dreamt up by Antonia. Both women sold foodstuffs in the village and a claim that Joaquina had sold 'a bewitched cheese' was the perfect way for Antonia to put an end to her competition. According to Joaquina, Antonia also owed her money and did not want to repay it, which would be reason enough for her to oppose Joaquina's return to Tosos. This was mentioned in the letter sent by Joaquina and her husband Miguel Pascual to the archbishop of Zarago-za's representative:

> The said [Antonia] Ramo has for years owed Miguel Pascual and his wife twenty-four duros, and it is in her interest to appear to be suffering so that they do not return to the village and ask for this debt to be repaid.[49]

We have no other evidence to confirm whether Antonia really owed Joaquina money. What is beyond doubt is the fact that once Antonia's tale began to spread, so too did the animosity towards Joaquina, soon taking the form of threats against her life. In September 1813, Manuel Pascual Bernard, a priest in the neighbouring village of Cariñena, was commissioned by the archbishop of Zaragoza to investigate the case. Like a real detective, he travelled undercover to Tosos and Villanueva de Huerva to carry out his enquiries, before questioning the key individuals. One of his earliest conclusions was that 'the expression "we're going to kill the witch" … has gradually spread with the affliction, passing from one person to another'.[50]

Joaquina had been threatened repeatedly, but she always managed to escape at the last moment. In his report of December 1813, Monsignor Bernard highlighted two particularly significant episodes, which, in his view, provided sufficient grounds to recommend that Joaquina never return to Tosos. Both events were proof positive of the tremendous hostility harboured by the villages against Joaquina ever since the rumour that she was a witch had begun to spread. The ill-feeling even went beyond the village bounds: 'A young soldier … because his sister had bled to death, became so obsessed and worked up that he rode to Villanueva brandishing a sword in order to kill Joaquina. Miraculously, she somehow managed to escape'.[51] In another incident 'three men went to the same village with deadly intent to ensnare her, but fortunately when they tried to make off with her to kill her, their plan was thwarted'.[52]

Although these violent events called out for 'just and exemplary punishment', Bernard took them more as a warning, and as sound reason for advising in no uncertain terms that Joaquina never return, not only for her own protection, but also and more importantly, for the sake of maintaining 'public peace and quiet'.[53] From the priestly detective's point of view, regardless of her magical powers or lack of them, Joaquina was largely responsible for the situation in which she found herself, partly because of her difficult nature and partly because of her conduct when the outbreak of possession first occurred:

> Joaquina has brought her shunning and disgrace upon herself … due to her readiness at the beginning … to take those concerned to her home, even lying in the same bed with them, applying relics to them and offering to cure their affliction.[54]

In other words, like many other popular exorcists who operated without licence from the bishop (as in the Cristo de Calatorao sanctuary), Joaquina had tried to expel the demons from the possessed herself, employing her own personal methods. As well as the spiritual remedies commonly used by Church-approved exorcists, such as words (conversations with the devil lodged in the body of the possessed women) or holy objects (applying relics), Joaquina had used other definitely corporeal remedies (caressing or touching the intimate parts of the afflicted). This was not in itself exceptional: orgasm as a cure for

possession remained part of certain popular exorcism rituals in Spain until relatively recently.[55]

It may be that Joaquina's forceful character and demonstrations of power played a part in the fact that her patients ultimately turned on her.[56] Francisco Marcos's 1817 report described Joaquina as a 'religious woman of good conduct'; but it also acknowledged her combative disposition and added that 'her nickname was "Bate Cargas"' (old Battle-Axe).[57] Whatever the truth of the matter, the collective hatred displayed towards Joaquina undoubtedly stemmed from the unacknowledged personal enmity of Antonia Ramo, the principal instigator of the events that unfolded in Tosos. She and Joaquina had of course once been close friends. Antonia's unwillingness to admit that this friendship had turned to undeclared loathing, her denial of the grudge she bore against Joaquina, is tellingly revealed in her choice of words when she was questioned by the archbishop's envoy. It is disturbing that, after accusing Joaquina of being wholly responsible for the evil spells that had caused such unhappiness, Antonia concluded her testimony by stating that none of her declarations stemmed from 'enmity or hatred, that she certainly harbours neither in her heart, since they were friends, and she is always disposed to support her in as much as she could'.[58]

Similarly, Julián Gracia, the young man who had tried more than once to murder Joaquina, would claim when he was questioned:

> he says nothing against the said Joaquina, nor does he have reason to do so, believing her as he does to be a good woman. And that he, not wishing her any ill, would have no problem speaking to … and even eating with her. And not feeling any hatred or rancour against her, he would be happy were she able to return to the village, because he believes his affliction was sent to him by God and the Lord himself will remove it according to his will.[59]

According to testimony given by a Tosos doctor, Don Ignacio Burillo, each time Antonia had been 'reprimanded for her irregular behaviour and ravings', she always replied that she had been 'a very good friend of said Joaquina', that she still was her friend, that she wished her well in every way, and 'that what she says and does against Joaquina she cannot help, for God is telling her to do it'.[60] Her systematic denial of any envy or dislike of her former friend was couched, therefore, in this kind of providentialist language, enabling her to justify any aggression as being involuntary on her part.

The intense emotions experienced by Antonia and her consequent violent, uncontrolled conduct clearly came from an inner, unresolved conflict between love and hate. There are many references in the trial documents to the extreme states of mind that overwhelmed her whenever she saw or spoke to Joaquina, or even just thought about her. Some of the most notable of these are 'drowsiness', 'anguish' or 'affliction', 'suffocation' and 'oppression', 'heat', or more ambiguously

and generally, what one of her neighbours classed in his testimony as 'vehement passion'. According to Antonio Mainar, an inhabitant of Tosos, he had always considered Antonia to be a woman

> of known Christianity, God-fearing and on good terms with all … And that, being such a friend of Joaquina, he cannot persuade himself that [that which she has done against her] can be due to enmity or hatred towards her, nor to malicious pretence, [but] to a vehement passion and the heat of her imagination.[61]

There is no more interesting insight into Antonia's inner world and the way in which she herself experienced her heightened feelings, emotions, or passions than the report written by Bernard after he had met and questioned her. A few days after travelling undercover to Tosos and Villanueva, in mid-September 1813, he decided to summon Antonia and her husband to his church in Cariñena in order to speak to them in the presence of the parish priest and another cleric. According to Bernard, this meeting was arranged 'with the greatest caution and discretion' since it was thought that what emerged would prove to be 'the origins of the affair'.[62]

Antonia's testimony, which included references to both visual and auditory hallucinations, as well as to 'higher impulses', would today lead us to deduce that she was suffering from a condition of disordered consciousness labelled by some psychiatrists as a 'twilight state'.[63] According to recent research, the most characteristic aspect of this condition is a narrowing of the consciousness owing to

> a heightened emotional state that colours the individual's personal experiences in such a way that it gives the impression that the subject's entire psychic activity is centred only on that which is related to his or her anger, anxiety, hatred, etc.[64]

Antonia's intense and conflicting emotions initially manifested themselves, in fact, in the form of visual and auditory hallucinations directly related to the matter with which she was obsessed. As Bernard's report states:

> [Antonia] felt an inner agitation and melancholy that she could not kneel and give the Lord due adoration … And then she heard a voice that said: 'Antonia, now will appear before you the three people who trouble and frighten you, between these walls, without your seeing them!' And at the same time, she felt impelled to cry aloud: 'Antonia, you will now be cured, but the other women will not if the sorceress does not pay the penalty: the evil is behind you. One of the three is behind you (this meaning Joaquina Martínez). The other is outside the village (this meaning Joaquina's husband). And the deceived girl is at home (this meaning María Manuela Zaragoza, spinster and niece of the aforementioned husband and wife)!'[65]

This auditory illusion, according to Antonia, was then confirmed by a vision, since 'in the very act of lifting the host there appeared before her clearly and distinctly another three people within the circumference of the host itself.'[66]

The two hallucinations gave Antonia courage to stand and go towards the altar, 'letting out shrieks and great yells', and then 'such violent blows with both hands' that the celebrant, afraid that the holy wine might be spilled, 'asked that they remove her from that place'.[67] According to Antonia's account, she had only gone to the altar to touch the stone, returning immediately to her seat 'tranquil and serene, although tired and weary'. And then she had heard another voice that said to her: 'Now you have to tell her you forgive her for the trespasses, but not for the damages, and that she must forgive you in return'.[68] Antonia told how, guided by this latest 'voice', she had left the church and, on meeting Joaquina in the street, had asked her forgiveness. That made her think that 'her spirit had been made quiet and that in future she would be able to visit and speak with Joaquina'.[69] Nonetheless,

> with much feeling, she has never been able to endure her presence and still cannot bear it. And thus, the very fact that Joaquina might be in the village or within its boundaries … or if she has to pass through the village of Villanueva, where Joaquina now lives, she feels the same discomfort and disturbances as when she actually sees her.[70]

Once Bernard had finished questioning Antonia at the Cariñena church, he took her home. As he would relate afterwards, Antonia there suffered a recurrence of her 'condition', a clouding of the vision that the language of psychiatry would probably associate with a state of 'morbid somnolence' or an episode of 'partial amnesia', both characteristic of a 'twilight state':

> That very day Antonia Ramo … suddenly appeared to be overcome by a kind of lethargy, suggesting some kind of anguish or affliction that seemed to have robbed her of her senses. It did not last very long and once she had come back to her senses, she said she heard when they were calling her but could not reply, adding that the same thing had happened to her many times, notably on naming her enemy or if they were praying for Joaquina and her husband. And that therefore, on saying a paternoster at Mass for those in a state of mortal sin she felt obliged to shout aloud: 'Except for two, they being Joaquina and her husband!' "And that if she sometimes wanted to restrain herself, she suffered such stifling oppression that in the end she had to utter the words.[71]

According to Fray José de la Huerta, the assistant to the parish priest of Tosos, the 'nonsense and ravings' uttered by Antonia, a Christian woman of unblemished character, who only appeared to be 'beyond herself' when the

subject of Joaquina arose, were not those of a 'sane woman', nor could they be the 'effect of whim, nor a malicious pretence', but could only be the product of a 'disturbed imagination'.[72] It is hardly surprising that having completed his investigation, during the course of which he had questioned various neighbours, including several priests and the doctor, Bernard judged Antonia's behaviour to be irrefutable proof of insanity. That led him to discount any attempt to commit deliberate fraud: 'She is afflicted by a partial insanity, at least with respect to the matters and issues dealt with here'.[73]

Antonia's contradictory and tormented emotional state combined two defence mechanisms that have been the subject of a great deal of research in Freudian psychology: negation and projection.[74] During the 'witch-hunts' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, the great majority of accusations of witchcraft did no more than attribute to the supposedly guilty women—genuine scapegoats—feelings that the accusers refused to acknowledge within themselves. In contrast to the complexity of Antonia's emotional conflicts, the case of Julián de Gracia is a transparent example of how the mechanism of projection worked when it came to accusing someone of witchcraft. Young Julián, who in the words of a worker who gave evidence at the trial, was 'a young lad of very little spirit', had tried to kill Joaquina more than once. So afraid was he of being hurt by the woman said in the village to be a witch, that instead of waiting to see whether she was truly dangerous, he decided to attack her first. According to his own testimony, 'taking up a hatchet, he went to the house of the said Joaquina'.[75]

It may be that the aggression directed at Joaquina was, to some extent, attributable to her character and conduct. Nonetheless, the surviving testimony as to the unrelenting persecution to which she was subjected would suggest that this violence arose more from a need to find a way of relieving psychologically based conflicts at a time of particular social and political tension. Whatever the level of responsibility of the parties involved, the fact is that, in spite of the archbishop of Zaragoza's enlightened efforts 'to banish ideas of witchcraft from the village' and defend Joaquina from the harassment of her persecutors, the trial did nothing to solve the problem. Over and above *personal emotions* and interpersonal conflicts, the 1812 outbreak of demonic possession, with all it entailed, has something to say to us about the critical importance of *collective emotions*, a field of study ripe for exploration and one that invites us to reflect on the undeniable reciprocity between passion and civilisation.

Notes

1 Autos de Oficio sobre los Energúmenos de Tosos, Procesos civiles modernos, caja 7, nº 10, fol. 21v, Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza. For a complete translation of the trial proceedings, see María Tausiet, *Los posesos de Tosos (1812–1814). Brujería y justicia popular en tiempos de revolución* (Zaragoza: Instituto Aragonés de Antropología, 2002), 91–163.

2 *The Confessions of J.J. Rousseau: with The Reveries of a Solitary Walker. Translated from the French* (London, 1783), 2:150. The translation is from the original French work of

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (*Première promenade*), written between 1776 and 1778 and posthumously published in 1782 in incomplete form.

3 See Daniel Bar-Tal, Eran Halperin, and Joseph de Rivera, "Collective Emotions in Conflict Situations: Societal Implications," *Journal of Social Issues* 63, no.2 (2007): 441–60.

4 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 129–39.

5 During the See Jean-René Aymes, *La guerre d'indépendence espagnole (1808–1814)* (Paris: Bordas, 1973); Gabriel H. Lovett, *Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain* (New York: New York University Press, 1965); David Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer: A History of the Peninsular War* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001), and Ronald Fraser, *Napoleon's Cursed War: Spanish Popular Resistance in the Peninsular War, 1808–1814* (London: Verso, 2008).

6 *Junta* was the name chosen by several local administrations formed in Spain during the Peninsular War as patriotic alternatives to the official administration toppled by the French invaders. They were usually formed by adding prominent members of society, such as prelates, to the already-existing *ayuntamientos* (town councils). They were neither revolutionary nor democratically elected.

7 José de Palafox (1776–1847) was proclaimed by the people governor of Zaragoza and captain-general of Aragon at the beginning of the Peninsular War in 1808. Despite his lack of money and regular troops, he declared war against the French and sustained two memorable sieges in Zaragoza, an antiquated fortress short on munitions and supplies, but extraordinarily resistant thanks to its inhabitants, who resolved to contest possession of the remaining quarters of the city inch by inch.

8 Draft of a letter by José de Palafox to Salvador de Campos, 8 June 1808, Archivo de General Palafox (hereafter AGP), C. 14, 2–128, Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza (hereafter AMZ), quoted in Herminio Lafoz Rabaza, *La Guerra de la Independencia en Aragón. Del motín de Aranjuez a la capitulación de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1996), 88.

9 Mayor of Tosos to Palafox, 28 June 1808, AGP, C. 46, 5–89, AMZ, quoted in Lafoz Rabaza, *La guerra de la independencia*, 88.

10 See Shinobu Kitayama and Hazel Rose Markus, eds, *Emotion and Culture: Empirical Studies of Mutual Influence* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1994); Diane M. Mackie, Thierry Devos and Eliot R. Smith, "Intergroup Emotions: Explaining Offensive Actions in an Intergroup Context," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79 (2000): 602–16, and Diane M. Mackie and Eliot R. Smith, *From Prejudice to Intergroup Emotions* (New York: Psychology Press, 2002).

11 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 128.

12 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 128–29.

13 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 93 and 102.

14 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 150.

15 See Antonio Durán Gudiol, "Las diócesis de Huesca y Jaca," *Argensola: Revista de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses* 109 (1995): 25–38.

16 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 129. Similar advice had been given at the time of the notorious epidemic of possession in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692 and would appear again in nineteenth-century Europe with regard to other cases of collective possession, such as that declared in 1857 in the French village of Morzine, Haute-Savoie. See John Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); William H. Cooke, *Justice at Salem: Reexamining the Witch Trials* (Annapolis: Undertaker Press, 2009); Ruth Harris, "Possession on the Borders: The 'Mal de Morzine' in Nineteenth-Century France," *The Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 451–78; Jacqueline Carroy, *Le Mal de Morzine: De la Possession à l'Hystérie* (Paris: Solin, 1981).

17 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 130.

18 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 131.

19 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 132.
20 Various testimonies survive showing that scepticism towards the existence of witchcraft began to appear among the high clergy in Spain as early as the sixteenth century. See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos. Brujería y superstición en Aragón en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Turner, 2004), 166.
21 While in early modern Europe it was still possible to talk of a popular culture more or less common to all social classes, by the nineteenth century a gap had clearly emerged between the educated classes and the rest of the population. This division was particularly obvious when it came to beliefs concerning witchcraft and the wider concept of superstition. See Bernard Traimond, *Le pouvoir de la maladie. Magie et politique dans les landes de Gascogne (1750–1826)* (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires, 1988), 17–33.
22 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 115.
23 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 152.
24 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 115–16.
25 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 99.
26 See Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 3–30.
27 The concepts cited come from Martha C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Michael Stocker and Elizabeth Hegeman, *Valuing Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 177; Michael Stocker, "Emotional Thoughts," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 24 (1987): 59; Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey M. White, "The Anthropology of Emotions," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15 (1986): 430.
28 See William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 16.
29 In the words of the medievalist Barbara Rosenwein, emotions are not 'great liquids within each person, heaving and frothing, eager to be let out'. See Barbara Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no.3 (2002): 834.
30 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 98.
31 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 136.
32 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 136.
33 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 150.
34 See Max Scheler, *The Nature of Sympathy* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1970), and Emanuele Castano, Bernhard Leidner and Patrycja Slawuta," Social Identification Processes, Group Dynamics, and the Behaviour of Combatants," *International Review of the Red Cross* 870 (2008): 259–71.
35 See above at note 3.
36 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 129.
37 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 131.
38 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 131.
39 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 123.
40 Tausiet, *Posesos,* 132.
41 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 123.
42 Among the most important such places are the medieval hermitage of Mare de Deu de la Balma in Zorita (Castellón), Nuestra Señora de la Fuente de la Salud in Traiguera (Castellón), the Gothic collegiate church of Santa María in Cervera (Lérida), the chapel of Santa Orosia in Jaca Cathedral (Huesca), the monastery of Cillas (Huesca), and the shrine of Santo Cristo de Calatorao (Zaragoza), which attracted people from far and wide. Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, *La España mental. Demonios y exorcismos en los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Ed. Akal, 1990), 9.
43 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 133.

44 On the Enlightenment polemic in eighteenth-century Spain about true and false possession, see María Tausiet, "From Illusion to Disenchantment: Feijoo Versus the 'Falsely' Possessed in Eighteenth-Century Spain," in *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. Willem de Blécourt and Owen Davies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 45–60.

45 On this subject, see Stuart Clark, ed., *Languages of Witchcraft: Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture* (London and New York: Macmillan and St Martin's Press, 2001), and María Tausiet, "'Por el sieso y la natura.' Una lectura literaria de los procesos por brujería," *Edad de Oro* 27 (2008): 339–64.

46 On unacknowledged emotions and witchcraft, see the chapters by Lyndal Roper ("Envidia") and María Tausiet ("Ira humana e ira divina: la brujería vista por Carl Theodor Dreyer"), in *Accidentes del alma. Las emociones en la Edad moderna*, ed. María Tausiet and James S. Amelang (Madrid: Abada, 2009).

47 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 134.

48 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 157–58.

49 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 140.

50 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 95.

51 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 95–96.

52 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 96.

53 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 96.

54 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 96.

55 At the shrine of Mare de Deu de la Balma, in Zorita (Castellón), exorcisms were performed by women reputed to be former witches, known as 'auxiliadores', whose method of curing consisted of bringing about spectacular, purely physiological orgasms. Alvar Monferrer, *Els endemoniats de la Balma* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1997), 120–23.

56 This was not the first time that a particular individual's sexual power had played a crucial role in a case of female possession. See María Tausiet, "Patronage of Angels & Combat of Demons: Good Versus Evil in Seventeenth-Century Spain," in *Angels in the Early Modern World*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 233–55.

57 One of the most remarkable features of the Spanish War of Independence was the active and influential role played by women. Heroines became famous thanks to their exploits and an iconography depicting them 'batiendo cargas', that is, 'firing artillery' against the French enemy. Tausiet, *Posesos,* 65–66 and 160.

58 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 102.

59 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 112–13.

60 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 111.

61 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 109.

62 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 100.

63 Louise Berubé, *Terminologie de neuropsychologie et de neurologie du comportement* (Montréal: Les Éditions de la Chenelière, 1991), 145.

64 Loreto Plaza, "Psicosis exógenas agudas," *Cuadernos de neurología* 20 (1992): 7–8.

65 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 100–101.

66 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 101.

67 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 104–5.

68 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 101.

69 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 101.

70 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 101–2.

71 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 103.

72 Tausiet, *Posesos,* 105.

73 Tausiet, *Posesos*, 102.

74 In contrast to the abundance of studies on cases of denial exhibited by individuals, there are as yet few dealing with collective denial. Of those published so far, see

Stanley Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001); Kari Marie Norgaard, "'People Want to Protect Themselves a Little Bit': Emotions, Denial, and Social Movement," *Sociological Inquiry* 76, no.3 (2006): 372–96; and Evitar Zerubavel, *The Elephant in the Room: Silence and Denial in Everyday Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
75 Tausiet, *Posesos,* 112.

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AFTERWORD

Emotional communities and the early modern religious exile experience

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The toll taken by the religious conflicts that tore through early modern Europe resonates powerfully in these chapters. Segregation, persecution, expulsions, and flight were the blunt receiving end of powerful movements for purification and reform that transformed religious institutions and communities. They were the existential forms of exclusion, and reform was for many Christians, Jews, and Muslims first and foremost about removing, purging, and excluding. These were the necessary first steps towards re-forming individuals, families, worshipping communities, and societies according to the standards of a wrathful God. Injunctions to hate the sin but love the sinner were perhaps too subtle for the times and circumstances. Brought down to its narrowest imperative, the test of true faith was that if the heart of God could tolerate no sin, then the heart of the godly community could tolerate no sinner.

That narrow and abstract imperative cloaked a wide range of economic and political motivations that used faith to legitimate driving out those deemed alien, marginal, expendable, ripe for the picking, or no longer profitable. The contexts for exclusion are complicated, their dynamics are always shaped by time and place, and traditional topoi and rhetoric frame their justifications. Yet in these chapters it is clear that the immediate emotional impacts on those who had fled or been forced out of Italian valleys, French towns, or English estates were remarkably similar, whether they were Jewish, Waldensian, Huguenot, Catholic, or Quaker.

The rhetorics of piety were sometimes more about convenience than conviction, to the point that as often as not they were summoned up after the fact in order to justify exclusionary action as they were preached beforehand to incite it. But it's remarkable how much the language and motivation were shared by both excluders and the excluded. Both inhabited a faith tradition where fear of judgement could often obscure the poetry of grace. Christendom had long

found pain, guilt, and fear to be the most powerful motivators and had framed its narratives accordingly, from gospel summaries to saints' lives. Late medieval artists and preachers cast the pain of Christ's passion and crucifixion as signs of love, but suffering could be described more vividly and memorably, whether it was Christ on the cross, St Lawrence on the grill, or St Catherine on the wheel. Pain could be shared, both with each other and with Christ and the heavenly community. Certainly, the texts and sermons of imitative piety that were gripping the hearts of both clergy and laity said as much about prayer, meditation, and charity as about passion, pain and death. Yet whips and blood had an emotional immediacy and intensity that alms could hardly match. Fear of God's anger and dread of judgement were clearly more compelling motivators in late medieval piety, and as the chapters here show, they lost none of their power to drive conscience and action in the period of the Reformations.

The popularity of St Francis in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance reminds us how powerful the message of acting as a channel of love and peace could be. Yet, exercising love or peace was never as raw or physical as receiving blows or enduring pain. And it raised suspicions. Their love of poverty made Franciscans the most fragmented and persecuted of all the major late medieval orders. Among the various early modern traditions discussed in these chapters, the Spiritualists and Quakers stand out as the rare exceptions who also emphasized love, grace, and community. Their views led many of their more fearful Christian antagonists to condemn them as lustful epicurean antinomians. Worse, their convictions were potentially contagious and certainly corrosive and so for a long time were beyond toleration. The consequences of love were simply too fearful.

It is fear and pain that these chapters return to again and again: fear of God, fear of violence, fear of betrayal, fear of dislocation, fear of erasure, fear of indifference. Each fear framed pains both psychological and physical, both immediate and remembered, both real and embroidered in memory and tradition. Each left trauma as a legacy to later generations.

The chapters explore three themes related to how early modern religious conflict forms an object of study in the larger History of Emotions: belonging and displacement, coping with persecution and exile, and "othering" strategies. In their diversity, they raise a number of common observations, work with common frameworks, and suggest intriguing directions for future research.

Emotions are often seen now as the most personal markers of identity, and for some they are personal carriers of truth that end argument because they are not up for discussion. But they are really the beginning of understanding, and in these chapters the authors underscore how early moderns lived in what Barbara Rosenwein described as 'emotional communities'. Rosenwein framed the concept for the early medieval period, and this only underscores how much the religious frame of rituals, traditions, and language persisted in and through the early modern period. Emotions taught how to value and devalue. They gave meaning to experience by critically setting individual setbacks into a larger narrative that secured individual and collective identity. Huguenots, Covenanters,

Catholics, and Jews all took their identity out of this dynamic, and as Daniel Barbu notes, one element in teaching young Jews how to feel Jewish was to mentor them in how they ought to feel about Christians. Jews had to internalize this lesson long before other early modern victims of Reformation purgation drives were forced to flee over borders to safe uncertainty.

Were these emotions constitutive or performative? The question recalls Peter Burke's earlier distinction between 'sincerity cultures' and 'theatre cultures', and it's an interesting dichotomy to think with, even if it quickly proves more problematic to pursue. Of course, they were both. The letters of refugee Calvinists appealing to international allies for financial support, and the sermons of Huguenot preachers galvanizing their exile communities in the United Provinces and England have a performative predictability that comes partly out of rhetorical tropes from the Bible and tradition. When religious exiles and refugees are reliving Exodus, the Psalms give a template for the appropriate responses. And emotions can lose traction in this tropological predictability—letters go unanswered, and wry side jests about weeping preachers suggest a congregation more moved to boredom than to tears.

At the same time, emotions are never monolithic. They are existential responses to immediate experiences that have thrown a group together and defined them by a common fate of exclusion, exile, and persecution. And as we can see with Jewish children in the sixteenth century, English nuns in the seventeenth, and Scottish Covenanters in the eighteenth, they are reinforced with new physical materials, new songs and stories, and new historical narratives that pass on traditions as fears, grievances, prejudices, and scores waiting to be settled. Moreover, as we see in many of the chapters here, they can also rip through faith communities, dividing those who flee from those who remain. Huguenot believers living undercover in France were less moved by the tears of Huguenot pastors in exile. Their immediate anxiety, fear, and grief often generated resentment and scorn for those bewailing their dispossession in the safety of exile.

Gender shaped emotions critically in these contexts of conflict, as almost all of the chapters show very powerfully. Huguenot women fleeing with children or opting for internal exile might experience the added emotional and economical challenge of abandonment by their husbands. It was often the survival of families that drove refugees over the border and then drove them to despair as they negotiated the practicalities of survival or return. English Catholic nuns embraced a special vocation as the carriers of national, confessional, and class traditions in their exile convents, and this could generate pain and anguish. In the often-criminalized context that merged deviance and dissent, some women were vulnerable to charges of witchcraft, with lust, fear, and envy setting emotional registers. At the same time, males had to learn both how to punish and how to die like a man, with cowardice as the emotion that communities publicized and leveraged in order to enforce behaviour.

Memory was important in the emotional community of religious exiles. But as we see with some communities, forgetting was equally important. Or perhaps

better to call it dissociation. Shared pain may bind an emotional community, but not all pain is judged to be equal. Former refugees, whether Munster or Marian exiles, could be no less purgative or exclusionary when they had their own communities to protect. Some Jews had no difficulty managing the slave trade, and some American Quakers had no difficulty holding the enslaved people they brought for sale across the Atlantic. Yet voices in both communities called out against the trade, precisely because it replicated the collective experience of exclusion and exploitation that their traditions had taught them. Generating a similar trauma in others brought them down to the level of their own persecutors. A similar wilful forgetting obscures or removes those parts of the narrative when victims were victimizers. French Catholics who were seized with eliminating the 'Huguenot threat' in the 1570s were traumatized by Huguenot desecrations of sacred spaces and times over the previous decade, since these purgations threatened to eliminate God's protection over their societies. Huguenots were driven by the same fear of a wrathful God and so saw their purifying violence as holy. Covenanters who suffered in the restoration of episcopacy after 1660 had themselves been vigorous eradicators of episcopacy from Scotland not long before. These reciprocations were not vendettas, but a dogged and fearful pursuit of the holy. We frequently see among Huguenots, Catholics, and Radicals a profound sense that their enemies are acting as agents of God's wrath, and that it is their own guilt that has brought them low—they are being purged because they had been *insufficiently* purgative and had tolerated when they ought to have exercised what Alexandra Walsham called 'charitable hatred'. The familiar biblical topoi can be framed variously, so that the refugee or exile is re-enacting either the exodus from Egypt to a promised land or the Babylonian captivity. Performance *is* identity, and in the mysteries by which God punishes those He loves, it is never one thing only. Except perhaps fear—the proper fear of the Lord.

Monique Scheer develops the concept of emotional communities further by articulating four types of emotional practice: mobilizing, naming, communicating, and regulating. In the intersections with material and spatial history that these chapters probe, we can appreciate the varied forms of emotional practice that develop in early modern Europe. The technologies of printing and publication may not have made emotions more vibrant, but they certainly made them more public. David Joris might not have been reviled so widely or for so long had he not started writing emotionally charged works that found eager and appalled readers for generations. Huguenot preachers liberated from French censorship flooded Dutch presses, but it was soon clear that what might mobilize emotional community in Den Haag could move hearts in a very different direction in La Rochelle. The various narratives that we can collectively name the *Toledot Yeshu* become more problematically public as they move from manuscript to print, particularly as persecution picks up and as converts to Catholicism start identifying these texts as the tools that had been used by their Jewish communities to mobilize and regulate them when they were children. In the fight to ensure that

Catholic Stuarts could not seize back the British throne, protestant polemicists used the accounts of seventeenth-century martyrs like the Waldensian Sebastian Bazan to stir up popular anti-Catholic xenophobia. In the same decades, Bernard Picart juxtaposed Catholic, Reformed, and Jewish images to contrast the remote stance of absolutist Papal power with the pastoral circle of Protestant and Jewish family prayer and worship. By this point, fear had given way to disgust. Paper and print were critical new technologies for mobilizing, naming, communicating, and regulating emotions, and as they multiplied, the horizons of emotional response moved forward. Yet older material forms like relics retained the power to move and could even gain new currency: bloodied handkerchiefs, Thomas More's hair shirt, and bits of wood from executioners' scaffolds brought the emotional resonance of the true cross or the shroud into the present.

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The intersections through these chapters underscore how, even when we follow particular religious and cultural communities in research, it is often the commonalities of exile experience more than the commonalities of creed that define emotional communities. The immediate experience of exclusion often unites Jews, Catholics, Calvinists, and Radicals, even if their processing of those feelings serves to harden boundaries. These dynamics and paradoxes raise further questions about emotions as drivers and responses in early modern religious conflict, exile, and exclusion.

How does conversion shape emotion, particularly when emotions are what most frequently drive individuals as they move from one faith community to another, or simply move searching through a series of them?

What happens when emotions become traditions? Or catechetical? How are they then performed and felt? Letters, images, objects, and memories are how emotions are often mobilized and communicated, particularly across generations, but their emotive force fades. The fear of God is a creedal constant, but the fear of neighbour, ruler, or Inquisitor less so.

Why is fear so much stronger than love? It seems more prevalent here, but is this because fear, trauma, and loss are more motivating and leave stronger traces in desperate letters and appeals and in harsh actions and responses? Others speak of love, compassion, and toleration and perhaps practice it, but why does it seem to be only the Spiritualists and Quakers who truly delight in it—and suffer for that delight? Fear and trauma can also become a memory as conditions change, particularly among different classes. Political and ecclesiastical leaders of the Holy Roman Empire saw dancing witches of the sixteenth and seventeenth century as an immediate and fearful threat to communal health and safety. Their counterparts in eighteenth-century Spain saw the healing witch as either a con artist or lunatic, and more a danger to herself than to others.

Is laughter as rare as it seems in these communities? Does it always come as the targeted laughter of satire and parody, whether the scatological German woodcuts of the 1520s to the 1540s, the *Toledot Yeshu*'s mocking portrayal of

Christ as the ghost in the latrine on Christmas, or Bernard Picart's engravings emphasizing papal power as remote, impersonal, and anything but pastoral? Is laughter ever self-deprecating, or delighted, or relieved?

How do the inflections of culture and time shape emotional communities within faith communities? This collection features Calvinists of various stripes, from French Huguenots to Scottish Covenanters, to Rhineland Reformed. Beyond this particular collection, in recent years Susan Karant-Nunn has written about Lutherans, Wietse de Boer and Geert Janssen about Catholics, and Kenneth Stow and Magda Teter about Jews. How do the rituals, texts, and traditions of different faith communities generate distinct emotional communities, particularly when these also become the most dangerous markers of their difference? Some religious groups are more prone to exclusion, like radicals and Jews, while others move in and out from the margins of power like Calvinists. Catholics wield absolute power in some parts of Europe and are hounded in others. How and why does an emotional community mobilize and communicate emotional memories that no longer coincide with its immediate experience?

How do emotional communities move through time? All communities fray at the edges; all develop generationally, spatially, and culturally. Individuals always inhabit many at a time. Can we trace shifting sensitivities within and between the emotional communities of religious exiles and refugees? How do others, either within a tradition or outside it, appropriate emotions of others and internalize them? Linguists have traced the gradual decline of French proficiency among Huguenots in Berlin; is there a similar decline in emotional intensity and regulation? Do we find among Huguenots in Berlin, as we do with Walloons in Frankfurt, that as intermarriage with locals renders a community steadily less distinct, it becomes ever more strategic in mobilizing, communicating, and regulating that refugee identity as a form of social capital? A mark of segregation and subordination in the seventeenth century became a prized form of identification more resonant at the end of the eighteenth century.

These movements forward to the end of the early modern period remind us that as experiences mature into traditions, they can be reborn in the reinventions and appropriations of later generations, with emotions as the critical connective tissue. Moravian descendants of sixteenth-century Radical exiles fled again in the eighteenth century, and their experience made their own communal narratives and traditions that much more vivid and immediate. Feeling exclusion united those at the end with those at the beginning of the early modern period, and this appropriation and internalization of Radical-era persecution inflected Moravian worship in renewed exile. It was at a Moravian service in London that John Wesley felt his heart 'strangely warmed'. We might see this as a further emotional appropriation across temporal and cultural boundaries, and a particularly influential one. It would reshape Wesley's preaching, trigger his own exclusion from the Church of England, and define a spiritual movement that consciously urged appropriating the emotions of Reformation-era religious conflict as keys to religious revival in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Methodist and evangelical missionaries exported their Reformation revivalism around the globe, both through and beyond the British Empire, targeting the socially marginalized with greatest impact, largely because of the emotional power of their message. They encouraged converts in rural, industrial, and colonial contexts to appropriate the tropes, technologies, and traditions of early modern religious exiles as ways to voice, understand, and mobilize their own social exclusion. These were vivid, immediate, and emotionally relatable. Yet they worked more through allegory or analogy than through lived experience. The Methodist could sing movingly of having no earthly home, though without the trauma of actually lacking a place to sleep, eat, or shelter. Moravian refugees had been less fortunate. Yet the horizons had moved by the end of the early modern period, and as the experience of exclusion became more distant, what came into view was a greater appreciation for toleration and a greater desire to make love, rather than fear, the emotion that animated Christian life.

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