



Discrimination and tolerance in historical perspective / edited by Gudmundur Hálfðanarson. - Pisa : Plus-Pisa university press, 2008
(Transversal theme. Discrimination and tolerance)

323.1 (21.)

1. Discriminazione 2. Tolleranza I. Hálfðanarson, Gudmundur



CIP a cura del Sistema bibliotecario dell'Università di Pisa

This volume is published thanks to the support of the Directorate General for Research of the European Commission, by the Sixth Framework Network of Excellence CLIOHRES.net under the contract CIT3-CT-2005-006164. The volume is solely the responsibility of the Network and the authors; the European Community cannot be held responsible for its contents or for any use which may be made of it.

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Published by Edizioni Plus – Pisa University Press
Lungarno Pacinotti, 43
56126 Pisa
Tel. 050 2212056 – Fax 050 2212945
info.plus@adm.unipi.it
www.edizioniplus.it - Section "Biblioteca"

Member of



ISBN: 978-88-8492-558-9

Informatic Editing
Răzvan Adrian Marinescu

Crossing the Confessional Border: a Possible Path towards Religious Tolerance in the Bohemian and French Kingdoms?

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S'il n'y avait en Angleterre qu'une religion, le despotisme serait à craindre; s'il y en avait deux, elles se couperaient la gorge. Mais il y en a trente, elles vivent en paix heureuse.
Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques*

ABSTRACT

The path of the Protestant minority towards religious tolerance during the Catholic Reformation was a very long and complex process. From the first third of the 17th century to the end of the 18th century, Czech Protestants as well as French Huguenots endeavoured to maintain their religious alterity and to obtain the equality of their Church. As they were deprived of their clergy and their worship was forbidden, the persecuted Protestants could preserve their spiritual tradition only through illegal and extra-ecclesiastic structures. Their attempt to preserve their hidden existence generated the inevitable loss of denominational purity and thus caused misunderstanding and even serious conflicts with the Protestant authorities in exile. Especially the lay leaders of these secret Evangelical communities, strong personalities often perceived as the 'enlightened', or as the select few on the road to God, gave rise to a lack of trust and critical reactions. Their specific doctrinal beliefs, leading rather often to prophetic movements, turned out to be the only possible solution in the context of the continuous religious persecution in both states. While, at the end of the 18th century, thanks to the influence of Enlightenment discourse, the French Huguenots endeavoured to participate actively in the civic life of whole society, the Protestant minority in Czech lands still stuck to its exclusiveness, blocking therefore its social integration.

Cesta protestantské menšiny k náboženské toleranci v období katolické reformace byla velmi komplexním a zdoluhavým procesem. Od první třetiny 17. století až do konce 18. století, usilovali čeští protestanti, stejně jako francouzští hugenoti, o udržení své náboženské alterity a zrovnoprávnění svého náboženství. Jelikož jim však byli v obou zemích násilně odejmuti duchovní a znemožněny bohoslužby, uchování jejich duchovní tradice bylo možné jen díky nelegální, necírkevní struktuře. Tato snaha po udržení tajné existence s sebou však přinášela nevyhnutelnou ztrátu konfesijní čistoty a vyvolávala následně neporozumění, ba dokonce závažné konflikty s exulantskými protestantskými autoritami. Byli to přitom převážně laičtí vůdci tajných evangelických komunit, silné osobnosti, které byly nezřídka považovány za osvícené, vyvolené na cestě za samotným Bohem, kdo v exilu vyvolávali nedůvěřivost a kritické ohlasy. Byly tak prohloubeny překážky zabráňující spojení protestantských snah o prosazení náboženské tolerance. Překračování konfesijní hranice a identity ze strany těchto „vyvolených“ se však ukázalo jako jediné možné řešení v kontextu neutichajícího náboženského útlaku v obou státech. Zatímco na sklonku 18. století dochází vlivem osvícenského diskurzu ke změně způsobu, jímž se tajní protestanti ve Francii vnímali sebe sama, a tito se tak snažili aktivně zapojit do

civilního života celé společnosti, evangelická menšina v českých zemích na mnohých místech nadále lpěla na své výjimečnosti a zabraňovala tak své plné společenské integraci.

The problem of knowing whether it is possible to gain salvation within a new confession which does not follow consolidated views of what is the Christian ‘truth’ existed ever before the time of the Reformation. The question of tolerance thus arose every time a new religious movement appeared. During the Reformation the medieval debate on *tolerantia* was re-actualized with an incomparable intensity. But the idea of tolerance was not, as one might presume, in harmony with the spirit of the Protestant reforms – quite the contrary. The Protestants themselves were split into rival denominations which were bitterly antagonistic toward one another¹.

Even if the idea of civil tolerance made strong progress in the French Protestant Churches during the 18th century, intolerance towards different religious attitudes remained a very widespread problem within the Reformed churches. In this perspective, it is necessary to distinguish between ‘civil tolerance’, which was strictly related to political matters, and tolerance regarding doctrinal dispositions and especially the discrepancies, or the various theological opinions which were discussed in the doctrinal debates with the churches². It is very important to see the essential difference between tolerance towards theological positions and what enlightened thinkers later called freedom of conscience. Of course, the two phenomena and the processes leading to the present situation in fact intersected and influenced each other. In this chapter, I would like to demonstrate how excessive ties to doctrinal orthodoxy compromised ecclesiastical tolerance and also made it more difficult to achieve political religious freedom. The political theory of the State took several centuries to evolve and the great effort made by enlightened philosophers during the 18th century was necessary before the religious tolerance was admitted to be an advantageous principle, a principle even necessary for the cohesion of the kingdom. Where they were in the position of being a minority, the reformed churches had to fight for many years to obtain the free practice of their faith³.

Adopting a different perspective with respect to that of the State, we will try to show in the present chapter how this difficult battle for tolerance was complicated even more by the Protestants themselves. Indeed, to legitimize their confession, it was in the first place necessary to declare oneself clearly as a member of one of the tolerated Protestant denominations. But this fact was not at all obvious. When persecutions deprived the Protestants of their pastors and with the lack of the necessary spiritual directorship to maintain their confessional purity, it was essential for the fellowship of believers to build up an identity of exclusiveness. The result was the formation of groups having the character of a sect⁴. This fact ended up by creating important obstacles to the realization of tolerance. The attitude of the persecuted Protestant communities was very ambiguous.

One could ask why it is useful to study the problem of confessional border through the comparison of the cases of the French kingdom and the Bohemian lands. While the Bohemian kingdom had had a pluri-confessional tradition even before the beginning of the Protestant Reform of the 16th century, the French kingdom – except for Lutheran Alsace⁵ – was only a biconfessional country where Calvinism coexisted with the State religion, that is Catholicism. And even this biconfessional situation did not last for a long time. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685, the French monarchy became officially a country of only one religion. But despite this obvious difference, the two cases had a similar genesis. In both, the confessional borders were crossed in order to obtain religious tolerance. After a rapid introduction of the main facts, we must consider some terminological points, essential to the development of our analysis.

The historiographical tradition correctly regards the second half of the 16th century as the period of the construction of confessional identities and borders. For example, in small German prin-

cialities or imperial cities confessional membership even provided borders in situation when these were not clear from the geographical point of view. Nevertheless, in this chapter we do not understand the confessional border to be a border line which delimits a territory following the famous principle of Edict of Augsburg “*cuius regio, illius religio*”. We consider the confessional border to be a mental frontier closely connected to confessional identity⁶. According to the recent study by the historian Raymond A. Mentzer⁷, the “reformed” identity (*identité réformée*) was based on the Christian discipline and dogma of the Protestant church (in his study reference was to the Calvinist church) and on respect towards the moral rules of the community. If R. A. Mentzer’s interpretation is correct when he considers the Consistory the main actor in this “common reformed moral”, one could take the year 1685, the date of the suppression of the last French temples and Consistories, as the end of French Calvinist identity. However, the persecution of Calvinists in France reinforced their beliefs and thus their religious identity. We can multiply the examples during the Modern period. Jean Bérenger⁸ demonstrated clearly that different confessional identities continued in a stable way however much the different Protestant worshippers were persecuted by the ever-present Counter-Reformation in Central Europe after the Treaty of Westphalia. This phenomenon has already been well analyzed by various researchers. It is a feature inherent in human nature that at the moments of threats and persecutions, people hold strongly to their traditions, prerogatives and cultural heritage. It is thus not necessary to introduce more examples to show this point. Rather, let us now see where the baricenter between the two extreme poles is placed; that is between the continuing loss of confessional purity and the reinforcement of the threatened tradition. The examples from the two national case studies show that a paradoxical situation resulted sometimes from this two-way pressure.

Let us start from the end of the period⁹, at the moment of the proclamation of religious tolerance in both States. The *Édit de tolérance*, signed by Louis XVI in 1787, provided Protestants with a legal guarantee of civil status. But even though the Edict was acclaimed with great enthusiasm by the French Calvinists, they had to wait until the French Revolution of 1789 and the Declaration of Civil Rights to make them full-fledged citizens and enforce full religious tolerance. In October 1781, Emperor Joseph II (1780-1790) promulgated the Edict of Tolerance in Hungary and Bohemia. Besides Catholicism, it ensured tolerance to Lutheranism and Calvinism. At least, the Czech non-Catholics could declare their beliefs and worship openly. They could acquire property, buy and sell goods, accede to state offices, to academic degrees and even enter politics. The privileged position of Catholicism remained nevertheless untouched.

Thus both edicts immediately instigated great contrasts between the Protestants and Catholics who found this new confessional situation difficult to accept. In addition to reciprocal verbal abuse, open conflict between Protestants and Catholics was especially likely to break out at baptisms or funeral ceremonies¹⁰. Catholics refused to recognize the new rights to Protestants who did not hide the fact that they intended to use their new rights. The situation in France nevertheless quieted down rather quickly. First of all, this happened because of the situation of rapid change that came about with and after the French Revolution. But there were also clear internal causes. After 1787, Calvinists could finally attend their church ceremonies publicly and their pastors could return safely from exile to administer rites and sacraments. At the same time, there was almost no problem with the organization of the renewed French Calvinist Church, the re-establishing of its status and its financing. The Calvinist churches simply took up their existence again on the basis of the former hidden illegal structure, which had continued to exist during the period of persecution. The situation was completely different under the Hapsburg Monarchy and thus in Bohemia. Not only were the Protestants still unable to attend their church ceremonies openly

after the publication of the edict)because until the end of 1782 they still did not have their own temples, and several communities were even still without pastors); but primarily, the majority of them were not able to define clearly whether they belonged to one of the three tolerated confessions¹¹. Within several months after the publication of the edict, they had to leave their former personal convictions built up during the previous decades and to register officially by the local authorities either as Lutherans or as Calvinists. Despite this official religious freedom, they had to transgress in some way their previous spiritual identity, a task even more difficult because the two new confessions seemed to them very artificial and faceless, even untrustworthy¹². For several decades, cut off from ordained priests and from orthodox liturgy, the Czech non-Catholics had found the newly established churches very abstract and unfamiliar. In this way, their actual beliefs did not really correspond to the main dogmatic points of the tolerated denominations¹³. Officially they could not keep their former spiritual lay leaders. We thus witness a rather paradoxical situation because at the arrival point on the path to toleration, the non-Catholics in Bohemia were obliged to renounce their own religious identity. A part of them adapted to this new situation and were willing to consider themselves Lutherans, Calvinist or Catholics. Other groups evolved into several types of sects, which subsequently became new objects of intolerance¹⁴.

PERSECUTIONS AND THE PROGRESSIVE LOSS OF THE CONFESSIONAL PURITY

What then were the circumstances in which attempts to cross the confessional border in both States began? Religious intolerance towards the followers of the Reformation was the rule in the two kingdoms from the 16th century on. In France, the Protestant minority was alternately reinforced and weakened during the wars of religion until Henry IV (1589-1610) took the throne and proclaimed the Edict of Nantes. But at the beginning of Louis XIII's reign (1610-1643), Catholicism, which, by the way, had never ceased to be the religion of the State, clearly endeavoured to drive out the Huguenot heresy. In Bohemia, on the other hand, Catholics were one religious minority in an ocean of different religious beliefs. The situation changed only after the rise to the throne of the Habsburg dynasty. During the reign of Ferdinand II (1619-1637), Catholicism again became the religion of the State. This meant the end of the Utraquist¹⁵ rule which had lasted in Bohemia and Moravia with greater or lesser intensity since the death of the emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (1433-1437). In both national contexts, anti-Protestant policies became gradually stronger, but the process was more rapid in Bohemia. After the repression of the revolt of the Czech estates represented above all by the reformed nobility, Protestantism was forbidden in Bohemia and all the serfs had to convert to Catholicism. The leaders of the revolt were persecuted, the reformed clergy was expelled from the country and only the Protestant aristocrats could leave the country freely, a fact that involved nevertheless the loss of their moveable and real property¹⁶. With the promulgation of the Renewed Constitution of Bohemia and Moravia¹⁷, the era of intolerance was definitely consolidated in the country. After a few months of pressure exercised by "the commissioners of conversion", coming from the entourage of the Archbishop of Prague, often accompanied by soldiers, the majority of the subjects of the kingdom officially abjured. Then, the *dragoons* were quickly replaced by imperial or foreign soldiers as the revolt of Bohemia gradually turned into the Thirty Years War. During this war, it became more difficult to enforce the Counter-Reformation. Also, after the peace of Westphalia in 1648, the situation remained very difficult, especially because of insufficiencies in tending to the parishes¹⁸. Around 1700, a single priest might have to care for two or even for up to six parishes, which represented about fifteen villages, or even more¹⁹. In comparison with the French case after 1715²⁰, the Czech hidden heresies remained very varied and without a structured organization. The Protestants were

mostly present in the northeast of Bohemia in a mountainous outlying area and especially near to the Silesian and Prussian border. Then they were also concentrated on the inner, also mountainous, border between Bohemia and Moravia, and finally in the area of *Valašsko* in northeastern Moravia, a sparsely populated territory close to Slovakia (Upper Hungary in that time) where the Lutheran church persevered more successfully. The dispersed Protestant minority resorted to a more or less intensive resistance, in form of the spiritual practice, seldom taking the path of popular uprisings.

In France, the Edict of Ales published in 1629²¹ seriously threatened the tolerance of the Huguenots in the kingdom and represented the beginning of the series of ever stricter anti-Protestant laws. The Huguenots were gradually excluded from many professions, their cult places were closed or demolished and their worship disturbed initially by formal restrictions, then, during the first *dragonnade* in 1681, they were threatened in a violent way. At the same time, the state and religious authorities tried to persuade them by all the means to convert. The fatal blow finally arrived with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which officially meant that there could be no more Protestants in the monarchy of the *Roi Soleil*. Approximately three quarters of the Calvinists in reality remained in the kingdom and officially abjured due to the *dragonnades* and other persecutions, which intensified from 1683 to 1700. They became the *Nouveaux Catholiques* and had to behave as such. They were carefully supervised and forced to practice their new religion rigorously. Henceforth, they had to attend mass regularly, to submit their dying to extreme unction, to bring their children to baptized by a Catholic priest, then to send them to catechism. In the case of persisting resistance to their Catholic obligations, the French Huguenots children were taken away from their parents and given a Catholic education in monasteries. (Withal, the same persecutions concerned the Czech non-Catholics in 1630s and until even 1660s.) French Huguenot girls were placed in convents. The authorities generally let them leave only after having married them to Catholics²². The new Catholics could study neither law nor medicine without having a certificate of Catholicity, issued by their priest, nor could they sell their goods without the authorization of the King. The refusal of extreme unction was regarded as a crime of *relapse*²³, the body of the dying person was then dragged on the public streets and his possessions were confiscated. In fact, the possessions of those who chose emigration were also confiscated. Anyway, if their heirs were good new converts, they could automatically benefit from these confiscations and were relieved of paying taxes.

Despite these persecutions, the French Protestants remained present in the country, seeking in all possible ways to renew their worship. Yet several months after the Revocation, the new Catholics, converted in name only, organized their gatherings at night and in deserted places. This clandestine cult continued from 1686 on. We read in the first of the *Pastoral Letters* by Pierre Jurieu²⁴, a famous Calvinist pastor who had emigrated to Holland: "After more than four months in the Cévennes and the neighbouring places, assemblies to pray to God have been held almost every day in woods, caves, and rocks..."²⁵. Because these frequent meetings in the open evoked the biblical episode of the Moses' people wandering in the desert, historians call this new church the "Church of the Desert"²⁶. These assemblies, directed initially by laymen, contributed significantly to the re-establishment of the reformed Church of France, achieved a few decades later.

The situation in Bohemia and France thus had similar beginnings. But very quickly, a paramount change occurred. The Bohemian kingdom did not know an analogous revival of the presbyterian-synodal structure, such as that which would exist after 1715 in France, thanks to the initiative of Pasteur Antoine Court²⁷ and his collaborators. In Bohemia, first the survival and later, due to the impulse of Pietism, the revival of Protestant worship occurred only at the 'domestic level',

thanks to the reading of the contraband devotional books that arrived in the country from those in exile²⁸. Reading the Bible and personal worship, held in the private home milieu, were naturally also very important in France. They were nevertheless supplemented, especially in Languedoc, Charente-Poitou and in the Dauphinois, by clandestine collective worship, initially directed by laymen and then by pastors consecrated in Switzerland. Religious assemblies appeared gradually in the entire Languedoc during the 18th century. On contrary, in Bohemian lands, only those Czech non-Catholics who lived close to the border or merchants, who went abroad for their trade, could now and then cross the border to invoke God at the risk of their life. The covert Czech Protestants visited various Lutheran churches in Silesia and Lusatia or attended worship in one of the six “churches of mercy” (*Gnadenkirche*), whose existence had been allowed in 1707 in the county of Glatz, on the request of Swedish king, Charles XII.

Whereas the French ministers, who received ordination at the Seminar of Lausanne, continued secretly to perform marriages of Huguenots and to administer the sacrament of baptism, Czech non-Catholics did not even consider claiming Protestant civil status. Their only means of resistance was the private reading of the Bible and absenteeism from the Catholic ceremonies²⁹. The prolonged prohibition of the Czech Protestantism, together with the absence of pastors and *starší* (the elders), the members of the Consistory, thus led to an inevitable loss of the former confessional purity. The Bohemian kingdom indeed experienced a very complex situation during the 18th century. The Lutheran tradition existed there beside the Union of the Bohemian Brethren³⁰, which evolved at the end of the 16th century with some features of the Calvinist doctrine. Then, many of the non-Catholics were gradually won over to the ideas of German Pietism, especially by the Pietistic ideas of Silesian Protestant theologians or non-ordained priests. The most famous of these were Johann Adam Steinmetz, Jan Liberda or Jan Muthmann³¹. Jan Liberda was the author of the well-known hymn-book, *Harfa nowa na hoře Syon znějící*, published in 1735³² and widely diffused in Bohemia and Moravia among non-Catholics. In the mid 17th century, the non-Catholics in Bohemia formed small islands in the rural outlying areas. Most of them considered themselves to be “neo-Utraquists”, that means heirs of the tradition of the Czech Brethren and Lutheranism³³. Immediately after the Peace of Westphalia, during first years of the following troubled period, they were still from time to time visited and served by the Lutheran-preachers who came either from Saxony or from Upper Hungary. These were the pastors who had been ordained and could thus administer the Eucharist. Documents of this time attest that the sacrament of the communion was given under two kinds and with altar bread, so the host served as the body of Christ. This fact corresponds to the tradition before the Thirty Years War. During the last decades of the 17th century and at the beginning of the next century, the assistance of these exiled Lutheran clerics was no longer possible and the Czech non-Catholics were forsaken and faced their destiny alone. An interesting and very important change, with regard to future evolution, had taken place at that time on the liturgical level. The Czech historian Zdeněk R. Nešpor calls this change the “the reformed intermezzo”³⁴. In absence of the Lutheran priests, it was the laymen, “illuminated and having experience in reading and interpreting of Bible” who assembling some faithful around them to pray and even giving the Eucharist. However, though communion was still taken under two kinds, communion used broken bread as in the Calvinist practice. As Nešpor underlines, this fact was then very important because the request for communion using broken bread after the 1720s become a common element in the non-Catholics’ requests in the country. The Biblical text, as the direct source of this tradition of communion, may explain this ritual change: “And when they were taking food, Jesus took bread and, after blessing it, he gave the broken bread to the disciples and said, Take it; this is my body. And he took a cup and, having given praise, he gave it to them, saying, Take of it, all of you, for this is my blood of the testament,

which is given for men for the forgiveness of sins³⁵. The text however is not enough to explain the swift and general development of this practice by all the Protestants of Bohemia as well as by the emigrants who fled and settled abroad. It is thus more credible that this change occurred thanks to a very short but intense stay in Bohemia of Calvinist pastors from Hungary, where the emperor Joseph I (1705-1711) considerably diminished the persecution of the Calvinist pastors.

According to the contemporary Catholic reports on the bishoprics concerned³⁶, these Hungarian pastors were coming punctually to preach in the country during the last years of the 17th century and in the 1710s. They joined the secret religious meetings of the local Protestant groups, and because they were Calvinists themselves, they did not condemn these lay preachers and supported their new ritual of the communion with broken bread. After some of these Hungarian pastors, illegally preaching in the Czech and Moravian lands, were discovered and persecuted, their activity was interrupted for good³⁷. Thus the Czech non-Catholics were thereafter supported and directed only by their own lay spiritual leaders. The communities of these hidden Protestants placed great confidence in these leaders and asked them for assistance, believing in their superior capacities. It is possible to consider this evolution as a transgression of the previous existing confessional border by the Czech non-Catholics as an effort to ensure the survival of the reformed tradition because of serious threat from the outside. Due to the lack of more personal sources, it is impossible to know up to what point this behaviour was calculated deliberately. Probably the Czech peasants who had been called imprecisely heretics for several decades by State authorities, simply endeavoured to preserve their main beliefs by the intense reading of the Bible and the refusal of the cult of saints and indulgences. They were also used to refusing the Eucharist of the Holy Sacrament and, on the contrary, they upheld the tradition of the communion under two kinds. By the change in ritual we have mentioned, Czech heretics thus probably endeavoured to connect again with the memory of their ancestors, the Bohemian Brethren. Next, the particular interpretation of the Gospels as well as a newly mentioned liturgical practice had further modified this disappearing memory. Consequently, a new secret ritual appeared, resulting from the pause between the forced end of the Saxon Lutheran missions, which had definitely ended in the mid 17th century, and the beginning of the new Pietistic missionary activities in 1720s and 1730s. So a question of the continuity of confessional purity and of the reformed tradition in Bohemia arises. In my opinion, the Czech non-Catholics probably seized with great promptness this new ritual of the broken bread because it distinguished them more clearly from the Catholics who were used to receiving communion with the host. By giving up, little by little the forgotten Lutheran tradition of their ancestors, they had created a clear new border against the papists, symbolized by the broken bread, so often evoked and represented in the surviving documents.

How did the situation in France evolve? What exactly occurred in these secret assemblies without pastors? The French Calvinists also quickly designated some strong personalities, able to direct the clandestine assemblies, reading the Bible and making short sermons. At these meetings, the disciples mostly sang psalms, which allowed them personalized and direct contact with God. Everything occurred in a situation of constant fear. At each gathering, the spiritual leaders did not forget to exhort the people present not to give up their faith and to continue to worship God. Even if similar exhortations had always existed, they gradually gained the character of eschatological messages. As persecutions continued, visions of the approaching end of the world became increasingly intense. Within this process of evolution, prophecy appeared, initially in the Dauphine, then in the Cévennes³⁸.

The movement started in 1686 when a young shepherdess, Isabeau Vincent, from the small village of Saou, close to Crest (Drome), began to speak while sleeping, initially in patois, then in French.

Her speech was composed of a succession of verses or biblical fragments perfectly adapted to the circumstances of the daily persecutions: “Stay firm – seek the Word of God, you will find it through repentance”. Crowds assembled to listen to her. Quickly she was arrested, put in prison at Crest and then locked up in a convent. But the movement of the “little prophets” had only started, and spread in the Vivarais in 1689. The prophets or the “inspired” were mostly young people, girls and boys. They came from the common people, the majority were illiterate and spoke only in the local dialect. So, there was great astonishment when they were heard to prophesy in French, even though their French was not entirely correct³⁹. Because of the intensive calls of these inspired prophets, the assemblies imprudently multiplied. What did these prophets say? “Repent, do not go to mass any more, give up idolatry. Repent the massive abjuration of 1685. Do not continue to simulate being Catholic, because the ‘ruin of Babylon’ is close⁴⁰”. These prophetic words came from a text published in 1686, *L’Accomplissement des prophéties* [The achievement of the prophecies]. Its author, Pierre Jurieu, prophesied expressly that the time of the great revolution and the fall of ‘Papism’ “will come to pass precisely during the year 1689⁴¹”, announcing that the faithful would be delivered in three years.

This ever increasing prophecy movement shocked not only Catholics but also exiled Calvinists as well. Indeed, the prophecies of the “inspired” prophets were accompanied by amazing gestures: the prophets groaned, cried, quivered and trembled. They even lost consciousness temporally. It is therefore not surprising that this disconcerting behaviour quickly provoked almost general reprobation. How in fact could the Calvinist theorists explain this phenomenon which was certainly inspired by the Bible, but which was not recognized as an integral part of Calvinist orthodoxy? The authorities in Geneva started to wonder: Who are these common people who pretend to be in direct contact with God? They were seen and treated as impostors, malingerers, insane, or at least ill⁴². In the prison known as the *Tour de Constance*, in Aigues Mortes (close to Montpellier, which was the seat of the *Intendance du Languedoc*) numerous “inspired” women were imprisoned; the doctor sent by the *intendant* Basville came every day to examine these “patients”. Most frequently, they were called “fanatics”. The pastors of the *Refuge*⁴³, with the notable examples of Pierre Jurieu and Pierre Bayle, thus saw and considered these “little prophets” with contempt and scorn. Actually, the explanation of the origin of this movement is rather simple. The hope of a rapid and miraculous intervention of God was always present in the mentality of the persecuted Christians, especially when as in the case of the Protestants, they were nourished by the Old Testament which offered to them many examples of divine intervention to save the chosen people⁴⁴. However natural their behaviour and their effort to revive the faith was, the French Prophets were considered dangerous and impure. In the same way, the Saxon Lutheran authorities saw and criticized the lay leaders of the Czech sects. Once again, the orthodox confessional border had been crossed and even if that had happened with good intentions, critical voices were soon heard. Finally, terrible persecutions silenced the little prophets of the Vivarais. Thus both, not only the Catholics but also the exiled Calvinists were reassured. The latter ones then advised a return to passive resistance, muzzling the fanatics. We can observe here again a parallel with the period of the ‘reformed intermezzo’ that occurred in Bohemia at the beginning of the 18th century. In this context, the Lutheran authorities in Zittau and Halle (above Saale) strongly criticized and even rejected the beliefs of the non-Catholics of northeastern Bohemia⁴⁵. In effect, even if Lutherans are free to read the Bible, and even advised to do it daily in line with the principle of *Sola scriptura*, the Lutheran theologians in exile considered themselves to be the main interpreters of the Gospels, the protectors of orthodoxy⁴⁶. Controversy and dogma were to remain their exclusive domain; then, their prolonged theological studies distanced them from the ordinary population, turning them into a highly regarded intelligentsia. They advised their fellow-believers to practice only passive resistance, so that they themselves would preserve the role of negotiators for religious tolerance.

As in Bohemia, in France too any active intervention was henceforth forbidden. People were only supposed to believe that divine justice would persuade the king to grant tolerance again to his faithful subjects. Between 1689 and 1698, the situation calmed down a little. But after this ten years' pause, after the death of Claude Brousson⁴⁷ and the disappearance of the last hidden Calvinist preachers, the prophetic movement re-appeared and flowed over the Cévennes and Languedoc. Whereas Brousson was a partisan of the peaceful protest, the Calvinist peasants of Languedoc preached armed resistance which they considered the only effective method. The context of international politics was then favourable to French Protestants. The War of Succession of Spain was ruining the kingdom and increasing the number of enemies of France, while, after 1689, the Protestant king, William of Orange, ruled in England. In the context formed by these elements, there was a great risk that the French Protestants might rebel. In parallel, the intensification of persecutions made prophecies regarding the Church of Rome even more aggressive and provoked a very uneasy climate. The Calvinists were then looking for a rapid solution. Armed revolt – the insurrection of the Camisards – was a desperate gesture⁴⁸. Even though the revolt of the Cévennes is not the subject of the present study, we should recall the major events. Simple craftsmen and peasants resisted for nearly two years against the troops of Louis XIV, one of the best armies in Europe at the time. The insurrection began on 24 July 1702 at Pont-de-Montvert with the assassination of the abbot of Chayla, the inspector of the missions of the Hautes Cévennes. The movement was composed of small groups of troops, active in different regions, not by a united army, and there were no professional military officers. But due to the ever greater mobilization of the royal army, the decisive defeat of the Camisards occurred in May 1704. After this date, one of the main rebel leaders, Jean Cavalier (1681-1740)⁴⁹ agreed to negotiate with the Maréchal de Villars. He surrendered and thus he was allowed to leave France. Of the other Camisards leaders, some were killed, and others surrendered. Different attempts at starting the insurrection again took place until 1710. They all failed.

The important thing is that the whole movement was deeply nourished by prophecy. Jean Cavalier was himself a very famous preacher and prophet. Camisards led the attacks against the royal troops under the stimulus of “the Holy Spirit” and were led by the exhortations of prophets. Feeling that the insurrection was inspired by God, these peasants without military training believed themselves invincible.

Of course, the divorce between the exalted faith of the Protestants who had been persecuted in the country and the official dogmatic vision of the Calvinist authorities in Switzerland or in Holland did not reappear. There was clear divergence between the attitude of the *Nouveaux Convertis* who, exhausted by persecutions and all kinds of deprivations had adopted the strategy of active and armed resistance and the attitude of the churchmen in exile who had severely condemned this action, preaching moderation and even subjection⁵⁰. Within the trauma of the Revocation, the central Calvinist dogma of providence was deeply shaken. Belief in a providential God formed the keystone of the dogmatic system around which the whole life of the Community, its culture and its consciousness as a minority had been structured. But did the great doctrinal assertions mean so much after the catastrophe of 1685? The Calvinist authorities continued to insist on this, presupposing divine omniscience and the effectiveness of God's will in realizing His intentions. In a way, they believed in the absolution of sins for a greater good, they did not oppose the Monarch's will, however cruel. Finally, Pierre Bayle (1647-1706)⁵¹ was the first of the exiled thinkers to adopt a different attitude. He modified the question of doctrinal truth which was not to be posed in doctrinal terms any more, but had to be approached from the practical point of view, based on reason⁵². Bayle broke the indisputable character of Biblical revelation. Orthopraxis replaced

orthodoxy. He strongly attacked religious intolerance and defended the “rights of the erring conscience” in his *Commentaires philosophiques* (1686). The book was condemned by all Protestant theologians, including Pierre Jurieu and the moderate Elie Saurin; they both looked at it as a eulogy of religious disbelief. In fact, in his book, Bayle was speaking about tolerance and defending confessional pluralism⁵³. For Bayle, all “sects”, all of the various Christian confessions fully belong to the Church of God, no denomination can proclaim itself to be the universal faith. The diversity of religions, however great an evil it might be, would however be a lesser evil than to abandon the truth. In 1690, Bayle published his *Avis aux réfugiés*, a sharp critique of the political attitude of the French Protestant refugees in Holland. Then, he was denounced by Jurieu to the religious and political authorities of Rotterdam, who dismissed him from the *Ecole illustre*, founded few years before. From then on, Bayle gave up any form of political engagement and dedicated himself to a new project: writing the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, his most famous work, which appeared at the end of 1696. Until his death in 1706, he continued to be accused of incredulity by Catholic as well as Calvinist theologians.

In one of his articles⁵⁴, the French historian Hubert Bost has analyzed in an interesting way the conflict between the call to loyalty that all the subjects, including Protestants, owe to their king on the one hand and the exhortation to violent revolt by the prophets and preachers on the other hand. Indeed, the loyalty of the French Protestants is a historical reality which had existed since the beginning of the 17th century when the Rohan wars ended and the French Huguenot nobility had submitted to the king for good. This docile attitude was then followed by the rest of the French Calvinist population⁵⁵. As an absolute monarchy, unified by its territory and ethnicity, France at that time already represented a national State where the inhabitants jointly upheld their king. During the 17th century, until the Revocation and even after this date, quantities of texts presented the Protestant minority as the most faithful community and that most devoted to the Sovereign. These texts condemned any attempt at insurrection and tried to persuade the public authorities that the Reformed Church has the same Christian bases as the Catholic Church. Whereas the hope for religious tolerance was becoming weaker and weaker among the peasants of Languedoc, the pasteur Jacques Basnage⁵⁶, who had taken refuge in Holland, was sure that he was absolutely right, even duty bound, when in 1719 he published his *Instruction pastorale*⁵⁷. In this book, he exhorted the *nouveaux convertis* to show the obedience due to their king as well as to their Lord⁵⁸. The loyalty of the majority of the French subjects officially was of this kind.

But the Calvinists who remained in the country did not accept this any more. They considered unjust that people who “loosely gave up the country”, dared to give them orders. But especially, the new converts considered themselves to be martyrs. They referred to the Church but their logic was that of a sect. They were persuaded that only a small number of the elect, who were now the only people in the country who were fully faithful to God, were witnesses to the hidden truth. Like the non-Catholics in Bohemia, the French prophets believed that God entered the heart only of those who remained in the country.

This separation is very obvious in the character of Antoine Court himself. As we read in his *Memoires*⁵⁹, first, when he was still very young, he regularly went to the secret nocturnal assemblies where, from 1710-11 on, he invited preachers and prophets. But, around 1713, he himself started to preach and broke with the “inspired”. Gradually he developed his brilliant pastoral career in Nîmes, Marseilles and Uzès. He preached a form of resistance which challenged the violence of Camisards and of the prophets. Later, he became initiator of the decisive assembly of Montèzes where the decision of the pacification of the *Inspirés* was taken. Thus, in order to obtain the public recognition of Calvinism, Court dissociated himself from the Camisard spirit. For him, it was

necessary to end the violence of the members of that sect. Court intervened again later, between 1721-1723 against the sect of the *Multipliers*⁶⁰ of Montpellier and in Vaunage⁶¹.

If we speak so much about the attitude of the Calvinist authorities regarding the problem of prophecy, it is because their systematic efforts finally prevailed and the sect's members themselves gave up quickly their convictions for fear of greater isolation. Contrary to Bohemia, where the problems of religious heterodoxy still remained inside the Protestant community, the echo of the French prophetic movement had almost disappeared in Languedoc around the end of 1710⁶². At the first renewed French national synod in 1744, it was decided to re-establish the official Calvinist cult in accordance with the Discipline and it was prohibited to follow supernatural inspirations⁶³. During the time of the *Heroic desert* (1715-1760), due to the effort of Antoine Court and his collaborators from the seminar of Lausanne, the newly ordained pastors returned regularly to France. With them, a certain dogmatic faithfulness to Calvinist worship returned to the countryside of Languedoc. Nevertheless, because these pastors were insufficient in number⁶⁴, laymen continued to lead illicit assemblies. These people aspired obviously to tolerance, but conscious at the same time of the fact that their actions were regarded as crimes against royal power, they seldom defended their cause openly in front of the civil or ecclesiastic authorities. Henceforth, this task fell to the exiled Calvinist clergy. Thus an ambiguous situation was to last until 1760-1770, when the voices of the Refuge and of the fatherland were linked.

THE FRENCH *INSPIRÉS* AND CZECH DESCENDENTS OF THE BOHEMIAN BRETHERN AND OTHER RELIGIOUS SECTS

How did the situation of the Czech non-Catholics evolve during the 18th century? What was their spiritual life like after the "reformed intermezzo" which had brought a very great change in the ritual of the mass? Who replaced the Calvinist pastors who had come from Upper Hungary in the first decade of the century? Joseph I was very cultivated sovereign, with an open personality, and ready to achieve important reforms. At the end of his reign (1705-1711), a period of relative religious quietude was interrupted by a return to anti-Protestant policy under the emperor Charles VI (1711-1740). New royal officers, charged with carrying out the Counter-Reformation, and missionaries of the various Catholic orders roamed the Bohemian countryside. Cruel punishments were established to drive Protestant heresy out of the country. Because of this intensification of repression, the entry of Hungarian as well as Silesian pastors stopped suddenly. Again, the Czech non-Catholics were deprived of ordained clergy. They thus tried to find spiritual sustenance in the Bible or through sermons and psalms, which allowed them an internal dialogue with the Lord. But this solution was also increasingly precarious. In fact, the ecclesiastic as well as the secular authorities were conscious of persistence of this biblical resource, which was practically the only one that allowed the survival of the reformed tradition. Thus they systematically chased those who sold or owned the prohibited books. Punishments were very severe and the inspections continuous. The most famous searcher and destructor of prohibited books was the Jesuit missionary and preacher, Antonín Koniáš (1691-1760), who allegedly seized and burned around 30,000 books during his career⁶⁵. Even if non-Catholics always managed secretly to keep a Bible somewhere, there came to be a general shortage in the country⁶⁶. However, as always at the time of great crisis, the faithful found a solution. Just as their French 'brothers' had done, the covert Czech Protestants, without priests and even without the Holy Scriptures, turned to eschatological messages which were widespread in the country.

Even if we do not find a Czech prophetic movement comparable to the French one, Czech *Inspirés* were not absent from the religious scene of the 18th century⁶⁷. There was no case similar to that of little Prophetess, Isabeau Vincent and her followers, no armed movement similar to that of the Camisards. In fact, the expression of the hate produced by the promulgation of the Renewed Constitution of Bohemia was quickly silenced by the horrors and miseries of the Thirty Year War. After peace was re-established, the vigorous return of the Catholic Reform and the dispersed character of Czech Protestantism made the birth of such a strong movement impossible. Nevertheless, besides prophecies closely linked to the political events of the Thirty Year War⁶⁸, another kind of prophets existed in the country, descendents of former Protestants, the lay spiritual leaders themselves. We have already mentioned that in the absence of ordained pastors, eloquent secular personalities, “hit by the divine light”, took over the spiritual guidance of their neighbours and brothers in the faith. Contrary to the Camisard prophets, they belonged to the social category of the richer peasantry, that is to that of the *sedlák*, who were farmers with some education, whose social status contributed to the growth of their spiritual authority. These strong personalities convened secret assemblies and proceeded to the reading of passages from the Bible, which they interpreted by their own way. Their preachings and public sermons frequently resembled millenarist and eschatological visions and exhortations. Some of them even – though rarely – preached while in a trance and fell to the ground, shaking violently, while frightened listeners gathered around to hear their words.

Their activities had some features common to prophetism. For example, they still tried to keep the hope of the return of king Frederick alive in the collective memory⁶⁹. This “Winter King” would return to the country and would release the Protestants from the Catholic prison. This idea referred to the Calvinist prince, Fredrick V of the Palatinate, who was elected king of Bohemia in August 1619, after the insurrection of the Czech general estates⁷⁰. With their hope that Fredrick would return, worshippers mixed historical fact with the current political reality and then also with eschatological ideas⁷¹. Fredrick V at the beginning of the 18th century was replaced by the image of the “good king Frederick”. First Frederick William I (1713-1740), and then especially Frederick the Great (1740-1786), two Prussian kings, incarnated in the eyes of the Czech non-Catholics semi legendary personalities, seen as liberators, who could bring religious tolerance back to the country. The population maintained their hopes and belief in these two kings at the time of the increasing religious persecutions under Charles VI, especially because during the Silesian Wars in the 1740s the new Czech religious emigrants were relatively welcome in the nearby territory of Brandenburg⁷².

There were also other prophetic visions less closely related to actual political facts, and more strongly nourished by millenarist rhetoric⁷³. Spiritual leaders of various Czech Protestants communities diffused multiple visions of the heavenly kingdom, which was promised not only to the elect. As people became more and more oppressed in both the religious and the social sphere they became more inclined to believe these prophecies. The faithful regarded the authors of the prophecies as true prophets or at least as the “enlightened”. It was not rare to hear them quoted during interrogations before the Catholic tribunal. Common people considered these personalities to be learned individuals, expert in sacred matters. Thus they believed that mentioning them during the interrogations would constitute an attenuating circumstance for them. Unfortunately, the records of these interrogations are almost the only source that indicates that these “inspired holy persons” existed, and they provide the only information we have on the whole system of their religious beliefs. Our knowledge is thus unfortunately very rudimentary. It is however known that these secular leaders based their beliefs and practices on the reading of the Old Testament and the sing-

ing of Gospels, then on the memory of the communion under two kinds⁷⁴. Because they could not gather publicly without running large risks, they could not carry out other religious ceremonies such as public preaching or consistorial meetings etc., and even communion was probably very rare⁷⁵. In consequence, like the prophets in France, they diffused the idea of a restricted, persecuted, but chosen group. They practised extreme piety and very rigorous morality. They respected Ten Commandments exactly and lived in very great material austerity so as not to encumber their spirit with material things. Rather they aspired to profound contemplation and interior dialogue with God. At the same time, their liturgical and dogmatic system deviated somewhat from orthodox theology, by denying certain fundamental dogmatic points of the Lutheran confession.

The Czech spiritual leaders did not have such an international reputation as Elie Marion or Jean Cavalier. Their existence was however not ignored by the *hejtman*⁷⁶ of local districts as well as by the Lutherans authorities beyond the border. Because they did not cause armed insurrections as the Camisards had done in France, the reaction of the local royal officers was much less drastic. The absence of such a high reputation did however not mean that there were no internal conflicts within the reformed community in exile implicating criticisms of their beliefs and doubts about the purity of their faith. We can observe this criticism on two levels. First, it was visible in exile when the Czech emigrants were confronted by the Lutherans in Saxony, Lusatia or in Silesia⁷⁷. We have already mentioned this antagonism. Then, when the pietistic message started to penetrate in the country from the Silesian region, there were initially clear confrontations between these local Protestants and the new partisans of the interiorized current of German Lutheranism⁷⁸.

Nevertheless, these initial confrontations were quickly replaced by the appropriation of the new pietistic ideas and their assimilation by the Czech Protestants. Once again, the Czech faithful were touched by a new spiritual wave and, once again, they confronted it with the tradition of their ancestors. Hungry for the new personal piety preached by the Pietists, they adopted several new dogmatic points of this spiritual movement. Indeed, they quickly identified with the interiorized piety and religiosity of this current. Unfortunately, at this moment of spiritual renewal, they again became the object of serious persecution. Why should they suffer eternally? Should they remain inactive with respect to the new spiritual call, while more and more of their brothers in faith, who had lived for several years in exile, implored them to follow the new path? If there were any way to leave the country, they must follow the call of the Lord to cross the border...

Touching on the question of borders, we should mention at least a group of the “right Christians”, those German speaking subjects who had left Northern Moravia to settle as a new community in Lusatia. In fact, to complete the picture of the complex Czech confessional situation of the 18th century, let us remember the Czech and Moravian non-Catholics who joined the Herrnhut⁷⁹ community movement. Thanks to the initiative of count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf⁸⁰, a renewed community of the Czech Brethren⁸¹ was founded in Herrnhut, in Upper Lusatia⁸². This community of the congregation of God is known today in the English-speaking world as the Moravian Church and, in Germany, as the *Brüdergemeine*, *Brüder Unität* or *Herrnhuter*⁸³. It was Zinzendorf’s Christocentric version of Lutheranism, which stressed salvation through personal faith, that attracted these faithful to the Moravian *Gemeine* or congregation. The personal experience of God within a Moravian congregation was presented in the form of hymns, poetry, liturgies, homilies and speeches characterizing their relationship to the Holy Trinity, God the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Mother and the Christ Child. They thus conceived their religion as a matter of the heart, a *Herzensreligion*. For the Pietistic circles, religion was a living “impression” (*Eindruck*), made on the heart and soul (*Gemüte*) of the individual. They were persuaded that what the humanity can know of God is presented through Christ. In the memoirs of exiled Brethren,

this Christocentric understanding of God is evident through the exclusive references to Jesus as Saviour and the remarkable lack of references to God the Father. The faithful evoked especially Christ's suffering, rather than representing Christ as a friend and Bridegroom⁸⁴. These heirs of the *Unitas Fratrum* followed a life modelled after that of the early Christians, living in poverty, with patience and loving their enemies. The Brethren took as their governing principles following: the authority of the Bible as the only source of the Christian doctrine, public worship in accordance with the teaching of the Scriptures alone and modelled after the church of the Apostles, the celebration of the Holy Communion through faith without an attempt to explain it in human terms and living a godly life understood as an essential part of a faith which would lead to salvation. The consciousness of individual sinfulness or unworthiness and the desire for redemption permeated all action. The beginning of the congregation was rather difficult because of the lack of material resources but the determination of its members was enormous. The group was formed of several families who had followed the Nitschann brothers from Suchdol in north eastern Moravia, who were the spiritual initiators of the departure. Even if the new congregation found itself mixed with some Lusatian Germans who, having made the same request of spiritual asylum to von Zinzendorf, these Czech families remained very close to their former leaders. However when they had to submit to the local Lutheran Church, according to the Zinzendorf's official decisions, conflicts broke out very quickly between the new inhabitants of Herrnhut and the local Lutheran pastors.

Let us look briefly at the principal characteristics of this newly established congregation. A very relevant and, at the same time, stabilizing element from the social point of view was the fact that the community was intensely religious. Nevertheless, this great religiosity suddenly became very problematic for assimilation within Lusatian Church. In fact, the Lutheran pastors testified that, "the Moravians prayed continuously, and not only on a special area but everywhere, including in the fields and the forests"⁸⁵. Because of their great zeal, they were not able to accept Lutheran rites and often they persisted in their practices. These consisted above all of communion with broken bread and the refusal of confession. Next, these new Czech emigrants insisted more on spiritual practices and an ethical Christian life than on dogma. Inhabitants of Herrnhut as well as those of the other new communities of the Czech Brethren, inspired of the pietism, conserved their lay preachers and followed them almost blindly. The majority regarded their popular lay leaders to be "truer" than the ordained pastors and they did not hesitate to show it publicly by refusing to submit to the latter. The representatives of Lutheran orthodoxy on the contrary believed that because of the influence of the Counter-Reformation and the absence of the ordained clergy in Bohemia "these worshippers have lost the right idea of the religion and thus, they had to be informed about the truths of the faith for six months before being admitted to the Eucharist..."⁸⁶. Rather serious conflicts resulted from this situation. The Czech emigrants felt that they were a very select group amongst the chosen people, called by the Lord for a special mission. They regarded themselves as the "pure ones", contrary to the Lusatian clergy, seen as corrupted by material things, too profane and not very concerned with the true faith. Their conflicts finally ended in the separation and the Herrnhut community became autonomous from the Saxon Church in 1727.

CONCLUSION

Although this newly established community adopted the rules which they claimed were those of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*, and although its legacy is indeed undeniable, the devotional practices, the rites and the religiosity of its members did in fact differ considerably from the historical tradition of that Church. The faithful in Herrnhut and in other communities thus doubly crossed the denominational border. Decades of enduring the Counter Reformation had modified, to a

significant degree, the dogmatic bases of these successors of the ancient Brethren, while the individualism of their lay spiritual leaders, though largely influenced by the pietistic message, produced a considerable schism with respect to the Lutheran authorities⁸⁷.

In exile, the divorce between the Czech Brethren and the Lutheran authorities tended nevertheless towards a *modus vivendi* while in Bohemia, dogmatic and ritual purity were still only to be hoped for. There continued to be clandestine Czech 'heretics' until the proclamation of the Edict of Tolerance, and in some localities even after this date. They were headed by their lay leaders, who were certainly influenced by the pietistic literature, sold in the country after the Silesian wars, but who continued to be very strong heterodox individuals⁸⁸.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the Renewed Constitution of Bohemia had forced the Protestants to set up a clandestine organization, considered by the exiled even to be a sect. Thus, they constituted groups which developed religious heroism and insisted on their rupture with the social order. The logic of martyrdom prevailed for a rather long time with respect to denominational purity. As they drew into themselves and emphasised their exclusivity, the Protestant communities first of all came into conflict with the attitude of the authorities in exile. This fact divided and weakened the voices that sought reunion between the exiles and those who had remained in their country, thus limiting chances to obtain tolerance. Next, the prophets and *Inspirés* were hardly considered to be part of their church in their own country. Since they were not recognised as belonging to a constituted Church, they were difficult to class within the known denominations.

A great difference existed however between the Czech and French case. While the heretics in Bohemia remained faithful to their spiritual visions and convictions until the promulgation of the Edict of Tolerance of 1781⁸⁹, the French Calvinists' views evolved on this point. Whereas the heterodox perseverance of the Czech non-Catholics had caused enormous problems even at the time of the installation of the new Calvinist and Lutheran communities authorized after 1781, a growing effort to find an official statute in the public space characterized the French Protestants after the 1760s. This was due to the general evolution of mentalities there. Rich merchants, tradesmen but also simple artisans, these last so strongly touched before by the prophetic message, started to be conscious of their duty to be good citizens. They no longer wanted to remain cut off from mainstream society; they became aware that their public isolation was precisely due to their excessively heterodox views and practices. They henceforth wished to push ahead in contemporary debates, to be fully a part of society. Hugo Bost has concluded on the basis of this final evolution, that during the 18th century, the principle of Church had prevailed in France over that of the sect. For him, in the end it was a matter of a political-religious compromise. The French Protestant positions took more and more into consideration the political and economic conjuncture of the country, influenced by the Enlightenment. They thus were no longer willing to confront the authorities. The French Protestants, contrary to the Czech Protestants, had finally shown their pragmatism. The French Calvinists no longer needed to transgress the denominational border in order to maintain the faith of their ancestors. On the contrary, the prophetic enthusiasm and militancy still remained amongst the Czech non-Catholics who became confused amongst the tolerated denominations, their particular dogmas having being for too long a time constituted by their own religion of Salvation.

NOTES

- ¹ M. Fitzpatrick, *Toleration and the Enlightenment Movement, in Enlightened Europe*, in O. P. Grell, R. Porter (eds.), *Toleration in Enlightened Europe*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 23-68.
- ² "Autant la tolérance civile est d'abord une affaire politique, autant la tolérance des dissentiments est encore une affaire intra-ecclésiastique". P. Barthel, *La tolérance dans le discours de l'orthodoxie raisonnée* "au petit matin du XVIII^e siècle" in M. Perronet, *Naissance et Affirmation de l'idée de tolérance, XVI^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Montpellier 1988, p. 256.
- ³ M. Machovec, *Problém tolerance v dějinách a perspektivě, sborník statí věnovaný dvoustému výročí vydání tolerančního patentu*, Prague 1995; F.W. Kantzenbach, *Protestantisches Christentum in Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Gütersloh 1965.
- ⁴ H. Bost, *De la secte à l'Eglise: la quête de la légitimité dans le protestantisme méridional au XVIII^e siècle*, in "Rives nord-méditerranéennes", 10, 2002, p. 53.
- ⁵ In Alsace, joined to France in 1648 (Strasbourg in 1681), Protestantism, especially Lutheran, was widely established. At the end of the 17th century Alsace, where the Edict of Fontainebleau was not applied, counted approximately 90,000 Lutherans and 15,000 to 20,000 Calvinists. The country of Montbéliard, which would be joined to France only in 1793, was mainly Lutheran. See for details, Ph. Chareyre, *Démographie et minorités protestantes*, "Bulletin de la Société historique du protestantisme français", October-November 2000, pp. 867-889.
- ⁶ We therefore distinguish between the set of spiritual convictions and church membership which assigns each believer to a church, equipped with an ecclesiastical discipline expressed clearly by a confession of faith. In short, while church membership is described by the others from the outside and recognizable by observing devotional practices as well as the social life of the group, religious identity and borders are understood in the present chapter as an element of interior alterity. This frontier is thus perceived by each believer himself.
- ⁷ R. A. Mentzer, *La construction de l'identité réformée aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, le rôle des consistoires*, Paris 2006.
- ⁸ J. Bérenger, *Tolérance ou paix de religion en Europe centrale (1415-1792)*, Paris 2000.
- ⁹ By the end of the 18th century, while in France there were 600,000 to 700,000 Protestants, including 200,000 Lutherans in Alsace, the Czech non-Catholics were definitely fewer, only 80,000 to 100,000 in 1781 at the time of the proclamation of tolerance. The Czech figure is nevertheless proportional to the total population of the country. In 1651, "an enumeration according to faith" revealed many clandestine heretics in the north east of the country and Bohemia as a whole still counted 300,000 'heretics', approximately a third of all inhabitants.
- ¹⁰ A. Molnár, J. Smolík (eds.), *Čeští evangelíci a Toleranční patent. Studie a texty*, Prague 1982; B. Molnár, *Počátkové luteránských sborů v Čechách v době toleranční*, in "Časopis historický", 1881, pp. 189-223.
- ¹¹ For this aspect, see E. Kowalská, *Heretics and Proselytes: The Formation and Perception of Confessional Identity among Czech Protestants after 1781*, in "Meeting the Other. Studies in Comparative History. Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et historica" 2-2003, Studia historica LVI, Prague 2003, pp. 71-83.
- ¹² A. Molnár, J. Smolík (eds.), *Čeští evangelíci*, cit., 1982. See also the chapter by E. Kowalská in this volume.
- ¹³ Fr. Bednář, Fr. Krejsa, *Toleranční patent. Jeho vznik a vývoj*, Prague 1931.
- ¹⁴ Z. Nešpor, *Víra bez církve?, Východočeské toleranční sektářství v 18. a 19. století*, Ústí nad Labem 2004.
- ¹⁵ The Utraquists were a moderate faction of the Hussite movement of the early 15th century. Utraquism (from the Latin *sub utraque specie*, meaning "in both kinds") was a Christian dogma first proposed by Jacob of Mies in 1414. It maintained that the Eucharist should be administered "in both kinds" as both bread and wine, to all the congregation, including the laity. To simplify, the Utraquists were quite analogous to future Lutherans even though obviously quite separate from the 16th century Reformation. Their emblem was the chalice.
- ¹⁶ The great specialist on this conflict was the Czech historian J. V. Polišenský, *The Thirty Years War*, 1st ed., Berkeley 1971. For the beginning of the Czech uprising, see B. C. Pursell, *The winter king: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the coming of the Thirty Years' War*, Aldershot 2003.
- ¹⁷ *Obnovené zřízení zemské* was published precisely on 15 May 1627 by Ferdinand II. It represented the new constitution of the kingdom. It was the translation of the punishment of the Czech estates' rebellion of 1618-1620. This new law restricted the old privileges of the kingdom by making the crown of Bohemia hereditarily of the Hapsburgs and suppressing the freedom of the Reformed Church in the country, which until then had been granted by the Letter of Majesty of Rudolf II. This new fundamental State law thus established religious uniformity in Bohemia and Moravia by force.
- ¹⁸ R. Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: kings, courts, and confessors*, Cambridge 2003.
- ¹⁹ M.E. Ducreux, *La mission et le rôle des missionnaires dans les Pays Tchèques au XVIII^e siècle*, in *Actes du 109^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Dijon, 1984, section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, t. I, *Transmettre la foi, XVI^e-XX^e siècles*, Paris 1984, p. 34.

- ²⁰ In August 1715 the first renewed provincial synod of the Protestant churches of France was held (in the department of Gard in the Cévennes): 5 preachers and 4 lay persons were present. This meeting was decisive for the future of the Reformed Church. After this date, the ordained pastors from Switzerland returned clandestinely into the country to assist the Huguenots in their spiritual life. The provincial synod of Montèzes was chaired by pastor Antoine Court, all the participants tried to regulate the assemblies of the Desert, to conceal the prophets, especially the women, and to replace the revelations of the inspired with the official orthodox biblical preaching. They condemned the Camisard insurrection and recommended peaceful assemblies where the faithful would pray for the king. The most important measure was the re-establishment of the *anciens*, the members of consistory, according to the rules previous to 1685. Provincial then national clandestine synods were to be held more or less regularly during all the period of the Desert.
- ²¹ By the peace of Ales, signed on 28 June 1629, Louis XIII granted freedom to practice Calvinism and confirmed the amnesty for the Protestants according to the Edict of Nantes. Nevertheless, political privileges were taken from the Huguenots as well as their *places de sûreté*, ('places of safety', fortified Huguenot centers representing the Protestant military power) and political assemblies.
- ²² If they rebelled, they were transferred to the "hospitals" and were considered "hysterical" or simply mad.
- ²³ Guilty of the crime of apostasy, those who were recognized as *relapsi* were considered to have committed a crime against both the Catholic Church and the State, represented by the King. Thus, they were punished by very heavy sentences, the men risked the *galères*, the women prison.
- ²⁴ After his theological studies in Saumur, Jurieu (1637-1713) was named professor of theology and Hebrew at the academy of Sedan. But in 1681, the reformed academy of Sedan was closed by order of Louis XIV and Pierre Jurieu took refuge in Rotterdam, where he became pastor of the Walloon Church until his death. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Jurieu wrote *Les Lettres pastorales aux fidèles qui gémissent sous la captivité de Babylone* (1686-1689) and the book was clandestinely diffused in France and widespread in all Europe. There the Jurieu disputed the legitimacy of the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685) and developed a contractual theory of political power.
- ²⁵ S. Deyon, *La résistance protestante et la symbolique du désert*, "Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine" 18, 1971, p. 239.
- ²⁶ French historians distinguish between the so-called "first Church of the Desert", which was established between 1685 to the 1715, and the *Désert héroïque* or the "Second Heroic Desert", between 1715-1760. See Ch. Bost (ed.), *Les prédicants protestants des Cévennes et du Bas-Languedoc: 1684-1700*, I, II vol., Montpellier 2001; S. Mours, *Les Eglises Réformées en France*, Paris, Berlin, 1958; H. Bost, *De la désertion des ministres au désert des prédicants: les reproches de Brousson aux pasteurs exilés à la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, in *L'anticléricalisme intra-protestant en Europe continentale*, Lyon 2003, pp. 43-54.
- ²⁷ Antoine Court (Villeneuve-de-Berg 1696 - Lausanne 1760) was educated in a Protestant family at the time of persecutions which followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Involved to the disorders of the war of the Camisards in its last phase, he crossed the Cévennes in order to hold the clandestine assemblies. But, in 1713, Court – accompanied by some companions such as Corteiz and Duplan – broke with the Camisards, their violence and their prophecies. He was ordained pastor in Switzerland. He devoted his life to reorganizing French Protestantism, without violence, but by fighting against the stubborn attempts of the king to crush the Calvinist revival. He supported French students, future pastors and often martyrs who from 1730 on came to Lausanne to study at the French Seminary. But especially he wrote several apologies intended to obtain the recognition of civil status for Huguenots and religious tolerance: *Mémoire historique de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable au sujet de la religion réformée, en plusieurs provinces de France, depuis 1744, jusqu'à la présente année 1751* (Paris 1751), *Le Patriote français et impartial* (London 1768), etc. For his bibliography, see Ph. Cardon, *Antoine Court, 1695-1760. Une vie au service du Désert*, Thèse, Paris 1981; E. Hugues, *Histoire de la restauration du protestantisme en France au dix-huitième siècle. Antoine Court d'après des documents inédits*, Paris 1874.
- ²⁸ H. von Rösel, *Die tschechischen Drucke der hallenser Pietisten*, Würzburg 1961.
- ²⁹ M. E. Ducreux refutes the idea that the Czech underground reformed church survived in organized and hierarchical form during the 18th century. She is persuaded that the Czech Protestant tradition was interrupted; studying the correspondence of Czechs exiled in Berlin, she holds that the old tradition had to be completely rebuilt, and speaks of a "second conversion". We largely agree with her as to the discontinuity and lack of survival of a clear hierarchical structure. This situation probably was the result of the suppression of the consistories.
- ³⁰ The Unity of the Brethren, an evangelical Protestant church born from in the powerful religious atmosphere inspired by the Hussite movement, was founded in 1457 in the town of Kunvald, in north eastern Bohemia. Subsequently it spread in Bohemia, in Moravia and later, thanks to missionaries, as far as in Africa, in Latin America and Northern America, where the town of Bethlehem was founded. Its teaching insisted on the equality of all the men in front of God, stressing the triple ideal of the faith, love and hope. This Church had in its ranks the eminent thinkers, phi-

- losophers, writers and humanists such as Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius). During the Counter Reformation, its activities were prohibited and many Brethren went into exile, while others remained in the country, practicing their faith in secret until 1722, the date of the foundation of the renowned community of Herrnhut. Tens of books exist on this topic. See E. Langton, *History of the Moravian Church, the Story of the First International Protestant Church*, London 1956; D. Schattischneider, *The Unitas Fratrum and the Renewed Moravian Church: Continuity and Change*, in "Czechoslovak and Central European Journal", 9, 1990, pp. 26-34.
- ³¹ E. Štěřtková, *Pozvání do Slezska*, Prague 2001; J. Malura, P. Kosek, *Čistý plamen lásky : výbor z písní pobělohorských exulantů ze Slezska*, Brno 2004.
- ³² P. Kosek, *Jazyk kancionálu „Harfa nová“ Jana Liberdy*, in *Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty brněnské university. A, Řada jazykovědná*, Brno 2004, vol. A 52, no.1, pp. 95-108.
- ³³ Fr. Hrubý, *Luterství a novoutrakvismus v českých zemích v 16. a 17. století*, in "Český časopis historický", 45, 1939, pp. 31-44; F. Krejsa, *Luterství, kalvinismus a pod oboji na Moravě před Bílou Horou*, in "Český časopis historický", 44, 1938, pp. 296-326.
- ³⁴ Nešpor, *Víra* cit., p. 16.
- ³⁵ Mt: 26, 26-28.
- ³⁶ Reports and Judgments of the archbishopric tribunal in SÚA, APA Archív Pražského arcibiskupství [State Archive of the Czech Republic- Archbishopric of Prague], then SOA Zámorsk, odb. Hradec Králové, Královohradecká konistoř, Archív biskupství 1664-1948 [The regional archive in Hradec Králové- Acts and reports of the Bishopric of Hradec] or SOA Litoměřice, Církevní fondy-archív biskupství Litoměřice 1655-1945 [The regional archive in Litoměřice- Acts et reports of the Bishopric of Leitmeritz].
- ³⁷ E. Kowalská, *Evanjelické a.v. spoločenstvo v 18. storočí. Problémy jeho vývoja a fungovania v spoločnosti*, Bratislava 2001.
- ³⁸ G. Cosmos, *Huguenot prophecy and clandestine worship in the eighteenth century: "the sacred theatre of the Cévennes"*, Ashgate 2005; J. P. Chabrol, *Le prophétisme cévenol de 1685 à 1702* in "Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français", 148, 2002, pp. 211-216; D. Vidal, *De l'insurrection camisarde: une prophétie entrée en révolte*, in P. Cabanel, Ph. Joutard (eds.), *Les camisards et leur mémoire, 1702-2002*, Montpellier 2002, pp. 35-51.
- ³⁹ This fact could be explained by frequent readings from the French text of the Bible and an excellent oral memory.
- ⁴⁰ Ph. Joutard, *Les Camisards*, Paris 1987, p.72.
- ⁴¹ He believed that in three years there would come "the time of the apocalyptic vintage, because the two witnesses will rise from the dead at this time, after which moment France must break with the pope before the end of the century, or at the beginning of the following, and the rest of the anti-Christian empire will be abolished everywhere". ("Le temps de la vengeance apocalyptique viendra car les deux témoins ressusciteront en ce temps-là. Après quoi la France doit rompre avec le pape avant la fin du siècle, ou au commencement de l'autre, et le reste de l'empire antichrétien s'abolira partou"), P. Jurieu, *L'accomplissement des prophéties*, tome II, pp. 133-134.
- ⁴² G. H. Dodge, *The Political Theory of the Huguenots of the Dispersion With Special Reference to the Thought and Influence of Pierre Jurieu*, New York 1947.
- ⁴³ The first Huguenots to leave France seeking freedom from persecution went to Switzerland and to the Netherlands from the 1560s on. However, the French term *Refuge* is used for the massive exodus which took place after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, more than 200000 Huguenots refugees found a safe haven mainly in the Lutheran and Reformed states in Germany (particularly in Prussia), Scandinavia, England and Netherlands. The persecution and flight of the Huguenots greatly damaged the reputation of Louis XIV abroad, particularly in England; the two kingdoms, which had enjoyed peaceful relations prior to 1685, became bitter enemies and fought against each other in a series of wars. See Ch. Weiss, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots, en Allemagne, Angleterre, Amérique*, orig. ed. Paris 1853; E. Birnstiel (ed.), *La Diaspora des Huguenots. Les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Paris 2001.
- ⁴⁴ Joutard, *Les Camisards* cit, p.64.
- ⁴⁵ G. Von Loesche, *Die böhmischen Exulanten in Sachsen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges und der Gegenreformation auf archivalischer Grundlage. Mit archivalien Beigaben*, Vienna 1923; E Štěřtková, *Exulantská útočiště v Lužici a Sasku*, Prague 2004.
- ⁴⁶ P. Walter, Martin H. Jung (eds.), *Theologen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Konfessionelles Zeitalter - Pietismus - Aufklärung*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 2003.
- ⁴⁷ Claude Brousson (1647-1698), brilliant lawyer and preacher, had defended the Protestant cause before the Parliament of Toulouse in 1683. He was opposed to restrictive royal regulation of the reformed worship during 1680s

concerning the destruction of the temples. He took refuge in Geneva in 1683 and returned to France to become the preacher in the Cévennes. He thus contributed to the creation of the clandestine Church of the Desert. Until 1698, he was very active: he preached, diffused his writings, mainly sermons, and last, organized and lead the nocturnal assemblies. Finally captured in Béarn, he was judged by the intendant Basville and tortured by the wheel.

- ⁴⁸ The Camisards' memoirs were recently republished: A. Mazel, E. Marion, J. Bonbonnoux, *Mémoires sur la Guerre des Camisards*, Presses du Languedoc, Montpellier 2001; P. Cabanel, Ph. Joutard, *Les camisards et leur mémoire, 1702-2002*, colloque du Pont-de-Montvert des 25 et 26 juillet 2002, Montpellier 2002; M. Misson, *Le théâtre sacré des Cévennes*, Montpellier 1996; P. Roland, *Dictionnaire des Camisards*, Montpellier 1995.
- ⁴⁹ Simple farmhand, then a baker's boy in Anduze (Gard), he was noted in 1701 as an eminent prophet and promising future chief at the prohibited Protestant assemblies. He thus left for Geneva. He returned from there in 1702, and after the murder of the abbot of Chayla, he became the chief of the rebels. Alone or in partnership with Roland, he laid waste the Catholic villages, burning churches. He did not hesitate to attack the royal troops and won important battles. After his last defeat at Nages, he had to capitulate and went to Geneva where he enrolled in the service of the duke of Savoy as colonel. In 1706, he ordered one regiment of the Anglo-Portuguese army, made up partly of Camisards and refugees, but this army was demolished in Almansa, where he was seriously injured. At half-pay, he shuttled between England and Holland until 1710, then he lived in Ireland thanks to his small pension. He died in Chelsea on 17 May 1740. For a detailed bibliography, see M. Pin, *Jean Cavalier*, Nîmes 1936; A. Allard, *Jean Cavalier, chef camisard*, Dordrecht 1925.
- ⁵⁰ Among them for example, the theologian and controversist who had taken refuge in Geneva, Benedict Pictet (1655-1724), author of *Lettre à ceux qui se croient inspirés*, recently reedited, Lausanne 1993.
- ⁵¹ Born in 1647, the son of a Protestant minister, Pierre Bayle wrote his first philosophical text as a student in the Jesuit college of Toulouse, a few months after his conversion to Catholicism (1669), but he returned to the religion of his fathers as soon as he finished his year of philosophy. He then moved to Geneva, where he remained until 1673. In 1675, Bayle became professor of philosophy at the Calvinist academy of Sedan but after the suppression of the Academy, he had to move to Rotterdam, where he taught history and philosophy at the *Ecole illustre*. Besides his philosophical works, he consecrated mainly to the defense of the Calvinism: *Critique générale de l'histoire du calvinisme de M. Maimbourg*, or *Avis aux réfugiés*. Bayle's late years were devoted to a new edition of the *Dictionnaire* (1702) and to harsh controversies with theologians such as Jean Le Clerc, Isaac Jaquelot and Jacques Bernard. He died in Rotterdam in 1706, declaring again his faith in God's goodness and mercy.
- ⁵² H. Bost, *Le refuge hugenot, un laboratoire de la tolérance?* in N. Pique, G. Waterlot (eds.), *Éléments pour une généalogie du concept de tolérance*, Paris 1999, pp. 169-194.
- ⁵³ "Quant à cette énorme bigarrure des sectes défigurantes la religion qu'on prétend qui naît de la tolérance, je dis qu'elle est moindre mal et moins honteux au christianisme que les massacres, les gibets, les dragonneries et toutes les cruelles exécutions, au moyen de quoi l'Église romaine a tâché de conserver l'unité, sans pouvoir venir à bout", edited by J.-M. Gros under the title *De la tolérance. Commentaires philosophiques*, Paris, 2006, p. 418.
- ⁵⁴ H. Bost, *De la secte à l'Église: la quête de la légitimité dans le protestantisme méridional au XVIII^e siècle*, in "Rives nord-méditerranéennes", 10, 2002, p. 53-68.
- ⁵⁵ S. Deyon, *Du royalisme à refus, les protestants français et leur député général entre la Fronde et la Révocation*, Ville-neuve d'Ascq 1976.
- ⁵⁶ Pastor in Rouen at the time of the Revocation, Jacques Basnage (1653-1723) was obliged to flee from France; he took refuge in Holland where he became at the same time theologian, polemist, historian and diplomat in the service of the Grand Pensionnaire Heinsius. In contrast to Pierre Jurieu, he recommended patience and exhorted the Protestants to remain in France with perseverance.
- ⁵⁷ *Instruction et lettre pastorale aux réformés de France sur la persévérance de la foi et la fidélité pour le souverain*, Rotterdam 1719. Largely diffused in Poitou and in Languedoc, this publication was intended to stop the insurrection which, at the time of the regency, would have compromised the preparation of the conflict against Philip V of Spain, the first French Bourbon king on the Spain throne.
- ⁵⁸ Although there was a philosophical tradition of tolerance among Calvinist thinkers, it was necessary to proceed to "a change of paradigm" in order for it to emerge fully. It was the Revocation which definitely provided that.
- ⁵⁹ They cover the period between 1696-1729; cf. the edition by P. Haour, Paris 1995.
- ⁶⁰ H. Bost, *Remarques historiographiques sur les «Multipliant» de Montpellier*, in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Michel Péronnet*, Montpellier 2003; D. Vidal, *Le malheur et son prophète: inspirés et sectaires en Languedoc calviniste: 1685-1725*, Paris 1983; Id., *La secte contre le prophétisme: les Multipliant de Montpellier (1719-1723)*, in "Annales Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations", 1982, 37, 4, pp. 801-825.

- ⁶¹ The members of the “Multipliers” of Montpellier seem to be rigorously closed within their own group, insisting on their own form of baptism, their coded language and their doctrinal peculiarities in order to reach certain perfection. They considered themselves, though with reservations, to be within “orthodox Calvinism”, hoping one day to help the prophets who in their eyes had lost true path to God because of the Cevennes uprising. The Multipliers swore that they would be the ones to re-pacify the Cévenol territory.
- ⁶² There was the second attempt at the time of the uprising in 1706 which endeavored to enter the Cevennes from Catalonia.
- ⁶³ H. Bost, *Remarques*, cit., p. 59. The sectarian logic and tactics were exported to the Refuge on the occasion of the departure of certain prophets to Switzerland and to England. (Maximilien Misson published in London in 1707 the book *Le théâtre sacré des Cévennes*). However, even in these Protestant countries, the local pastors strongly condemned their claims of prophecy. See H. Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England*, Berkeley 1980 and more recently G. Cosmos, *Huguenot Prophecy And Clandestine Worship in the Eighteenth Century: the Théâtre sacré des Cévennes*, Aldershot 2005.
- ⁶⁴ In 1718, the Churches of the Desert counted 3 pastors; in 1730, there were 12 pastors for 120 Churches; in 1744, there were 28 pastors for 300 Churches; in 1756, 48 pastors and 18 future clergy.
- ⁶⁵ J. Bílý, *Jezuita Antonín Koniáš. Osobnost a doba*, Prague 1996; J. Fiala, *Temno, doba Koniášova*, Benešov, 2001.
- ⁶⁶ M. E. Ducreux, *Čtení a vztah ke knihách podezřelých z kacířství v Čechách v 18. století*, in “Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis” 32, 1992, pp. 51-80; M. E. Ducreux, *Knihy a kacířský způsob četby a knižní politika v Čechách v 18. století*, “Literární Archiv”, 1994, 27, pp. 61-89.
- ⁶⁷ Fr. Menčík, *Česká prorocství: K dějinám prstonárodní literatury*, Prague 1918, remains useful, and is a very complex book. More recently, see Vl. Urbánek, *The Comet of 1618: Eschatological Expectations and Political Prognostications during the Bohemian Revolt*, in J. R. Christianson, A. Hadravová, P. Hadrava, M. Šolc (eds.), *Tycho Brahe and Prague: Crossroads of European Science*, Frankfurt am Main 2002, pp. 282-291 and Vl. Urbánek, *Utopie, millénarisme et antimachiavelisme: J. A. Comenius – Komenský*, in C. Delsol, M. Maslowski (eds.), *Histoire des idées politiques de l'Europe centrale*, Paris 1998, pp. 215-228.
- ⁶⁸ It was above all the trio of prophets (Christophe Kottera, Christine Poniatovska and Nicolas Drabik) known thanks to the famous Czech humanist, Jan Amos Komenský. Comenius had presented their visions lasting from 1616 to 1671 in his *Historia revelationum Christophi Kotteri, Christinae Poniatoviae, Nicolai Drabici*, published in 1659 (s.l.). See Vl. Urbánek, *Utopie* cit., pp. 219-228.
- ⁶⁹ Pursell, *The winter king* cit., 2003. J. Miller, *Falcký mýtus: Fridrich V. a obraz české války v raně Stuartovské Anglii*, Prague 2004.
- ⁷⁰ This prince, who became the son-in-law of English king in 1613 by marrying Elisabeth Stuart, had replaced the emperor Ferdinand II on the throne of Bohemia. After the Defenestration of Prague, the Czech estates general elected him and made him guarantee religious toleration. But having insufficient financial and military means, he was given up by the foreign powers of the Protestant Union. Frederic V thus could not contain Ferdinand's armies and was defeated on the battle of the White Mountain on 8 November 1620. Even if his reign was very short and the intermezzo of his very austere Calvinism left a rather negative memory, as soon as he left the country the first prophecies appeared.
- ⁷¹ Menčík, *Česká prorocství* cit., p. 23.
- ⁷² E. Štětková, *Česká emigrace do pruského Slezka v 18. století*, in “Slezký sborník”, 66, 1968, pp. 60-71.
- ⁷³ Nešpor, *Víra* cit., 2004, p. 88.
- ⁷⁴ F. Hrejsa, *Čeští kacíři dvacet let před tolerancí*, in “Reformační sborník” I, Prague 1921, pp. 80-192
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.
- ⁷⁶ These were the local officers in charge of the administration of their district as well as of the police and justice, on a fairly low level.
- ⁷⁷ M. Hrubá (ed.), *Víra nebo Vlast? Exil v českých dějinách raného novověku*, Sborník z konference konané v Muzeu města Ústí nad Labem ve dnech 5.-6. listopadu 1998, Ústí nad Labem 2001.
- ⁷⁸ In the beginning, the group was formed by Lutherans characterized by an extreme piety and deep spiritual meditations, who were not allowed to worship publicly. The founder, Jacob Spener (1635-1705), professor of theology, was endeavoring to reform Lutheranism. The activity of this mystical group started in Leipzig with simple meetings held in the 1670s in the form of conferences which were called *Collegia pietatis*. Lay persons were allowed to explain the Holy Scriptures there. The circle expanded rapidly, coming to have followers in Berlin, Augsburg, Halle, Wurtem-

- burg and Alsace. See von Brecht, *Geschichte* cit.; F. E. Stoeffler, *German pietism during the eighteenth century*, Leiden 1973; K. Tanya, *Baroque piety: religion, society, and music in Leipzig, 1650-1750*, Aldershot 2007.
- ⁷⁹ The German name formed by words *Herrn Hut* meant 'the hat of the Lord' and thus referred to the protection of the persecuted believers by Lord. The Czech community name, *Ochranov*, "also meant under the guard of Lord".
- ⁸⁰ Many studies deal with this emblematic personage. Among the most important are E. Beyrether, *Zinzendorf und the Christenheit 1732-1760*, Marburg 1961; D. Meyer, *Zinzendorf und Herrnhut*, in M. Brecht, K. Deppermann (eds.), *Geschichte des Pietismus II. Das 18. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1995, pp. 5-8. There is also the valuable contemporary published testimony of one of the count's friend, A.G. Spangenberg, *Leben des Herrn Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf*, I-VII, Barby 1772-1775.
- ⁸¹ M. Křížová, *Herrnhut: City Upon a Hill in Turbulent Times*, in "Urbanistyka" 5, 2000, special edition S. Gzell, L. Klusáková (eds.), *Peripheries or Crossroads of Cultures? (Towns of East-Central and South-Eastern Europe)*, Fifth International Conference on Urban History, Warsaw 2000, pp. 59-64.
- ⁸² One of the first exiled pietist communities was the colony of Grosshennersdorf, founded by Henriette von Gersdorf, Zinzendorf's aunt, who let some Czech peasants settle on her property. Some of them had stayed on definitively; others remained only for a certain time to strengthen their faith.
- ⁸³ Materials concerning the Brethren are mostly preserved in the Moravian Church Archive in the Herrnhut-Unitärsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität. It contains especially very valuable biographies (*Lebensläufe*) of the church members, drawn up by themselves or immediately after their death by their relatives and fellow believers. On these documents, see also T. Ruhland's contribution in the CLIOHRES volume about various sources for the study of religion: *Religion, Space and Community: the Topos of 'The World' in Moravian Memoirs*, in Joaquim Carvalho (ed.), *Bridging the Gaps: Sources, Methodology and Approaches to Religion in Europe*, Pisa 2008, pp. 147-170.
- ⁸⁴ P. Shicketanz, *Der Pietismus von 1675 bis 1800*, Leipzig 2001; Jvan den Berg, *Geschichte des Pietismus im Auftrag der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus*, vols. 1-4, Göttingen 1993-2004, especially Vol. 1 (M. Brecht, *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1993); W.R. Ward, *Early evangelicalism: a global intellectual history, 1670-1789*, Cambridge 2006.
- ⁸⁵ Nešpor, *Víra* cit., p.143.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ G. A. Skalský, *Z dějin české emigrace v XVIII. století*, Chotěboř 1911. G. A. Skalský, *Kazatel Jan Liberda a česká exulantská církev v Drážďanech*, in "Reformní sborník", II, 1928, pp. 10-25.
- ⁸⁸ M. Machovcová, M. Machove, *Utopie blouznivců a sektářů*, Prague 1960.
- ⁸⁹ Kowalská, *Heretics* cit., pp. 71-83.

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The Bohemian Reformation (also known as the Czech Reformation or Hussite Reformation), preceding the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century, was a Christian movement in the late medieval and early modern Kingdom and Crown of Bohemia (mostly what is now present-day Czech Republic, Silesia and Lusatia) striving for a reform of the Roman Catholic Church. Lasting for more than 200 years, it had a significant impact on the historical development of Central Europe and is considered one of the most Prior Histories: Religious Nonconformism and Dissent in the Late Middle Ages and the Reformation. The "destructive danger" mode of interpretation manifested itself most potently in church history in the form of heresy trials, which were used to eliminate forms of deviation from church doctrine as far as possible and to minimize the danger to the social structure of the church. Of particular significance in the British context in this regard was the pre-Reformation movement known as the Lollards. Part 1: Examples of religious tolerance for people of other faiths found in the constitution which the Prophet laid in Medina. This website is for people of various faiths who seek to understand Islam and Muslims. It contains a lot of brief, yet informative articles about different aspects of Islam. New articles are added every week. Also, it features Live Help through chat.Â These are only some of the examples of the Prophetâ€™s tolerance of other faiths. Islam recognizes that there are a plurality of religions on this earth, and gives the right to individuals to choose the path which they believe to be true.Â The Miraculous Quran (part 1 of 11): My Path to Islam. (Read more...) The Truth is One (part 1 of 2).