

Conclusion to Part One

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Half a century ago, the history of religious toleration was a much narrower field than it is today. Back then, the history of toleration was usually told as a story of great thinkers - figures such as Sebastian Castellio, John Locke, and Voltaire - whose ideas contributed to the development of modern concepts of religious freedom. It was also told as a story of powerful rulers like Oliver Cromwell and Frederick the Great who, for idealistic or pragmatic reasons, introduced laws and policies that extended increasing measures of toleration to religious minorities. These two strands, of intellectual and political history, were each spun by scholarly specialists, but they were also interwoven in works of synthesis, as for example in the classic study by Joseph Lecler, *Toleration and the Reformation* (original French edition 1955, English translation 1960). This focus on ideas and governmental policies was in part a reflection of the prevailing focus of historical writing generally on 'great men'. It was also a heritage of the Whig school of historiography out of which historical writing on the subject of toleration emerged. This school presented 'Western' history as the story above all of the rise of freedom: political, economic, and religious freedom, which were conceived as mutually dependent and reinforcing one another.

Today, the history of toleration is a much richer and more varied field, as the essays in Part One of this volume attest. As in historical writing generally, intellectual and political approaches have not been abandoned - far from it, and the study especially of ideas about toleration continues to bear new fruit. The range of relevant ideas is broad, and it includes the concepts of religious concord and reunion. For one of the most important responses to the unprecedented, traumatic schism that occurred in western Christendom in the sixteenth century was to will it away - to hope for the reconciliation of Europe's warring religious parties and the union of all western Christians in a single church, as before the Reformation. Miriam Eliav-Feldon examines in her essay two such proposals for the establishment of 'universal peace', by Francesco Pucci and Émeric Crucé. Anticipating (and influencing) the Rosicrucians of the following century, Pucci advocated the establishment of a secret society whose members, drawn from different churches,

would work towards the convening of an ecumenical council. More unusually, Crucé looked to commerce as both a means of making peace and an end in itself. Taihei Yamamoto looks at a thinker who was even more ambitious, to the point of being utopian: Guillaume Postel, who hoped that people of all religions around the globe might be united in a single church, a goal that would trigger 'the restoration of the world to its original harmony'. Yamamoto's focus is on Postel's overtures to the Family of Love, a spiritualist sect that similarly disdained confessional divisions. It is interesting to note that the Christian mysticism of the Familists had a loose counterpart in the Sufi tradition within Islam that influenced both the tolerant Shah Abbas of Persia, as Inessa Magilina shows in Part Two, and the Druzes of Mount-Lebanon, examined by Ray Jabre Mouawad. It may be that mystical traditions of all sorts, in de-emphasizing the importance of dogmas, ceremonies, and institutions, have a special potential to encourage toleration.

One of the newest developments in the study of toleration has been the attempt to write broader cultural histories of the subject. While closely related to the intellectual approach, the cultural one expands the range of people whose ideas are the subject of inquiry. It looks at sets of interrelated ideas shared by groups rather than the views of individual authors. And it focuses less on standpoints that were explicitly argued than on attitudes and assumptions that were presumed and/or enacted in behavior. To accomplish these shifts, it expands the range of primary source evidence on which it draws. Tomoji Odori takes such a cultural-historical approach in his essay on the attitudes of anabaptists toward religious violence. He brings out the ambiguities and contradictions in anabaptist attitudes toward such violence, showing that while Anabaptists after the 1530s-40s generally condemned such violence and rejected persecution, their acceptance of martyrdom itself manifested a 'capacity for violence', as did their belief (and desire) that God would violently punish those who persecuted them. Odori draws his evidence principally from a single, seventeenth-century source, the *Martyr's Mirror*. This work, however, was a compilation of many earlier accounts of martyrdom written by earlier anabaptists, and it includes many documents written by the martyrs themselves. It also served as a foundation for the religious culture of the Anabaptists' descendants, the Mennonites. In this way, the *Martyr's Mirror* can rightly be seen as a group product and an indicator of collective mentalities.

The other author in Part One to take a cultural-historical approach is Éric Suire, who examines religious printed material produced in southwestern France in the

seventeenth century. Suire draws his largely quantitative methodology from historians such as Robert Darnton who have sought to penetrate wide cultural milieus by examining the printed matter - books, but also pamphlets, almanacs, and other ephemera - that were produced, circulated, and consumed in them. Suire finds that the ideological competition between Catholics and Huguenots (French Calvinists) was a powerful stimulus to the production of printed material, and that the very different kinds of material produced by each side functioned as markers of confessional identity. Suire's methodology enables him also to track change over time, revealing not only the expanded involvement of the French state after mid-century but also a far-reaching 'pacification of inter-faith relations' - until, that is, the Revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes.

One of the more traditional approaches to the history of toleration is the study of religious minorities: their recruitment, organization, piety, and the conditions under which they lived. A contemporary version of this approach is employed by Pilar Jiménez Sanchez in his essay on the Cathars. Sanchez does justice to the spirituality of the Cathars and its intrinsic appeal, but he places special weight on the political and social context in which the Cathar movement grew in southern France in the twelfth century. Sanchez argues that the frontier nature of the region and weakness of political authorities there were largely responsible for the positive reception given to the self-proclaimed 'bons hommes', especially by local elites, both noble and urban. Robert Armstrong likewise focuses on a religious minority, the Presbyterians in seventeenth-century Ireland. Armstrong makes a distinctive argument about the 'endurance' of Irish presbyterianism being due to the maintenance of several 'balances' - between ecclesiastic order and flexibility, lay obedience and initiative, and between the presbyterian church and its competitors. Armstrong makes innovative use of the concept of 'religious ecology' to situate the place of the presbyterians in the wider religious environment, and to show how they filled it. Armstrong demonstrates that Irish presbyterians, who themselves or their ancestors came mostly from Scotland, saw theirs not as a Scottish church but as an Irish church with Scottish origins. This issue of 'national', that is, ethnic and linguistic, identity features more prominently in Part Two of this volume, particularly in the contributions by Yutaka Horii, Hiromi Saito, and Hidemitsu Kuroki. Indeed, it can be said that, on the local level, national identity, though certainly tied to religious allegiance, was generally a less significant factor in relations between people of different faiths in western Europe than in the Ottoman Empire, where the accommodation of religious diversity was structured largely along national

lines. The latter was true too in Venice, the city in western Europe with the closest ties to the Ottoman east.

Sugiko Nishikawa's essay takes an innovative approach to the history of religious minorities. The minority in question is Anglicans travelling on the European continent, and the immediate issue is how they obtained provision for their religious needs. In Livorno, Oporto, and other commercial cities where English merchants stayed, they sought, with limited success, to obtain their own chaplains and chapels. Rather than worship with Catholics, some in northern Italy had recourse to worship with Waldensians in the valleys of Savoy. By contrast, Anglicans who travelled to Reformed Protestant lands felt comfortable worshipping in local parish churches. For many, this was a way to express solidarity with continental Protestants and to underline the essential agreement of their own faith with that of their hosts. For a time, England's Tories preferred not to conform when abroad even in Reformed lands, cherishing rather a project to build Anglican churches in the Netherlands and Geneva. Paradoxically, though, this too was conceived as a way to express solidarity with fellow Protestants. Nishikawa's essay thus reveals not only how a religious minority found accommodation in differing circumstances, but also how that minority viewed the boundary between their own faith and others'. His is a story of interfaith dialogues that are enacted rather than spoken.

One of the subjects of particular interest in recent years has been conversion and other forms of religious border-crossing. This interest is reflected in Alain Tallon's contribution to this volume, which teases out what evidence can be gleaned from the records of the Roman Inquisition about the conversion in the sixteenth century of French Catholics, and of Italians in France, to Protestantism. The handful of documented cases enables Tallon to sketch patterns in the process of conversion that differ markedly from the narratives of conversion offered at the time by Protestant hagiographers and Catholic polemicists. The converts in question did not move from one faith to another in a decisive, one-step fashion, but rather passed through a phase of detachment, disbelief, doubt, and ambivalence. Through these cases, Tallon is able also to follow the process of reconversion, that is, the return of some converts to their original faith. This is a little-studied topic that similarly challenges views that are prevalent today about the nature of religious commitment in the pre-modern world, highlighting the ambiguous and labile qualities it could have. Tallon's findings can be usefully compared to those of Asuka Tsuji in Part Two of this volume, concerning the reconversion of Christians back to Christianity

in Mamluk Egypt. Another essay treating the theme of conversion is that by Masanori Sakano, who, in the context of a broader study, examines the role played in seventeenth-century France by Jansenists associated with the Abbey of Port-Royal in the conversion of Huguenots to Catholicism. Sakano reveals the social links and intellectual concerns that made Port-Royalists 'catalysts for promoting dialogue and mutual comprehension between Catholicism, Protestantism, and Eastern Christianity'.

The most important trend in recent years, though, has been the emergence of what has been called 'the new social history of toleration'. This new line of historiography takes as its principal subject the social relations and interactions of people of different faiths who lived together, or near one another, in local communities. It seeks to understand the formal arrangements and informal accommodations that made peaceful coexistence possible for such people at certain times and places. Sakano's essay adopts this approach in its first section, where it treats the salons hosted in Paris by members of the French nobility, most of them women, who were supporters of Port-Royal. Frequented also by Huguenots and non-Jansenist Catholics, these salons functioned according to codes of sociability that made them safeplaces for the discussion of religious matters. Four other essays in Part One demonstrate likewise the fruitfulness of this new historiographic approach. Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire's essay bears a slight resemblance to Sakano's in that it looks at social relations between Catholics and Protestants at one of the highest levels of society - not relations enacted in person, however, but at a distance. Beaurepaire examines a body of correspondence from the eighteenth century between the pastors of the French Reformed churches of Prussia and the Italian Catholic Cardinal Querini, Bishop of Brescia. The essay shows how this cross-confessional correspondence was consciously intended not only to serve the cause of scholarship but also to promote tolerance between Catholics and Protestants, partly in order for them to form a united front against their common enemies: deists and materialists, above all. It was intended also to reclaim the mantle of neutral scholarship back from the anti-clerical radicals of the Enlightenment. Straddling the border between social and intellectual history, Beaurepaire's essay looks also at some of the ideas articulated in this learned correspondence, finding in them support for the notion, proposed by David Sorkin, of a 'Religious Enlightenment'.

From high to low, socially: Martine Acerra looks at the situation of Huguenots who served in the French navy in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and their relations with Catholic shipmates, both aboard ship and in port. In both contexts, she argues that

moderation, tolerance, and concessions to Huguenots were the norm. She attributes this to two causes: the French crown simply needed Huguenot sailors too much to drive them out of the navy by persecution, and the character of life aboard ship, with its extraordinary intimacy and high degree of mutual dependency on which hung survival itself.

One of the most illuminating essays in Part One is by Graeme Murdock on relations between Protestants and Catholics in the small village of Choulex, which belonged to the Duchy of Savoy but was surrounded and interspersed with Genevan territory. Murdock takes a microhistorical approach, focusing his essay on a single incident, the ruckus created in 1652 by a wedding party held in the officially Catholic village to celebrate the marriage of a Protestant couple. Placing this incident in context, Murdock finds both the Catholic authorities of Savoy and Protestant ones of Geneva - in cooperation with one another - 'policing the boundaries' around their religious communities, using their disciplinary powers to discourage fraternization and separate Protestants and Catholics socially from one another. But just as some Catholics attended the Protestant party about which a local Catholic priest complained, so more generally the boundaries between the confessions were blurred in everyday life. Indeed, both Catholics and Protestants exploited the liminal position of Choulex to evade the moral and disciplinary demands of their churches. Murdock's account combines structural analysis with narrative, tracing thus 'the rules of the game of living in this divided rural community'. What he shows for Choulex was surely true more widely in early modern Europe: that relations between people of different faiths were often characterized by a 'delicate combination of confessional loyalties, confessional ambiguities and neighbourly relations'. One point of comparison outside Europe is offered in Part Two by Yutaka Horii, who finds a degree of 'closeness and fluidity' among the religious communities in Ottoman Cairo that contrasts to the sharp distinctions between the latter that existed in legal principle. Another point of comparison is provided by Febe Armanios, who even more than Murdock focuses on issues of space - public, private, liminal, central - and how relations between religious groups are configured and contested spatially.

This is the central focus too of the last essay in Part One, Shunsuke Katsuta's fascinating account of relations between Catholics and Protestants in Dublin, Ireland, in the early nineteenth century, viewed through the prism of burial practices. At a time when Catholics and Protestants in Dublin scarcely intermingled socially, living largely segregated lives, in death, paradoxically, they lay together in common cemeteries,

constituting a single, integrated community. Made possible by illegal accommodations on both sides, this arrangement had existed a very long time when it was challenged in the 1820s by a new Protestant archbishop. In Katsuta's account, the Irish Burial Act of 1824 is revealed as an attempt to restore a version of the former status quo, but the very fact that arrangements were now being explicitly legislated generated new difficulties as well as opportunities. Catholics ceased to be buried in the old parish churchyards, but Catholics and Protestants ended up being buried together in new public cemeteries.

With Katsuta's essay, Part One of this volume, which begins in the twelfth century, moves into the early years of the modern era. The essays in it are thus extremely varied in period as well as methodology, though most focus on the two centuries that followed the Reformation. If any two terms can together capture the varied themes of the essays, they may well be 'coexistence' and 'dialogue'. Coexistence can be taken to refer generally to behavior and social practice, dialogue likewise to discourse. If there is a weakness in current historiographic developments, it is perhaps that these two aspects of the history of toleration have been treated too much in isolation from one another. This has partly been a reaction to the former dominance of intellectual history and a natural product of the effort by scholars to break new ground. Some of the essays in Part One of this volume focus more on behavior, others more on discourse, and in both of these areas new ground is broken here (though the metaphor is wholly inapt for Acerra's work on sailors in the French navy). What is striking, though, is how many essays seek, in one way or another, to combine examination of behavior and discourse, groping thus towards a synthesis of the two. In this respect, Part One of this volume may well be pointing toward future developments in the historiography on toleration. Also striking is the many points of comparison between these essays, which all focus on Christian Europe, and those in Part Two, on relations between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Mediterranean world and Near East. Such comparisons offer another promising path toward new insights.