

learned man, wish to threaten us poor people? God, our Lord, has preserved us from the days of Abraham. He, in His grace, will doubtless preserve us also from you." It would quite fit Calvin's temperament to have made such a menacing speech against the Jewish apologist of a new type he had encountered, probably for the first time in his life.²⁴

Be this as it may, even Calvin's replies are written without his customary rancor. We need not expatiate on the whole gamut of the theological questions raised by the Jewish debater in the twenty-three queries here reproduced. For the most part they deal with the long-standardized arguments concerning the messiahship and divine character of Jesus, the earlier prophetic "testimonies" for it, and the Jewish participation in Jesus' crucifixion. Of more direct contemporary interest was the question relating to the perpetuity of Jewish law. Citing the Old Testament passages concerning the eternal validity of the law which must not be added to, nor subtracted from, and illustrating it by the law of circumcision, the Jew pointed out that Jesus' assertion "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill" the law (Matthew 5:17) was clearly controverted by the Christians' repudiation of circumcision. To which Calvin answered by referring to several Old Testament passages indicating that in the messianic age many laws would be abrogated. As is well known, the problem of the abrogation of the law in the messianic period had already been the subject of debate during the sectarian strife of the Second Commonwealth and remained the bone of contention in the medieval Judeo-Christian religious controversy.²⁵

Another intriguing contradiction was pointed out by the Jewish debater. He referred to the contention that the messiah was to be the king of peace, whereas "from that time on the world had not ceased from being at war." He also cited the contradiction between Isaiah's prediction "that the government may be increased, and of peace there be no end" (9:6) and Jesus' assertion, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace but a sword" (Matt. 10:34). To which Calvin could only reply by pointing out that many prophetic predictions concerning Israel's glorious future had not come true and that there could never be peace so long as there were stubborn evildoers. "Foremost among men are the Jews who through their perversity show that they wish to have no peace with God."²⁶

Perhaps most relevant to the contemporary conflicts was the Jew's final query:

I ask those who contend that we are in this Exile because of Jesus' execution, but this is not true because we had been in Exile before his death. If it be true what is written that, in the hour of his death Jesus begged his Father and said, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do' [Luke 23:34] and if Father and Son are identical and both have the same will, then certainly that inquiry was condoned which he himself had forgiven.

In his reply Calvin could only harp on the theme of the Jews' obstinacy in persisting in their error and the numerous sins their forefathers had previously committed, as is attested by the numerous prophetic denunciations. These cumulative sins over generations have sufficiently accounted for the sufferings of the people of Israel since it went into exile.²⁷

With all this fury Calvin showed himself, on the whole, somewhat more merciful toward the Jews, as well as the Muslims, than toward Christian heretics. True, the passage in the first edition of his *Institutes* which had criticized the use of force to attract Jews or Turks to Christianity was omitted in later editions. Yet nowhere did Calvin advocate the use of fire and brimstone against Jews as he did against Servetus and other Christian heretics, in whom he rightly saw the real threat to his own position and the future of his Church. He seems to have been satisfied, on the whole, with keeping the Jews out of Geneva and with echoing the long-accepted anti-Jewish polemics. He certainly made no direct effort to undermine the position of those Jewries which still persisted in Germany. Nor did his correspondence with friends in Poland in any way interfere with the remarkable expansion, numerical, economic and cultural, of Polish Jewry, then entering into its golden age. He evidently was willing to let the Polish Protestants take care of their own Jewish question.²⁸

IMPACT OF CALVINISM

John Calvin may thus be quoted as a classical example of heroes making history in a way unknown to, and unintended by them. If Calvin's own tyrannical temperament often played havoc with his best intentions—he himself once admitted to having an irritable bent of mind and conceded that "here I have gravely sinned for I have been unable to keep moderation"²⁹—and led to the establishment of his despotic theocratic regime in Geneva, the ultimate outcome of his reformatory work was

the very opposite. Even as an immediate reaction to the execution of Servetus many voices were heard in Switzerland and elsewhere condemning this first inquisitorial "act of faith" on the part of Protestant believers in individual conscience. As a sequel to Servetus' martyrdom appeared, in particular, that distinguished collection of utterances, both old and new, concerning the freedom of conscience which was assembled by Sebastian Castellio, another victim of Calvin's dictatorship. The latter's *Concerning Heretics* sounded a clarion call for the general liberty of conscience which, though muted for a while by the clash of arms during the Wars of Religion, nevertheless ultimately helped to tip the scale for religious toleration in the western world.³⁰ Needless to say, the Jews, whose position in sixteenth-century Europe might seriously have been endangered by the spread of Calvin's wrathful denunciations, unwittingly became major beneficiaries of the ensuing trend toward religious liberty.

Calvin's influence was even more directly felt in the new appreciation of religious "legalism." A statement like that in his *magnum opus*, "Here is the function of the law by warning men of their duty, to arouse them to a zeal for holiness and innocence," could have been penned by any contemporary rabbi. Also his long elaboration of the Decalogue, to which he devoted fully fifty-nine chapters, and his emphasis that the intention behind the act is as important as the act itself, were wholly in line with long accepted rabbinic teachings. Perhaps the rabbis would not have followed him fully in the practical application of the lesson he derived from the last three commandments, "Murder that is of the soul consists in anger and hatred; theft, in evil covetousness and avarice; fornication, in lust." They certainly were not quite so ready to prosecute men for evil thoughts as was the Geneva dictator and his most zealous followers. But many of their teachings had great affinity to those of a reformer who had, to all intents and purposes, abandoned Pauline antinomianism in favor of Old Testament legalism. In fact, so closely did Calvin adhere to the Jewish interpretation of the Ten Commandments that he reemphasized the Jewish prohibition of imagery in a way shared by few of his conferees. Unlike Luther, he left the second commandment intact, requiring no readjustment in subsequent numbers made necessary by Luther's compromise with Catholic imagery in worship.³¹ It is small wonder, then, that the disciples of Calvin in many lands so eagerly turned for enlightenment to the Old Testament. With the newly awak-

ened humanist recognition of the relevance of the original language for the understanding of any ancient text, Calvinist divines and scholars in many lands became some of the foremost Christian Hebraists of the following two centuries. Calvin's own commentaries on the Old Testament, with occasional asides concerning certain Hebrew words, and his admission that the rabbinical interpreters of Scripture were strong in grammar if not in theology, could not but help stimulate among his disciples the interest in the Hebrew Bible and its rabbinic exegesis.³²

If these spiritual bridges facilitated the rapprochement between Protestantism and Judaism, the effects of the Calvinist doctrines on the socioeconomic and political life of the western world even more enduringly narrowed the chasm separating the two faiths. The original sweeping theses by Max Weber and Werner Sombart concerning the far-reaching relationships between the Protestant ethic or the Jewish spirit and the rise and evolution of modern capitalism have rightly been toned down by the assiduous, more detailed work of later scholars. However, the historic fact that both Protestants and Jews contributed much more than their share to the rise of capitalist institutions and the so-called capitalist "spirit" has remained unimpaired. These activities by bankers and merchants of both faiths may have stimulated competition and economic rivalries between them which at times created new tensions. But these were more than counter-balanced by the ensuing opening of new lands and new economic avenues for the Jewish wanderers.³³

No less paradoxical were Calvinist influences on the rise of western democracy and the separation of state and Church. He who succeeded in establishing in Geneva a powerful dictatorship which suppressed many existing democratic liberties and in erecting a dominance of the Church over the state in a way unparalleled elsewhere in contemporary Europe, nevertheless became the fountainhead of much of the democratic and republican thought in western Europe and America. Perhaps because of this very overstraining of the power of theocracy, Calvin also helped bring into the world the doctrine of total separation of state and Church. It has been shown that his theory demanded the intervention of the state in religious affairs only for the purpose of a one-time suppression of heresy and the establishment of a righteous regime. Having accomplished this task, the state was to withdraw into its own sphere and leave the Church in exclusive control of all spiritual affairs. From here was only one step to the doctrine of separation between the two

institutions, which became doubly necessary because of the growing sectarian discord within the Protestant camp.³⁴

Last but not least was the fact that, equally unwittingly, Calvinism escaped the temptation of becoming linked up with the rising European nationalism. If Erastianism became one of the greatest drawbacks of the modern Protestant evolution, and the involvement of the Lutheran churches in the increasingly authoritarian princely regimes and soon also in the German nationalist agitation, opened up threatening vistas for the universal teachings of Christianity in its Protestant reinterpretation, Calvinism avoided these pitfalls. In part this non-involvement stemmed from Geneva's small size which prevented it from forming a base for an independent national movement. More importantly, in its French Huguenot wing and in its large following among the English "dissenters," it commanded allegiance among persecuted religious minorities which refused to surrender their religious identity to the national solidarity with the respective majorities. From the outset, therefore, Calvinism represented an international movement, in part an interterritorial diaspora, very much resembling in its socioreligious structure that of the persecuted Jewish minority. These deep affinities between the two groups far transcended the differences so harshly emphasized by the founder.³⁵

In short, the total effect of Calvin's anti-Jewish preaching resembled that of the ancient prophecy of Balaam. The Geneva reformer, too, set out to curse the Jews, but in the end turned out to have blessed them.

NOTES

1. J. A. Gallie, *Matériaux pour l'histoire de Genève*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1829 [1830]), I, 167; Achille Nordmann, "Histoire des Juifs à Genève de 1281 à 1780," *REJ*, LXXX (1925), 1-41, esp. pp. 38 f. See also Emile Doumenge, *Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps*, 7 vols. (Lausanne, 1899-1927), III, 252 f. (also offering interesting data on the Jewish quarter in Geneva). It is possible, however, that in his numerous sermons Calvin may have referred to Jews and Judaism more frequently than is now known. Perhaps further progress of H. Rückert's ed. of *Johannes Calvini Predigten* (which, begun in 1936, has been resumed in 1938 in the so-called *Supplementa Calviniana*, sponsored by the World Presbyterian Alliance), will yield some new data on the Jewish question, too, from the hundreds of still unpublished homilies of the reformer. See the example from his sermon on II Sam. 22, cited *infra*, n. 20. However, many sermons doubtless are irre-

trievably lost. The Geneva Library, which in the early eighteenth century still owned 44 vols. of Calvin's homilies in MS, now possesses only 12. See the latest review of the extant MSS in Georges A. Barrois' introd. to his ed. of Calvin's *Sermons sur le livre d'Isaïe Chapitres 13-29* (Neukirchen, 1961), Vol. II of the series, pp. xx ff.

2. Calvin's "De usuris," reproduced among his "Consilia" in his *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. by Wilhelm Baum, et al., 59 vols. (Brunswick, 1863-Berlin, 1900), (Corpus reformationum, XXIX-LXXXVII), X, Part 1, cols. 245 ff.; his comments on Deut. 15:7-10, 23:19-20, *ibid.*, XXIV, 679 ff.; XXVII, 325 ff.; XXVIII, 111 ff.; and the controversial interpretations thereof, cited *infra*, nn. 4 and 21. See also Théodore Reinach, "Mutuum dare nihil inderesperantes," *Revue des études grecques*, VII (1894), 52-58, suggesting a relatively slight emendation of the text in Luke.
3. *Opera*, XXVIII, 117; XXXVII, 358. The editors were quite justified in including the Genevan ordinance of 1547 among Calvin's works, *ibid.*, X, Part. 1, cols. 56 f.
4. This issue has preoccupied many leading students of both economics and Protestant theology. See esp. Karl Holl, "Zur Frage des Zinsnehmens und des Wuchers in der reformierten Kirche" (1922), reprinted in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, 4 vols. (Tübingen, 1928), III, 385-403; Henri Hauser, "A propos des idées économiques de Calvin," *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1926), I, 211-24; and particularly André Bieler's recent comprehensive analysis of *La Pensée économique et sociale de Calvin*, with a Foreword by Anthony Babel (Geneva, 1959). See also Ernst Ramp's comparative study of *Die Stellung von Luther, Zwingli und Calvin zur Zinsfrage* (Diss. Zurich, 1949), esp. pp. 81 ff., 106 ff.; and Charles H. George, "English Calvinist Opinions on Usury, 1600-1640," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVIII (1957), 455-74.
5. See Wilhelm Niesel, "Verstand Calvin deutsch?" *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLIX (1930), 343-46.
6. See the data assembled by Klaus Rudolphi in *Calvins Urteil über das politische Vorgehen der deutschen Protestanten nach seinem Briefwechsel* (Maringen, 1930); Philippe Dollinger, "La Tolérance à Strasbourg au XVI^e siècle," *Hommage à Lucien Febvre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1953), II, 241-49.
7. Martin Bucer, *Der CXXX Psalm* (Strasbourg, 1546), p. 2; *idem*, *Von den Juden, ob und wie die unter den Christen zu halten sind* (Strasbourg, 1539), (reproducing the respective memoranda); Max Lenz, ed., *Briefwechsel Philipps des Grossmüthigen von Hessen mit Bucer*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1880-91), I, 55 ff. These data are analyzed by Siegmund Salfeld in *Die Judenpolitik Philipps des Grossmüthigen* (Frankfurt, 1904); and by Hastings Eells in his "Bucer's Plan for the Jews," *Church History*, VI (1937), 127-35. On Bucer's utterances on the Jewish question and his likely encounter in Frankfurt, in 1539, with Josel of Rosheim, see Harry Bresslau, "Aus Strassburger Judenakten," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, V (1892), 307-44; and Selma Stern, *Josel von Rosheim: Befehlshaber der Jüdenschaft*

- im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (Stuttgart, 1959), esp. pp. 125 ff. See also, *infra*, n. 24; and the study by J. V. Pollet, *Martin Bucer étude sur la correspondance avec des nombreux textes inédits*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1958), which includes an interesting correspondence of 1542 between Conrad Pellican, Boniface Auerbach and Bucer about the need of a translation of the Koran for missionary purposes, similar to the use made of Hebrew studies to combat the Jewish interpretations (pp. 181 ff.). See also the rich *Bibliographia Bucera* assembled by Robert Stupperich and appended to Heinrich Bornkamm's succinct analysis of Martin Bucer's *Bedeutung für die europäische Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh, 1952).
8. Much has been written about Bucer's influence on Calvin's theological and economic thinking and also the impact of the Strasbourg environment upon the Geneva reformer. See esp. Georg Klingenberg's Bonn theological dissertation, *Das Verhältnis Calvins zu Butzer, untersucht auf Grund der wirtschaftsethischen Bedeutung der beiden Reformatoren* (Bonn, 1912); Wilhelm Pauck, "Calvin and Butzer," *Journal of Religion*, ix (1929), 237-56, and Jean Daniel Benoit, *et al.*, *Calvin à Strasbourg, 1539-1541* (Strasbourg, 1938).
9. See the early examples cited in my *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2d. ed. (New York, 1952 ff.), III, 5 ff., 229 f. nn. 1 and 4.
10. "Clarissimis syndicis, et amplissimo Senatui Genevensis Reipublicae dominis nostris colendissimis . . ." in Calvin's *Opera*, VIII, 555 f.
11. See the data assembled by Jakob Guttmann in his "Michael Servet in seinen Beziehungen zum Judentum," *MGWJ*, LI (1907), 77-94; and Louis Israel Newman in his *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* (New York, 1925), pp. 511 ff. Nor did Calvin hesitate, in his meeting with Melancthon in Frankfurt in 1539, to criticize the Lutheran liturgy as too "Jewish." See his letter to his closest friend, Guillaume Farel, of April 1539 in his *Opera*, X, Part 2, col. 340.
12. The relations between the two reformers, illumined in particular by their extant correspondence and the final trial and death of Servetus, have intrigued many scholars. Of the large literature on the subject we need but mention R. Willis's older but still useful *Servetus and Calvin: a Study of an Important Epoch in the Early History of the Reformation* (London, 1877); and Roland H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Servetus, 1511-1553* (Boston, 1953). See also the noteworthy eloquent, though somewhat exaggerating, description of the conditions in Geneva under Calvin's dictatorship by Stefan Zweig in *The Right to Heresy: Castello against Calvin*, English trans. by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, 1936). It may be noted that even some of those who were horrified by Servetus' execution were far from embracing the doctrine of religious toleration. The clergy of the Vaud district across Lake Geneva may have condemned the proceedings as illegal and irreligious and yet when, in 1554, the Academy of Lausanne contemplated inviting the distinguished scholar, Immanuel Tremellius, a baptized Jew of Ferrara, to serve as its professor of Hebrew, the Bernese
- authorities rejected him solely because of his Jewish descent. See H. Vuilleumier, "Les hébraïques vaudois au seizième siècle," *Revue inaugurale of the University of Lausanne* (1892), p. 64; Achille Nordmann, "Les Juifs dans les pays de Vaud, 1278-1875," *REJ*, LXXXI (1925), 163.
13. Servetus' Thirty Letters to Calvin in the latter's *Opera*, VIII, esp. Letter XXV, cols. 703 ff. (at the end citing Maimonides); also Letter XIV, col. 675; Newman, *Jewish Influence*, pp. 588 ff.
14. Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I, 8, 9-10, English trans. by Ford Lewis Battles, ed. by John T. McNeill, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1960), (The Library of Christian Classics, xx-xxi), I, 88 f., with reference to I Macc. 1:56-57; his *Commentary* on Ps. 22:17 in his *Opera* XXXI, 228 f.
15. *Commentary* on Dan. 7:27 in his *Opera*, XLII, 82.
16. See the fragment reprinted by Hans Volz in his "Beiträge zu Melancthons und Calvins Auslegung des Propheten Daniel," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXXVII (1955-56), 116 ff.
17. Calvin's *Commentary* on Dan. 2:39, 44-45; 4:10-16; 7:27; 9:24-26, in his *Opera*, XL, 597 f., 603 ff., 658; XLI, 81 ff., 167 ff., 172 ff., 184 ff. See Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* (Book of Tradition) in *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, ed. by Adolph Neubauer, I, 60 ff.; *idem*, *Zikhron dibre malke Yisrael ba-bayit ha-sheni* (Memoir on the History of the Jewish Kings during the Second Temple), (Mantua, 1513 ed.), and my remarks thereon in *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2d. ed., VI, 207 f., 210, 428 ff. nn. 70 and 73.
18. Calvin's Sermon XLIII on Dan. 12:1 in his *Opera*, XLII, 113 f. In general, Calvin was not too articulate in depicting the messianic expectations allegedly held by the ancient prophets, nor did he describe in any detail his own view of the final end of days after the second coming of Christ. See Heinrich Berger, *Calvins Geschichtsauffassung* (Zurich, 1955), esp. pp. 239 f.
19. *Commentary* on Isa. 38:8, 48:21; Obad. v. 19-20; Mic. 5:1-2; Hab. 2:45; Hag. 1:1; Matt. 1:22-23, etc., in his *Opera*, XXXVI, 653; XXXVII, 187 f.; XL, 66; XLVIII, 198 ff., 368 f., 551; XLIV, 80 f.
20. See his *Institutes*, IV, 16, 14, in the English trans. by F. L. Battles, II, 1336 f.; his *Sermon XIV* on Evangelical Harmony, and his *Commentaries* on Acts 17:4; Rom. 7:4-5; 9:30, 11:28-32; 1 Cor. 1:23-24 in *Opera*, XLVI, 167 f.; XLVIII, 395; XLIX, 172 ff., 192 f., 228 f., 327 f. Time and again Calvin reverts to this theme of the election and repudiation of Israel. In his sermon of Jan. 9, 1563 he launched an attack on both Jews and papists and declared with something of a sigh that "the Church will thus always have enemies which she will be unable to chase out." See his *Predigten*, ed. by H. Rückert, I, 679. It also was more than a merely archaic reference when, discussing the sale of Joseph by his brothers, Calvin declared that the Jews could not place the responsibility for that act on a few individuals, but that in fact this crime brought infamy to the whole people. In the context of a commentary on Acts 7:9, *Opera*, XLVIII, 135) such an observation doubtless recalled to the minds of most Christian readers the idea of the responsibility of the

whole Jewish people for the crucifixion of Jesus. This combination appeared, indeed, in such contemporary Passion plays as that of Augsburg, a predecessor of the later famous Passion play of Oberammergau. Here the Jews, trying to persuade Judas to betray Jesus, are made to assert that they had saved up the thirty pence from the time when Joseph had been sold by his brethren. See the text ed. by A. Hartmann in *Das Oberammergau Passionsspiel in seiner ältesten Gestalt* (Leipzig, 1880), vv. 213–20; and Hans Carl Holdschmidt, *Der Jude auf dem Theater des deutschen Mittelalters* (Emsdetten, 1935), (Die Schaubühne Quellen und Forschungen zur Theatergeschichte, xii), p. 106. Incidentally, Bucer, too, had found the disparagement of Paul's Jewish contemporaries useful for his own purposes, such as the defense of his high appreciation of the Græco-Roman pagan writers. See H. Strohl, *Bucer, humaniste chrétien* (Paris, 1939), (Cahiers of the *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, xxix), pp. 17 ff.

21. Calvin's second sermon on Deut. 15:7–10 in his *Opera*, xxvii, 325 ff. Other passages relating to usury have led Benjamin N. Nelson to find in them the opening to "the road to universal otherhood," namely the permissibility of interest among members of the same faith. See his *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood* (Princeton, 1949), pp. 73 ff., 141 ff.; and the critique of this interpretation by Charles H. George in his aforementioned essay in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xviii, 456 ff. See also *supra*, n. 4.

22. *Opera*, ix, 653–74. This tract seems to be identical with a letter by Calvin to which J. F. A. de le Roi refers in *Die evangelische Christenheit und die Juden*, 3 vols. (Karlsruhe, 1884), I, 44. See also Jacques Courvoisier's observations thereon in his "Calvin et les Juifs," *Judaica*, II (1946–47), 203–8.

23. See H. H. Wolf's dissertation, *Die Einheit des Bundes. Das Verhältnis von Altem und Neuem Testament bei Calvin* (Halle, 1941), (typescript, non vid.).

24. Josel of Rosheim's *Diary*, published by Isidor Kracauer in his "Rabbi Joselmann de Rosheim," *REJ*, xvi (1888), 92; *idem*, *Trostschrift an seine Brüder wider Bucer's Büchlein*, published by Ludwig Feilchenfeld in his *Rabbi Josel von Rosheim. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland im Reformationszeitalter* (Strasbourg, 1898), pp. 180 ff., App. xvi. The fact that the Jewish controversialist fails to mention Calvin by name is the less astonishing as the Genevan reformer lived at that time as a fairly obscure French refugee and Genevan exile in Bucer's entourage in Strasbourg. When Josel published his *Letter of Consolation* (the Hebrew original of which is regrettably lost) in reply to Bucer's aforementioned pamphlet in the Hessian controversy, no one could have foretold that shortly thereafter the Genevan population would change its mind and reinvoke the reformer to its leading pulpit, thus giving him the opportunity to play his stellar role in the history of the Reformation. In fact, Calvin's name occurs but rarely in the contemporary German sources relating to the conferences of 1539–41. If the frequent use of New Testament sources by Calvin's Jewish spokesman

militates against his identification with Josel who, in his other recorded disputations, seems to have relied exclusively upon the words of the Hebrew Bible, we must remember that both Josel's *Diary* and his *Letter of Consolation* were written in Hebrew for Jewish audiences. Josel may have omitted here the arguments from the New Testament which were unfamiliar to them and possibly might have been resented by the unsophisticated masses. On Calvin's role in the German assemblies and his participation in the religious disputations, see F. W. Kampschulte, *Johann Calvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1869–99), esp. I, 328 ff., 333 n. 1, 338 f.; and E. Doumergue's uncritical observations in his *Jean Calvin*, II. See also Selma Stern, *Josel von Rosheim*, esp. pp. 138 ff.; and *supra*, nn. 7–8.

25. A. Diez Macho, "Cesará la 'Tora' en la edad messianica?" *Estudios bíblicos*, xii (1953), 115–58; and other data cited in my *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2d. ed., II, 73 f., 161 f., 298 f., 360 f. n. 25; V, 124, 193 f., 347 n. 54, 380 ff. n. 58.

26. Query viii in *Opera*, ix, 663. This problem, too, had often engaged Jewish and Christian controversialists in their mutual recriminations. See my *History*, V, 118.

27. Query xxii in *Opera*, ix, 674. The problem of Exile had likewise engaged the attention of controversialists of both faiths since ancient times.

28. One must bear in mind, of course, that in Poland Calvinism represented but one of many rivaling Protestant factions which, under the existing conditions of relative religious freedom, fought one another as vigorously as they combated Catholicism. Even Servetus, particularly after his martyr's death, gained a wide following there. In 1557, Simon Zacus, the superintendent of the Calvinist community of Vilna, bitterly complained of the spread of all kinds of heresies, such as those of the Anabaptists, the Libertines, the Schwenkfeldians, and the New Arians of the school of Servetus and his Polish follower, De Goniadz. Cited by Stanislaw Kot in "L'influence de Michel Servet sur le mouvement antitrinitaire en Pologne et en Transylvanie" in the collection of essays, *Autour de Michel Servet et de Sébastien Castellion*, ed. by B. Becker (Haarlem, 1953), pp. 72–129, esp. p. 78. See also Gottfried Schramm's review article of the literature relating to the "Antitrinitarier in Polen, 1556–1658" in *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, xxi (1959), 473–511. This certainly was not the time for the Polish Calvinists to antagonize the ever growing, but strictly neutralist, Jewish population in the country.

29. Calvin's letter to Farel of October, 1539 in his *Opera*, x, Part 2, col. 398. See also Fritz Büsser, *Calvins Urteil über sich selbst* (Zurich, 1950), p. 54.

30. Roland H. Bainton, ed., *Concerning Heretics. Whether They are to be Persecuted and How They are to Be Treated. A Collection of the Opinions of Learned Men both Ancient and Modern. An Anonymous Work attributed to Sebastian Castellio. Now First Done into English. Together with Excerpts from Other Works of Sebastian Castellio and David Joris on Religious Liberty* (New York, 1935), (Records of Civilization, xxii). See

also the aforementioned confrontation of Castello with Calvin by Stefan Zweig in *The Right to Heresy*.

31. Calvin's *Institutes*, ii.8, 6; iii.19, 2 in Bartlett's English trans. I, 372, 835; the comments thereon by Marc-Edouard Chenevière in his Geneva dissertation, *La Pensée politique de Calvin* (Paris, 1937), pp. 61 ff., 99 ff.; and by Fritz Büsser in *Calvin's Urteil*, pp. 36 f. See also J. V. Brecht, "Calvinismus und Judentum," *Der Morgen*, III (1927), 243-50.
32. Calvin's *Commentaries* on Ps. 22:17, Dan. 4:10-16, in his *Opera*, xxxi, 228 f.; XI, 858.
33. It may be of interest to recall here the initial debates on the Weber thesis by Felix Rachfahl, Eugen Troeltsch and Weber himself. See Felix Rachfahl's "Calvinismus und Kapitalismus," *Internationale Wochenschrift*, III (1909); Troeltsch, "Die Kulturbedeutung des Calvinismus" (1910), reproduced in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 783-801; Weber, "Antikritisches zum 'Geist des Kapitalismus,'" *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, xxx (1910), 176-202. The subsequent literature on both the Weberian and the Sombartian theses is enormous and need not be repeated here.
34. See esp. Hans Baron's twin essays, *Calvin's Staatsanschauung und das konfessionelle Zeitalter* (Munich, 1924), (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Beihefte I), esp. pp. 48 ff., 115 ff.; and "Calvinist Republicanism and Its Historical Roots," *Church History*, VIII (1939), 30-42; as well as Josef Bohatec's more detailed analysis of *Calvin's Lehre von Staat und Kirche, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Organismusedankens* (Breslau, 1937).
35. See my *Modern Nationalism and Religion* (New York, 1947), (or paperback ed., New York, 1960), esp. the chapter on "Protestant Individualism," pp. 117 ff.

14

The Burning of the Talmud in 1553, in Light of Sixteenth-Century Catholic Attitudes toward the Talmud

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By decree of the Roman Inquisition,¹ the Talmud was publicly burned at Rome in the early Fall of 1553.² In the succeeding months other Italian cities confiscated and burned the Talmud in compliance with this decree.³ Historians have regularly explained this decree as the result of a dispute between the two Venetian publishers, M. Giustiniani and E. Bragadoni. Both had published the *Mishneh Torah* in 1550, but Bragadoni's edition also contained the recently completed commentary of R. Meir Katzenellenbogen of Padua. Commercial rivalry led Giustiniani to propose to ecclesiastical authorities that they scrutinize the commentary of R. Meir in Bragadoni's edition for improprieties. He also hired apostates to argue his point. Bragadoni retaliated in kind. These apostates then exceeded their original commission, and, when the case was heard before the Inquisition, they attacked the Talmud on the grounds that it contained blasphemies against Christianity. The Inquisition responded by condemning the Talmud and decreeing its destruction.⁴ Eight months later Julius III issued the bull *Cum sicut nuper*⁵ to ensure the enforcement of the Inquisition's decree. Hence, the 1553 burning has been identified as an attack on the Talmud's alleged blasphemies and, thus, like its thirteenth-century predecessor in which the papacy had likewise significantly participated,⁶ as a typical manifestation of the

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