

Themes of Polemical
Theology Across Early
Modern Literary
Genres

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Edited by

Svorad Zavorský, Lucy R Nicholas
and Andrea Riedl

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By courtesy of the Spiš Diocesan Archives, Spišská Kapitula.

PREFACE

The present collection of essays has sprung from an international conference of the same name which took place in Bratislava in early December 2014. Organized by the Ján Stanislav Institute of Slavonic Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, it formed part of a research project devoted to early modern polemical theology and its contexts. The conference call read as follows:

The confessional division within the Church in the early modern period was accompanied by fervent activity in the field of polemical theology. This gave rise to a specific literary genre which, in spite of its abundant representation among early modern texts, has not received due attention from philologists as a distinct form of thought and expression. When reading early modern texts, one comes across references and allusions to confessional polemics again and again. Evidently, writings of religious controversy, whose very purpose lay in their practical application, were capable of exceeding their own sphere of religious beliefs, making their presence felt in society and exerting their influence on individual people's lives.

Polemical theology developed its own system of arguments, images, biblical quotations, and so forth, which to a great extent became standardized through several prominent manuals of controversy, such as the ones by Martin Becan, Francis Coster, or Robert Bellarmine on the Catholic side. Patterns of polemical-theological discourse were widely known among the educated, and their influences can be traced across a broad spectrum of early modern literary genres—in historiography, drama, poetry, oratory, epistolography, scientific dissertations, and others. Therefore it can be reasonably presumed that it would be beneficial to regard the system of early modern polemical theology with its ever-recurring motifs and fixed forms of argumentation as a suitable key of interpretation with which to decipher “polemical messages” encoded in literary works.

Our conference aims to take an interdisciplinary look at early modern texts, both Latin and vernacular, through the prism of the fundamental themes of polemical theology—for example, the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the invocation of the saints, the so-called human traditions, the issues of free will, good works, and their merits, the *sola scriptura* principle, the visibility of the Church, papal primacy, purgatory, predestination, and so forth—and/or against the backdrop of the marks of the true church (*notae ecclesiae*), whether they be the four classical marks contained in the Creed—*una, sancta, catholica, apostolica*—or the more

elaborate concept of the fifteen marks developed by Robert Bellarmine, or any other model, Protestant or Catholic, applied in the early modern period. It should be remembered, though, that the notion of polemical theology is not confined solely to the Catholic-Protestant controversy but also includes dissensions among Protestant denominations, polemics with the Orthodox, Muslims, and Jews, as well as arguments against atheists and the religiously indifferent.

The organizer hopes to bring together scholars—especially philologists, historians, and theologians—researching this phenomenon from different perspectives and across different literary genres.

I was surprised to receive responses from scholars hailing from fourteen countries and specializing in different fields of research. The papers they offered brought before my mind's eye a variegated, yet harmonious picture of the early modern uses of polemical theology. Their topics ranged from Sweden in the north to Dalmatia in the south, from Transylvania in the east to the British Isles in the west. They not only covered some of the major areas of early modern literature—such as historiography, poetry, satire, epistolography, religious tracts, and scientific dissertations—but were also confessionally well-balanced with their scope as broad as to include all four main traditions of early modern Christendom—Catholic, Orthodox, Lutheran, and Reformed.

The essays contained in this collection reflect the richness of response evoked by the call. They aptly illustrate how scholars working in different disciplines have adopted and transformed the initial idea. Some of them only lightly touch upon polemical theology, so that an uninitiated reader may not even notice the subtlety of their argument, while others address the major themes of confessional polemics in very explicit terms. This collection thus offers a sample of a diversified approach to the phenomenon in question, and I hope it can inspire further research in this area.

Finally, I wish to express my sincere thanks to my co-editors. This project could not have been realized without the help of Lucy R Nicholas (King's College London) and Andrea Riedl (University of Vienna), both of whom participated in the Bratislava conference and kindly accepted my invitation to collaborate in bringing this volume into existence.

Svorad Zavorský
Bratislava–Devínska Nová Ves
December 2015

PROLUSIO
BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

OLD AND NEW, TRUE AND FALSE
IN THE WORLDVIEW OF A LATE
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY JESUIT:
THEMES OF POLEMICAL THEOLOGY
IN THREE DISSERTATIONS
BY MARTINUS SZENT-IVANY SJ (1688–1690)

SVORAD ZAVARSKÝ

In the late 1570s the Italian humanist and lawyer Guido Pancirolli (1523–1599) wrote an interesting book in which he tried to place the ancient things that had long ceased to exist, as it were, onto one pan of a balance scale, and the recently invented things unknown to the ancients on the other.¹ These are the author's words in his preface addressed to Emmanuel Philibert (1528–1580), duke of Savoy:

I recall that during those extraordinary colloquies diligently and frequently held by Your Most Serene Highness I was asked about those things that once were in use among the ancients but have now fallen into disuse, as

* My thanks go to Francis X. Luther (Audubon, Pennsylvania) for having kindly proofread this text.

This essay is a partial result of the research project “Polemical theology and its contexts in early modern Slovakia” [Polemická teológia a jej kontexty na Slovensku v novoveku] (VEGA 2/0170/12) carried out at the Ján Stanislav Institute of Slavonic Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in the years 2012–2015.

¹ Guido Pancirollus, *Rerum memorabilium libri duo. Quorum prior deperditarum, posterior noviter inventarum est*, trans. Heinrich Salmuth (Ambergae/Amberg: Typis Forsterianis, 1599).

well as about those that were invented only after the decline of the Roman Empire. I have therefore . . . compiled [this] collection . . . so that Your Highness, like another Plutarch, can draw parallels, compare the ones with the others, and consider whether we have lost or gained.²

Originally written in Italian, Pancirolli's book remained in manuscript until it was made available to the erudite world in 1599 through the Latin translation of Heinrich Salmuth Jr. (ca. 1578–1613). The book is divided into two parts: the first part contains a catalogue of sixty-five perished phenomena which were used in the time of ancient Rome (see Appendix I), while the second includes twenty-five new inventions which came into existence after the fall of the Roman Empire (see Appendix II). Although Pancirolli left the question of loss and gain—or, as he put it, of debt and credit—unanswered, inviting the reader to draw his own conclusion, the mere comparison of numbers shows eloquently which side the Italian humanist was more favourably inclined toward. To put it simply, Pancirolli appears to have been an outspoken admirer of the ancients.

A little more than a century later, Martinus Szent-Ivany (1633–1705), a Slovak Jesuit based at the University of Trnava,³ published a series of three dissertations (*De rerum novarum inventione* [1688], *De rerum memorabilium orbis terrestris deperditione ac desitione* [1689], *De rebus falsae et dubiae existentiae* [1690])⁴ inspired by Guido Pancirolli. Szent-Ivany's conception differs radically from that of his Italian predecessor in several ways. First of all, the Jesuit author reversed Pancirolli's order so that his first dissertation is focused on new inventions. Comparison of the ancient and modern worlds is not as relevant for him anymore; it is rather the modern world, the overseas discoveries, the technical and scientific progress that shapes or modifies the overall vision of the world, including

² Pancirollus, *Rerum memorabilium*, 1-2: "Inter egregia illa colloquia, quæ assidue & frequenter habet Serenissima celsitudo Tua, quæsitus ex me memini de iis rebus, quæ apud veteres quidem in usu fuerunt; hodiè verò ivere in desuetudinem: & rursum, de iis, quæ post Imperium Romanum primum sunt adinventæ. Equidem . . . collectionem quandam feci . . . ut ad Plutarchi exemplum, quasi parallelos sibi constituere, & hæc cum illis comparare invicem, nec non perpendere secum possit Celsitudo Tua, utrum plus damni, an lucri fecerimus."

³ The University of Trnava (*Universitas Tyrnaviensis*), founded in 1635 and run by the Society of Jesus, was the largest and most prestigious educational institution in the Kingdom of Hungary during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

⁴ First published in the astronomical almanac *Calendarium Tyrnaviense* for the respective years, later included in the second decade (*Decadis secundae pars prima* [1691]) of M. Szent-Ivany's *Curiosiora et selectiora variarum scientiarum miscellanea* (Tyrnaviae/Trnava: Typis Academicis, 1689–1709).

its past. The proportion of “old” to “new” shifted to a fifty-fifty balance in Szent-Ivany’s design. Following the thought of the French historian Jean Bodin (1529–1596) and the Scottish-Polish naturalist John Jonston (1603–1675), Szent-Ivany was a wholehearted promoter of the idea of progress, resolutely rejecting the inveterate belief that the world was constantly deteriorating and on its way to ruin, which was traditionally represented by the image of the four ages—the golden, the silver, the copper, and the iron. “This opinion must be completely expunged from the human mind,” Szent-Ivany wrote in his cosmological dissertation (1678).⁵ For him, classical antiquity was no more the ideal model; he did not regard it as the standard to follow. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that his second dissertation, which dealt with the ancient things⁶ that were no more to be found, extended its focus to include also biblical antiquity. Szent-Ivany did not split mankind’s history dichotomically into the period of classical antiquity and that of its modern emulation, but he viewed it as a continuum beginning with the creation of the world and tending towards a final completion. For him, there were no dark middle ages. This view can be aptly contrasted with that of an anonymous English translator who published Pancirolli’s work in London in 1715.⁷ The Englishman wrote in his *Preface to the Appendix to Pancirolli* that the modern advancement of civilization and culture had already compensated, or at least would shortly compensate, for the losses which mankind had suffered by both the extinction of the ancient civilization and the onset of the age of ignorance and darkness. The anonymous translator of Pancirolli expressed his feelings in the following words:

After these Times of Ignorance, rose a Generation of Men of vigorous, inquisitive and subtil Spirits, who, asham’d of the Sottishness of Priests

⁵ Martinus Szent-Ivany, “Dissertatio cosmographica seu de mundi systemate,” in *Curiosiora et selectiora variarum scientiarum miscellanea* (Tyrnaviae/Trnava: Typis Academicis, 1689), 30: “Evellenda proinde est penitus è mentibus hominum opinio illa: *Mundum hunc perpetuo defluxu per atates labi, ac deficere, continuo-que ruere in deterius.*” For a modern commented edition of this work, see Martin Sentiváni, *Dissertatio cosmographica seu de mundi systemate/Sústava sveta: Kozmologická štúdiá*, edited with an introduction, translation, and commentary (in Slovak) by Svorad Zavorský (Slavica Slovaca, 46, 2011, no. 3 [Supplementum]).

⁶ The term “things” is used throughout this text as the most appropriate translation for the Latin noun “*res*” and the broad variety of phenomena it comprises in the three dissertations by Martinus Szent-Ivany.

⁷ *The History of Many Memorable Things lost and an Account of many excellent Things found, now in Use among the Moderns, both Natural and Artificial* (London: Printed for John Nicholson, sold by John Morphew, 1715).

and Monks . . . set themselves to recover the lost Arts . . . and fetched the ancient Authors out of the dusty Cells . . . and so were the Instruments, not only of a Reformation of Religion, but of communicating all useful Knowledge to all Persons and Places.⁸

The discrepant views on historical development held by Szent-Ivany and the English translator respectively were no doubt confessionally motivated.

Szent-Ivany's conception differs from that of Pancirolli even more manifestly in that it comprises a third category of things—namely, those the existence of which can be regarded as false, or at least dubious. This is in perfect accord with the Jesuit author's way of looking at antiquity. Not only did he not admire it as the standard of perfection, he even went as far as to show his readers that ancient authors were not seldom mistaken, thus indirectly making the ancients responsible for introducing false concepts into the history of human thought. The third dissertation, dealing with things of false and dubious existence, represents a counterweight to both the first and second dissertations, clearly pointing out that neither were the ancients infallible nor have the moderns completely liberated themselves from error. Pancirolli's bipolar, and to some extent also static, view of history seems here to be replaced by a more dynamic and coherent model.

Now, let us take a brief look at each of the three dissertations, considering the polemical theological codes⁹ either overtly or latently present in them. The dissertation on the invention of new things (*De rerum novarum inventione*, 1688) pays attention to fifty phenomena related to new geographic discoveries, to astronomical knowledge, as well as to the progress of science, technology, and arts (see Appendix III). Especially worthy of attention is paragraph number forty-seven which is devoted to the propagation of faith in China. Szent-Ivany writes:

The enormously vast, most cultured, and very populous Empire of China, consisting of fifteen huge provinces, each of which equals an entire kingdom, for which reason it is believed to be almost as large as whole Europe . . . remained until very recently impervious to the preachers of the

⁸ "An Appendix to Pancirollus," in *The History of Many Memorable Things*, 422.

⁹ By "codes" I mean the more or less visible manifestations of all different concepts which influence an author when he is writing a text. These, either intentionally or unintentionally incorporated into the text, can then be read "between the lines."

Gospel and Christian doctrine . . . But these obstacles . . . have been gloriously overcome by the Society of Jesus.¹⁰

It is obvious to all those familiar with the polemical theological discourse of the early modern period that these words reflect one of the so-called marks of the true church (*notae ecclesiae*). In general terms referred to as “catholicity,” and more specifically defined by Robert Bellarmine as “amplitude,”¹¹ this mark identifies the true church with one that is spread all over the world, as opposed to non-Catholic churches which, as Catholic controversialists of those times used to emphasize, were hardly to be found except “in some few provinces of Europe.” In one of his polemical theological works, perhaps best characterized as an apology of Catholicism written in the form of a fictive convert’s narrative (*Quinquaginta rationes seu motiva*),¹² Szent-Ivany addressed the problem of the church’s catholicity in the following manner:

After this I took into Consideration the true Marks of the Church of Christ, viz. that it is *one, Holy, Catholick and Apostolical*. But not one of them

¹⁰ Martinus Szent-Ivany, “Dissertatio curiosa miscellanea de rerum novarum inventione,” in *Curiosiora et selectiora*, Decadis secundae pars prima (1691), 261: “Vastissimum, cultissimum, simul ac populosissimum Chinarum Imperium, utpote quod in se 15. amplissimas, ac Regnis integris æquivalentes continet Provincias, (unde censetur totam fere adæquare Europam) . . . usque ad postrema hæc nostra tempora, Evangelij, & doctrinæ Christianæ prædicatoribus impervia mansit . . . Hæc tamen ipsa obstacula . . . gloriosè perrupit JESU Societas.” All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

¹¹ Robertus Bellarminus, “De notis Ecclesiae,” in *Disputationes de controversiis Christianæ fidei adversus huius temporis hæreticos*, Tomus I, Quarta controversia generalis (De conciliis et Ecclesia), Liber IV, Caput VII. Bellarmine’s *Disputationes* were first published at Ingolstadt in 1581, and subsequently republished in numerous editions and in different places. The mark of *amplitudo* is the fourth of Bellarmine’s *notae*.

¹² [Martinus Szent-Ivany], *Quinquaginta rationes et Motiva, Cur in tanta varietate Religionum et Confessionum Fidei, in Christianitate moderno tempore vigenium, sola Religio Romano-Catholica, sit eligenda, et omnibus aliis præferenda. A Quodam Neo-Catholico Omnibus Dominis Catholicis pro Xenio Novi Anni M. DCCII. affectuosissime oblata* (Tyrnaviae/Trnava: Typis Academicis, 1702). For a more detailed discussion of this polemical-apologetical work, see Svorad Zavarický, “Quinquaginta Rationes—Fifty Reasons: From an Opusculum Polemicum Tyrnaviense to a Standard Catholic Book in America,” in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Monasteriensis: Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Münster 2012)*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber and Karl A. E. Elenkel (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2015), 614–625.

could I find in the reform'd, or to give it its proper Name, the deform'd Church . . . They are . . . at a loss how to prove their Church *Catholic* or *Universal*; for their Faith has never been spread throughout the World, as the Roman has . . . And at this Day, it is not known over all the World. It has only nestled in some few Provinces of *Europe*, which is the smallest Part of the Universe, compared with *Africa*, *Asia*, and *America*, where it is so far from being establish'd, that it is not so much as mention'd.¹³

It is important to note that in his dissertation *De rerum novarum inventione* Szent-Ivany placed the question of the propagation of the true faith in the context of newly invented and previously unknown things, that is, in the context of progress and dynamism. In fact, the civilizing and cultivating role of Catholicism emerges more than once in this dissertation, though not as directly connected with polemical theology as in the above-mentioned case. Among the new things enumerated by Szent-Ivany there is also scholastic theology, canonical law, the invention of solmi-zation by the Benedictine monk Guido of Arezzo (991/92–after 1033), the spiritual exercises of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), and the concept of “*media scientia*” invented by the Jesuit theologian Luis de Molina (1535–1600). Particularly significant is the inclusion of Guido of Arezzo in this catalogue because by doing so Szent-Ivany clearly opposed Pancirolli who had listed “musical perfection” among those achievements of the ancients that could not be equalled by the feats of the moderns. The Jesuit author had no scruples to recognize the contribution of medieval monastic culture and science to the general advancement of mankind. In this context, his praise of the Catholic missionary achievements in China, going hand in hand with new overseas discoveries, can be interpreted as an intention to point out the civilizing effect of the true church and its positive role in the progress of mankind.

Let us next turn our attention to the second dissertation entitled *De re-memorabilium orbis terrestris deperditione ac desitione* (1689). The fifty-one paragraphs, or entries, listed therein¹⁴ concentrate on biblical antiquity, on different natural products and related commodities, on ancient

¹³ Quoted according to the English translation of *Quinquaginta rationes* published as *Fifty Reasons, or Motives Why the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion ought to be preferr'd to all the Sects this Day in Christendom, And which induced his most Serene Highness Anthony Ulrick Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, &c. to abjure Lutheranism* (London: Printed and sold by Thomas Meighan, 1715), 31-32.

¹⁴ There is a mistake in the numbering of paragraphs—namely, number forty occurs twice. (Though the mistake might have been intentional in order to seemingly reduce the number of paragraphs, so that the resulting number of the “lost” things would be the same as that of the recently invented ones.)

edifices and ceremonies, as well as on the early modes of punishment and penitence (see Appendix IV). The last mentioned group is of special interest to us now. Quite logically, this group of things—paragraphs 40(41) to 43(44), and particularly the one on fasting—is related to the controversy concerning the so-called human traditions. There was a constant polemic between Catholics and Protestants as to whether the practices of the modern Roman Catholic Church were or were not in use as early as the first five centuries of the Christian era. Szent-Ivany dedicated a great portion of his controversialist works to this particular topic, and this not without a special reason to do so. Namely, Friedrich Spanheim Jr. (1632–1701), a prominent Reformed theologian based at the University of Leiden, declared in his refutation of one of Szent-Ivany's works that he and his fellow believers would immediately become Catholics if these were able to prove that the Roman Catholic Church of their time was identical with the church of the initial centuries. Szent-Ivany seized upon what he probably deemed an easy opportunity, as he was convinced there was abundant historical evidence in support of the Catholic cause.

In the dissertation on perished things, unlike in his polemical writings, Szent-Ivany's goal was not so much to prove the antiquity of Roman Catholic discipline as rather to show that its strictness had greatly abated since the primeval times. If this is proved to be true, it somehow follows logically that the objections of the Protestants criticizing the Catholics for their clinging to "superstitious practices" and "mere additions" were little substantiated. If we dare acknowledge a polemical undertone in the mentioned paragraphs (40[41]-43[44]) of Szent-Ivany's dissertation, this indeed seems to be a remarkable way of argumentation. For whilst Catholics were traditionally blamed for excessive use of outward means in their religious life, Szent-Ivany appears to be telling us just the opposite in a very matter-of-fact way: just as the monuments of classical antiquity perished, so did the ancient vigour of Christian discipline evaporate over the centuries. So, the commonplace image of the gradual increase of Roman additions to the apostolic faith is here opposed by the image of decrease in devotion and piety. Like Protestants, Catholics too strove to look back into the early periods of the Church's existence, but with a different intention: they returned to their roots in order to invigorate and nourish their languid faith, which is just the opposite of cleansing it of medieval additions.

The dissertation on things of false and dubious existence is the last of the three. All thirty-seven things (it is hard to think of a better expression to encompass the mixture of diverse phenomena) enumerated therein can be divided into five groups: (1) concepts and theories regarding the cos-

mos, (2) fabulous animals, (3) manlike monsters and half-men half-beasts, (4) different concepts of fate, and (5) magical practices (see Appendix V). Considering the reasons that induced the author to regard these things as dubious or unreal, we can see his primary motive lay in the fact that no one had ever seen them with their own eyes nor was there any sufficient reason supporting their existence. It is repeatedly emphasized by Szent-Ivany that the ancient belief in the existence of these things was based on the common people's ignorance and superstition. The Jesuit asserts that the writers of antiquity let themselves be deceived by popular beliefs, referred to in his dissertation as *opinio vulgi* or *persuasio vulgi*, and contented themselves with only reporting that which had been narrated to them. We will now fix our eyes on the fourth group of unreal things—the one devoted to different notions of fate (§26-§29). One of the concepts of fate is here designated as *Fatum Aatholicum*, the non-Catholic fate, by which is meant the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Szent-Ivany writes in the respective paragraph:

This fate, too, does not lag behind the other above-mentioned fates in terms of foolishness, whereas in terms of impioussness it far surpasses them all. For it either leads to horrible desperation or opens the way to perpetrating all possible sins. The dilemma of this fate is the following: Either I am from eternity predestined to glory or I am predestined to punishment. If I am predestined to glory, I shall necessarily be saved no matter how badly I live; If I am predestined to punishment, I shall necessarily be damned regardless of my good works. This reasoning is based on Calvin's impious and foolish opinion which led him to think that people are predestined either to life or to eternal death by God's pure will regardless of their merits and demerits. The mentioned dilemma should be solved thus: If I am predestined, that is, foreordained to achieve eternal life through certain means which, with the help of God's grace, are in my power, I certainly shall achieve eternal life if I apply those means. On the other hand, if I am reprobate, that is, foreordained by God to hell because of the sins I shall freely commit, I certainly shall be damned if I commit those sins.¹⁵

¹⁵ Martinus Szent-Ivany, "Dissertatio curiosa miscellanea de rebus falsae et dubiae existientiae," in *Curiosiora et selectiora* (Decadis secundae pars prima), 336-337: "Hoc quoque Fatum, in fatuitate praedictis aliis fatis non cedit, in impietate autem alia longe superat. Nam vel ad desperationem horrendam deducit, vel ad omnia scelera perpetranda viam adaperit. Cujus Fati hoc est Dilemma: Vel ab aeterno sum praedestinatus, ad gloriam, vel reprobatus ad supplicium: si praedestinatus, necessariò salvabor, & si pessimè vixero: si reprobatus, necessariò damnabor, & si velim bene vivere. Nititur autem illud in Calvini impia & fatua opinione, quâ is existimabat homines nudo DEI arbitrio, citra proprium meritum, aut demeritum, alios ad

This whole passage reads as if it were copied out from Martinus Bezanus's (1563–1624) famous *Manuale controversiarum*. Consisting of commonplace formulations which could be found in every early modern handbook of polemical theology, these Szent-Ivany's words, taken by themselves, lack any originality whatsoever. Nevertheless, if considered within the framework of the dissertation in which they are embedded, these polemical commonplaces come to be seen in a novel and astonishing perspective. That which was usually discussed independently as a problem in its own right and solely from the point of view of the doctrine of faith is here dealt with as part of a large set of either dubious or outspokenly unreal things. It is put on the same level with such phenomena as gryphs, basilisks, tritons, but also the Copernican theory. I would suggest that the placing of this Protestant dogma in the context of the dissertation on unreal things should be understood as *pars pro toto*. In this connection, it is quite interesting to observe that in his polemical writings Szent-Ivany always approached non-Catholic articles of faith by means of *reductio ad absurdum*, that is, by logically deducing absurd consequences from them. This approach of Szent-Ivany the controversialist corresponds surprisingly well with the intention of Szent-Ivany the polymath writing his dissertation *De rebus falsae et dubiae existentiae*.

In conclusion, let me draw a rough outline of the overall image we can obtain from reading the three dissertations through the prism of polemical theology. Catholicism, regarded as the only true religion, is implicitly considered to be one of the forces of progress. In contrast, false dogma is placed in the realm of that which is fabulous and superstitious and must be done away with. It is an obstacle and a hindrance to progress. By including matters of religion in his discourse about the achievements of the ancients and the moderns, Szent-Ivany clearly demonstrated his conviction that truth is only one, regardless of whether it be the truth of reason or the truth of faith, and that the former cannot contradict the latter, nor can the one exist without the other. In this connection, let me quote the words of the English convert Frederick William Faber (1814–1863) who wrote:

Theology is the counterpart of physical science. It can tell us quite as wonderful things of the angels whom we have never seen, as astronomy can of

vitam, alios ad mortem aeternam praedestinos esse. Dilemma [sic!] igitur praedictum, sic explicandum est. Si praedestinato sum, id est praordinatus ad vitam aeternam, per certa media, quae cum DEI gratia in mea potestate sunt, consequendam, certo consequar vitam aeternam, si illa adhibuero. Rursum si sim reprobatus, id est, si à DEO ordinatus sum ad infernum, propter mea peccata, quae liberè commissurus sum, certo damnabor, si illa peccata commiserero.”

the stars we can never reach. The science of the laws of grace is a parallel to the science of the laws of life.¹⁶

This, I think, is the perspective in which the three dissertations of Martinus Szent-Ivany should be read. Science and religion were not conceived of by him as antithetical forces; rather, both of them, science and religion alike, were understood as the moving forces of progress. But in order that they really might be so, they had to meet one condition: both were obliged to pursue truth.

Surely, the polemical theological codes do not constitute the principal message of the three dissertations. Nevertheless, the codes are there and they certainly make up an important frame of reference in which the texts come to be seen in a rather interesting perspective. And I dare say this perspective is in no way marginal for the interpretation of texts written in the baroque period, which was a period of high religious sensitivity.

Appendix

I. Pancirolli's catalogue of things which existed in antiquity but were unknown to the moderns:

1. De Purpura. **2.** De Encausto. **3.** De Obsidianis. **4.** De Lino vivo, aut Asbestino. **5.** De Byssu. **6.** De Specularibus. **7.** De Murrhini & aliquibus Gemmis. **8.** De Aurichalco. **9.** De Cinamomo. **10.** De Folio Barbarico, & alijs odoramentis. **11.** De Amomo, Costo, Malobathro, Casia odorata, Aromate Indico & Lasere. **12.** De Myrrha, Stacte, Bdellio, & Balsamo. **13.** De Azzalo Indico. **14.** De Ammoniacu Sale, & Stellione. **15.** De Marmoribus. **16.** De lapidibus preciosis. **17.** De fructibus. **18.** De Aedificijs, Amphitheatris & Theatris. **19.** De Circo Maximo, Basilicis, Tabernis & Nymphis. **20.** De Foro. **21.** De viis. **22.** De Librariis, sive Bibliothecis. **23.** De Aedificijs privatis. **24.** De Statuis ex multis particulis seu crustis compositis. **25.** De cellis. **26.** De Palaestris, & stadiis. **27.** De Thermis aut Balneis. **28.** De Arcubus Triumphalibus. **29.** De Columna Traiani, & Antonii Pii. **30.** De Mole Hadriani, & Sepultura Cesti. **31.** De Obeliscis. **32.** De Pyramidibus, Labyrinthis, Sphyngae Aegyptia, Thebis, septem Mundi Miraculis, Naumachia, Statuis & Asylo. **33.** De Pyropo, & Electro. **34.** De Corynthio aere. **35.** De oleo incombustibili. **36.** De vitro ductili. **37.** De Papyro. **38.** De Navib. & Quadr. & Quinq. **39.** De Musica. **40.** De Music muta, & Hydraulica. **41.** De Actione. **42.** De Characteribus literarum. **43.** De Habitibus & vestimentis Veterum. **44.** De fibula. **45.** De habitu Imperatorum. **46.** Quomodo salutati fuerint Imperatores. **47.** De Diademate. **48.** De Equis. **49.** De Testudine. **50.** De Supellectile argentea. **51.** De Cibi capiendi modo Veteribus usitato. **52.** De iis, qui oleum, vinum & alia liquamina ad Mensuram vendebant. **53.** De Moribus bello usurpatis. **54.** De Moribus exercitus. **55.** De Coronis,

¹⁶ Frederick W. Faber, *All for Jesus: Or, the Easy Ways of Divine Love*, 4th ed. (London: Richardson and Son, 1854), 283-284.

quae dabantur Militibus. **56.** De Armamentariis, quae hodie Arsenali dicuntur. **57.** De Triumphis. **58.** De Legatis. **59.** De Nuptiis. **60.** De Veterum Ludis. **61.** De Damnatis in Metallum. **62.** De exequiis Mortuorum. **63.** De Nomenclatoribus. **64.** De Donis. **65.** De Horis & Clepsydris.

II. Pancirolli's catalogue of newly invented things:

1. De Novo Orbe. **2.** De Porcellanis. **3.** De Lapide Bezoar. **4.** De Rha-barbaro, & Cassia. **5.** De Saccharo. **6.** De Manna. **7.** De Alchimia. **8.** De Destillationibus. **9.** De Campanis. **10.** De Horologiis. **11.** De Pyxide nautica. **12.** De Typographia. **13.** De Charta. **14.** De Ziferis, seu furtivis literarum notis. **15.** De conspiciis. **16.** De Sellis, Staphiis, & Equorum soleis. **17.** De Quadratura Circuli, seu modo reducendi Quadrati ad circulum. **18.** De Tormentis muralibus & Bombardis. **19.** De Igni Graeco. **20.** De Torneamentis, quae vulgo Giofre dicuntur. **21.** De Quintana. **22.** De Moletrinis. **23.** De Aucupio, quod cum Accipitre, Niso, Falcone, & aliis avibus peragitur. **24.** De Textis Sericis. **25.** De Liquoribus, qui vulgo Botarge & Caviaro dicuntur.

III. Szent-Ivany's catalogue of newly invented things:

§1. Novus Orbis. **§2.** Reliquarum partium Orbis Terrae major notitia. **§3.** Galli Indici. **§4.** Aves Paradisiacae. **§5.** Plantae Saluberrimae. **§6.** Ficus, & Nuces Indicae. **§7.** Cultri Lapidei. **§8.** Porcellanae. **§9.** Lapis Bezoar. **§10.** Usus Rhabarbari in Medicinis, & Cassiae Dissolutivae. **§11.** Sacchari Confectio. **§12.** Chymia Inventa. **§13.** Distillationes. **§14.** Quinta essentia Rerum. **§15.** Campanae. **§16.** Horologia. **§17.** Typographia. **§18.** Pyxis Nautica. **§19.** Charta. **§20.** Ziferae, sive Cyphrae, seu Furtivae ac occultae Literarum Notae. **§21.** Tubus Opticus. **§22.** Novorum Planetarum detectio. **§23.** Solis macularum, & Facularum deprehensio. **§24.** Montium, & Vallium, Specuum, ac Lacuum Lunae, detectio. **§25.** Specierum visibilium, in locum obscurum intromissio. **§26.** Specula uestoria, & vitra auctoria. **§27.** Vitra trigona, & Polygona. **§28.** Tubus Phonotechnicus. **§29.** Sellae, Stapedes, & Soleae Equorum. **§30.** Quadrata Circuli. **§31.** Tormenta Muralia, & Bombardae. **§32.** Pulvis Pyrius. **§33.** Pulvis Pyrius mutus. **§34.** Pyrotechnica nova. **§35.** Ignis Graecus. **§36.** Sclopetum Pneumaticum. **§37.** Molentina. **§38.** Aucupium, quod cum Accipitre, Niso, Falcone, & alijs Avibus rapacibus peragitur. **§39.** Sericum Textum. **§40.** Theologia Scholastica. **§41.** Juris-prudentia. **§42.** Media Scientia. **§43.** Nova Architectura Militaris. **§44.** Novum Calendarium, vulgò Gregorianum. **§45.** Logarithmi. **§46.** Exercitia Spiritualia. **§47.** Apertio Fidei Catholicae in Chinas. **§48.** Musicae perfectio. **§49.** Nonnulla id genus alia. **§50.** Abusus Tabaci, & Barocarum.

IV. Szent-Ivany's catalogue of perished things:

§1. Paradisus Terrestris. **§2.** Arbor Vitae. **§3.** Arbor scientiae Boni & mali. **§4.** Gygantes. **§5.** Purpura. **§6.** Encaustum. **§7.** Lapis Obsidianus. **§8.** Asbestum seu Linum vivum. **§9.** Byssus. **§10.** Lapis specularis. **§11.** Murrchina Vasa. **§12.** Genium Orichalcum, vulgò Aurichalcum. **§13.** Verum Cinnamomum. **§14.** Odoramenta pretiosa. **§15.** Myrrha & Stachen. **§16.** Bdelium. **§17.** Balsamum verum, Opobalsamum, & Xilobalsamum. **§18.** Publica Theatra, & Amphitheatra. **§19.** Cir-

ci Maximi. §20. Certa Marmorum Genera. §21. Torneamenta. §22. Viae Publicae. §23. Palaestrae & Stadia. §24. Obelisci. §25. Pyramides. §26. Colossi. §27. Labyrinthi. §28. Pyropus. §29. Electrum. §30. Aes Corinthium. §31. Lucernae perpetuo ardentis. §32. Vitrum ductile. §33. Septem Orbis Miracula. §34. Coronae Militares. §35. Triumphus. §36. Olympiades. §37. Arcus Triumphales. §38. Damnatio ad Metalla. §39. Damnatio ad Bestias. §40. Crucis Supplicium. §40. (41.) Poenae in indevotos. §41. (42.) Poenae in Blasphemos. §42. (43.) Jejuniorum Rigor. §43. (44.) Sacramentalium Poenitentiarum Rigor. §44. (45.) Specula Caustica, Procli & Archimedis. §45. (46.) Cibi capiendi Modus. §46. (47.) Proba per Ignem, & Duella. §47. (48.) Proba per aquam ferventem. §48. (49.) Romani Imperij Amplitudo. §49. (50.) Copiae Militares Romani Imperij. §50. (51.) Antiquus Urbis Romanae Decor.

V. Szent-Ivany's catalogue of things of false or dubious existence:

§1. Primum mobile. §2. Motus Contrarij Astrorum. §3. Sphaera Ignis. §4. Motus Terrae Copernicanus. §5. Motus Trepidationis Terrae. §6. Inhabitabiles Zonae Terrae. §7. Phoenix. §8. Avium Britannicarum, vulgo Bernicularum, ex arboribus aut lignis putridis generatio. §9. Gryphes. §10. Pelicanus. §11. Aves Diomedee. §12. Remora. §13. Equae Hispanicae & Cappadociae vento concipientes. §14. Salamandra in igne vivens. §15. Unicornis seu Monoceros. §16. Cornu Monocerotis seu Unicornis. §17. Excessivi Gygantes Gygantum. §18. Pigmaei. §19. Centauri, Hippo-centauri, Ono-centauri. §20. Tritones & Sirenes. §21. Fauni & Satyri. §22. Homines Sylvestres. §23. Homines Acephali, & Arimaspi. §24. Homines Cynocephali. §25. Prodigiosae deformitatis Homines. §26. Fortuna. §27. Fatum Gentilium. §28. Fatum Genethliacum. §29. Fatum A catholicum. §30. Lycantropia. §31. Aliae Similes Metamorphoses. §32. Lapis Philosophicus. §33. Unguentum Armarium, naturaliter absentes, & longè distantes sanans. §34. Pseudo-criptologia & Criptographia nonnullorum. §35. Annuli Jaspide vel Turcesio instructi, intra vitrum filo suspensi, horarum diei vel noctis indicatio. §36. Per solum visum, & solum vocem fascinatio. §37. Sanitatum per solum hominis alicujus contactum & afflatum restitutio.

PART I:

POLEMICAL THEOLOGY AND HISTORY

CHAPTER ONE

JOHANNES MAGNUS'S *HISTORIA DE OMNIBUS GOTHORUM SVEONUMQUE REGIBUS* (1554) AS A RELIGIOUS POLEMICAL TREATISE

HANS HELANDER

1. Introduction

The subject of this essay is Johannes Magnus, the last Catholic archbishop of Sweden, who was exiled in the 1530s and died in Rome in 1544, and his *magnum opus*, *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus*, which was posthumously published in Rome in 1554 (and ran to some 787 pages).¹ In this remarkable work, the author provides a complete list of Swedish kings from Magog, the grandson of Noah, to his own days. In addition, the work contains the history of the Goths *extra patriam*—namely, the Scythians, the Getae, the Dacians (all of whom were allegedly of Gothic descent), the Ostrogoths, and the Visigoths.

I shall argue that Johannes Magnus's *Historia*, besides being a historiographical work, is also to be regarded as a mirror for princes and, just as importantly, a religious polemical work.

2. Early Modern Nationalistic Historiography

Initially, however, we had better look at some common tendencies in early modern nationalistic historiography. Unless we do so, Johannes Magnus's history, with its list of rulers from the grandson of Noah to the princes who ruled at the turn of the century (1500), will seem odd and fantastic, whereas in many ways the work actually represents the mainstream historiographical tendencies of the period in which it was written.

¹ Johannes Magnus, *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* (Romae/Rome, 1554).

Early modern Europe was a heroic period in the development of the national state and the hey-day of nationalistic historiography. Speculations about the origin of various nations were nourished primarily by two myths; firstly the wanderings of Noah's descendants after the flood, secondly the legends of Troy and the fate of the heroes of that war. These myths had medieval origins, but now, at the beginning of the early modern period, they were taken up with enthusiasm by learned men who composed historiographical works in the service of their princes and their nations. The wanderings of the Noachids and the legends connected to Troy were the great archetypal stories, to which early modern historians always tried to connect annals of their own peoples. A very important source of inspiration for many scholars was the *Antiquitates* of Anniius of Viterbo (1432–1502), which was printed in 1498. Anniius had forged and invented texts by various historiographers (e.g., the Babylonian Berossus and the Egyptian Manetho), thus creating a strange web of biblical and ancient history.²

In England historians maintained that the English kingdom had been founded by Brutus the Trojan, who was reported to be the great-grandson of Aeneas. This myth was well known already in the Middle Ages, for instance through the influential *Historia Britonum* by Geoffrey of Monmouth (from the twelfth century). The story went that Brutus had founded New Troy (which was later called London). The confabulations of Anniius of Viterbo also provided English historians with additional material. In France, there flourished a myth about Francus, allegedly the son of Hector, who according to this tale fled from Troy and became the ancestor of the Frankish nation. This story can be traced back as far as the seventh-century chronicle of Fredegar. In the sixteenth century such material was used by several poets, among them George Buchanan, who addressed Francis II as *decus Hectoridum iuvenis*, and Pierre de Ronsard, who used this myth in his epic *La Franciade* (of 1572). According to another French tradition, the French were descended directly from Japheth, via Gomer. In this way, the history of the French could be claimed to have begun immediately after the flood.³ German historians maintained that the Germans descended from Noah's son Japheth. His son Gomer was the father of Ascenas, also called Tuiscon, who became the first German king. There are many more

² See Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, *Annius von Viterbo und die schwedische Historiographie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. 48 (Uppsala, 1992).

³ Donald R. Kelley, *Faces of History: Historical Inquiry from Herodotus to Herder* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 141 ff.