### CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Religious beliefs, their practice and expression, were fundamental to the cultural fabric of early modern Europe. They were representations of belonging, identity, power and social meaning. This volume examines the role of religion as a vehicle for cultural conflict and cohabitation, especially cultural exchange, in the era of Europe's reformations and subsequent confessionalisations, coinciding with its first colonial empires and its conflictual relations with other faiths on its eastern borderlands. Essays by leading historians show the complexity and diversity of the processes of religious differentiation that contributed to the making of modern Europe, with case studies ranging from Transylvania and Lithuania in the east to Spain and Portugal in the west, and from Italy in the south to England in the north. The volume will appeal to scholars in early modern European history and history of religion, as well as in social and cultural history.

HEINZ SCHILLING is Professor of Early Modern History at Humboldt University, Berlin. His research focuses on European comparative history, the history of the reformation and early modern migration and minorities.

The late ISTVÁN GYÖRGY TÓTH was Professor of History at the Central European University, Budapest. He recently edited a multi-authored *Concise History of Hungary* (2005).

#### CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

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At a time when the enlarged European Community asserts the humanist values uniting its members, these volumes of essays by leading scholars from twelve countries seek to uncover the deep but hidden unities shaping a common European past. These volumes examine the domains of religion, the city, communication and information, and the conception of man and the use of material goods, identifying the links which endured and were strengthened through ceaseless cultural exchanges, even during this time of endless wars and religious disputes. Volume I examines the role of religion as a vehicle for cultural exchange. Volume II surveys the reception of foreigners within the cities of early modern Europe. Volume III explores the place of information and communication in early modern Europe. Volume IV reveals how cultural exchange played a central role in the fashioning of a first European identity.

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### CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

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# CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

### VOLUME I

Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700

EDITED BY

HEINZ SCHILLING AND ISTVÁN GYÖRGY TÓTH†





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> In Memoriam István György Tóth (1956–2005)

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and its relations with France. His recent works include Accuser pour convertir; du bon usage de l'accusation de crime rituel dans la Pologne catholique à l'époque moderne (Paris, 2000) and Dalla condamna del giudaismo all'odio per l'ebreo; storia del passagio dall'intolleranza religiosité alla persécutrice politica e sociale (Milan, 2002). He is currently working on a study of the relationships between the various religious groups in the Polish–Lithuanian Confederation.

- ISTVÁN GYÖRGY TÓTH<sup>†</sup> was Professor of History at the Central European University, Budapest, and Head of the Institute of History at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which elected him to a Doctorate in 2004. His research focused on the history of literacy in central Europe and that of Catholic missionary activity in the Protestant and Ottoman territories of central and south-eastern Europe. He recently edited a multi-authored *Concise History of Hungary* (2005).
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# General editor's preface

The four volumes of this series represent the synthesis of works from 'Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700', a research programme sponsored by the European Science Foundation and financed by eighteen councils for research from seventeen countries. The adventure began in January 1997 when its originators decided to conduct an international investigation of the cultural roots of modern Europe. Research has increased considerably since this programme began and identifying the origins of the European identity has become a fundamental issue at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

Ultimately, our programme brought together over sixty regular members, plus a few dozen individuals who participated in one or more of our group meetings. It was a real linguistic Tower of Babel including specialists from various disciplines: history, art, architecture, theatre, literature, linguistics, folklore, clothing and dance. We have recruited well beyond the borders of the European Union, from St Petersburg to Chicago by way of Istanbul, although it was not always possible for every geographical location to be fully represented in each of our four groups.

This series is devoted to four major themes: religion; the city; communication and information; the conception of man and the use of material goods. The four volumes collectively include about a third of the papers presented throughout the programme.<sup>1</sup> Most have been discussed collectively, revised, and sometimes rewritten.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Many other contributions prepared for this programme have appeared or will appear elsewhere: Eszter Andor and István György Tóth (eds.), *Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities*, 1400–1750 (Budapest: Central European University/ESF, 2001); José Pedro Paiva (ed.), *Religious Ceremonials and* 

#### General editor's preface

It was not always easy to conceptualise our theme collectively. The most difficult and time-consuming task was to get scholars to understand each other unambiguously when employing such apparently clear concepts as 'culture', which means different things in different languages and cultural traditions. Our first major task was simply to discover whether or not a European culture existed between 1400 and 1700, an intensely conflictual and profoundly tragic period which seemed to be characterised by ruptures rather than creation. From 1517, when Luther broke with Roman Catholicism, until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, a series of terrible religious wars drowned the continent in blood, ending the medieval dream of a united Christendom. This age of intolerance was also one of fundamental inequality, particularly with respect to birth and sex, because any woman was considered fundamentally inferior to any man. Not only was the continent divided into at least five different cultural areas – the Atlantic, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, central Europe and eastern Europe but also, and everywhere, those frontiers established in men's minds both visible and invisible – conflicted with any residual hopes of unity, whether expressed in terms of imperial ideology, papal universalism, or Thomas More's humanistic Utopia, all of them swept away after 1520 by a wave of persecutions.<sup>2</sup>

And yet this very same Europe also bequeathed us powerful roots for the slow and difficult construction of a collective sensibility. Our research has unearthed traces of underlying unities, despite (or because of) formidable obstacles. This stubborn growth in some ways resembled an earlier process described by a prominent medievalist as the 'Europeanization of Europe'.<sup>3</sup> They have given substance and meaning to my working hypothesis: that European culture from 1400 to 1700 contained expressions of hidden cohesion against a background

*Images: Power and Social Meaning (1400–1750)* (Coimbra: Palimage, 2002). A volume on translations will be edited by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Muchembled, 'Frontières vives: la naissance du Sujet en Europe (xve–xvIIe siècle)', introduction to Eszter Andor and István György Tóth (eds.), *Frontiers of Faith*, pp. 1–8.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change* 950-1350 (London, 1993).

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#### General editor's preface

of intense conflicts. If those conflicts were destabilising, they also created a dialectic which contributed to the overall advance of European civilisation.<sup>4</sup> Following Norbert Elias's argument, I believe that every human society is constantly seeking to attain a 'balance of power' through a mechanism of 'reciprocal dependency' which produces a clear evolutionary trend. Culture is a symbolic arena for both collective negotiations and the fashioning of the Self.<sup>5</sup> The enormous importance of the Self in today's Europe (and in the United States) is the result of a major cultural change which began during the Renaissance. In the face of the tragedy of real life, this new individualism provided a fresh means of expressing the continent's collective vitality and produced a growing conviction of its superiority and differences from all other places and people in the world.<sup>6</sup>

The 'culture' analysed in this series may be defined as that which simultaneously holds a society together and distinguishes it from other societies. If the Europe of 1400–1700 had little obvious regard for human rights, it did at least prefigure the time when they would be important. The humanistic lights which glimmered from time to time in the two dark and bloodstained centuries after 1520 were never to be completely extinguished. The Enlightenment revived them and honoured their Renaissance origins. But the tragic events that polluted its soil during the first half of the twentieth century proved that the Old Continent was not yet fully free from intolerance and persecution.

I should like to thank Wim Blockmans, who warmly supported the creation of this research programme; the European Science Foundation for its constant help; the eighteen institutions which provided generous funding over four years;<sup>7</sup> all the scholars who participated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Robert Muchembled, 'Echanges, médiations, mythes unitaires, 1400–1700', plenary conference address, published in the programme's *Newsletter* no. 1 (2000), pp. 7–26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Society of Individuals*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Robert Muchembled, A History of the Devil: From the Middle Ages to the Present (Cambridge, 2003); L'Orgasme et l'Occident: une histoire du plaisir du XVIe siècle à nos jours (Paris, 2005, forthcoming in English translation).

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Austria: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (FWF); Belgium: Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique (FNRS) / Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek – Vlaanderen

General editor's preface

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in the experience, notably E. William Monter without whom this series would probably not have been published, and the late István György Tóth, codirector of volume I, who passed away unexpectedly on 14 July 2005; and last but not least Cambridge University Press for producing four superb books proving the great vitality of past and present European culture.

> Robert Muchembled Chair of the ESF programme 'Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700'

(FWO); Denmark: Statens Humanistiske Forskningsrad; Finland: Suomen Akatemia / Finlands Akademi; Germany: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG); Greece: National Hellenic Research Foundation (NHRF); Hungary: Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Italy: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR); Netherlands: Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO); Norway: Norges Forskningsråd; Poland: Polska Akademia Nauk (PAN); Portugal: Instituto de Cooperação Ciêntifica e Tecnológica Internacional (ICCTI); Slovenia: The Slovenian Science Foundation; Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas (CSIC); Sweden: Humanistik Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsradet (HSFR) / Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (KVHAA); Switzerland: Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung (SNF); United Kingdom: The British Academy.

# In Memoriam: István György Tóth

István Tóth, 'Tigy' to his many friends and colleagues in Hungary and around the world, died suddenly and tragically on 14 July 2005 on the flight back from the Twentieth International Congress of Historical Science at Sydney, Australia. Aged only forty-eight when he died, his achievements were already remarkable as a leading historian of early modern central and south-eastern Europe. His first degree and Ph.D. were from the Eötvös University, Budapest, where he later worked as a research fellow. More recently, he became a founder member of the Department of History at the Central European University, as well as Head of Department at the Institute of History in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In 2004, he was accorded the rare acclaim for someone so young of being elected to a Doctorate at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The ten works by him in the bibliography to this volume are but a small selection of his published output. They indicate only part of his historical range. To his studies of the history of literacy in Hungary and central Europe and that of Catholic missionary activity throughout central and south-eastern Europe, we should add many aspects of the social and cultural history of early modern central Europe. His latest work to appear in English was a multi-authored Concise History of Hungary (Budapest: Corvina and Osiris, 2005). It reflected his conviction that empirical history-writing should never be narrow in its focus.

He was the co-editor of this volume, and had done a substantial amount of editorial work on it before he died. Even more, he had contributed to the intellectual agenda that it represents. This was both in the preliminary work that drew together the initial research group and, more importantly, in the workshops that were held in Budapest,

#### In Memoriam: István György Tóth

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Coimbra and Oxford. István was a dedicated traveller. He had an amazing linguistic grasp and keen (historical) sense of place. Travelling with him was fun. For no-one could encounter István's intelligence and breadth of knowledge, not to mention his wonderful sense of humour, without it having an infectious effect upon them. His presence was a catalyst to new ways of thinking and seeing. Collaborating with him on this project was, for me, a more productive and stimulating experience than any that I recall in my lengthy professional career. The contributors to this volume are united in dedicating it to his memory.

Heinz Schilling