SEBASTIÁN CASTELLIO,
APOSTLE OF TOLERANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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"Une étude sur Castalion est un très beau sujet de thèse."

M. Renan to F. Buisson
Paris, 5 janvier, 1867
The sixteenth century was one of wars and rumors of wars within the Christian Church. The foundations of the established church were shaken early in the century when the monk Martin Luther nailed his theses against the sale of indulgences to the door of the Wittenberg church. Two years previously in a humble village in the province of Dauphiné was born the sixteenth century prophet of tolerance and of freedom from religious persecution who was to suffer from religious persecution throughout his entire adult life, who was destined to utter the finest pronouncements concerning religious liberty that have been produced in any subsequent century, and who was to sink into oblivion, a forgotten prophet today.

We propose in this study to accomplish a three-fold purpose. First, we wish to restore the memory of a truly fine man who lived in a troubled day four hundred years ago, who appraised the situation with logic, clarity and humanitarian sympathies, and who died a victim of the intolerance which he combatted with energy until the very close of his forty-eight years. Secondly, we hope to prove by a thorough examination of his work that his
pronouncements of analysis and solution to the problems engendered by religious persecution were valid ones and of a universal character for the sixteenth century as well as for the twentieth century, which has come to accept them without any acquaintance with the humble teacher of Basel who first uttered them. Thirdly, we shall endeavor to prove that an author of outstanding literary merit deserves a place within the manuals of French literary history beside John Calvin and Michel de l'Hospital. The only mention of Sebastian Castellio in a literary history which we were able to find was in *Notre littérature étudiée dans les textes* by Marcel Braunschwig (1920) where he is given a place beside the Catholic chancellor Michel de l'Hospital, but no texts are quoted. This seems to us an omission which is a little unjust. The French encyclopedias are more generous and are in the main sympathetic. The *Grand dictionnaire universel* of P. Larousse gives Castellio a sympathetic treatment of one column but gives seven and one-half columns to John Calvin. The *Larousse du XXe siècle* gives Castellio two inches and Calvin six. *La grande encyclopédie, inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts* presents his life and work in a sympathetic manner. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* does not mention Castellio but devotes six pages to John Calvin. The *Encyclopedia Americana* allows Castellio three inches as compared with six columns given to John Calvin. The *Dictionnaire des œuvres* of Laffont and Bompiani does not
mention Castellio's foremost treatise, the *Traité des hérétiques* but devotes five columns to the *Institution chrétienne*.

Pedagogically speaking, if for no other reason, Castellio deserves a place as the author of the highly original *Sacred Dialogues* which taught Latin to Protestant school children throughout Europe and England for several generations. In the realm of philosophy and theology he deserves notice as the forerunner of the Enlightenment and of Protestant liberalism. As a humanitarian, we owe him a very great debt of gratitude for daring to speak out boldly at the risk of his life and reputation on behalf of freedom of conscience. As a man of letters, he deserves a place of honor for giving the Bible in French to the common people in a language which they could readily comprehend. He is worthy of a place among the humanists for his translations of Homer and for his anthologies of the Greek, Latin and Italian writers, not to mention his own compositions.

Furthermore, World War I brought about a heightened interest in theology, and the years following World War II have seen the rebirth of theological studies which have focused attention upon the theology of the Reformation. Once again the theological mind of John Calvin has become a point of focus for discussion and the publication of new books in the field. The extent of a new interest in Calvin
is indicated by the recent publication of an entirely new English translation of the *Institutes*. In our day when tolerance has become synonymous with good churchmanship, when the Church is again looking to the past for clues for an insight into the present, when Reformation history is accorded a place of importance, it is strange that Sebastian Castellio has received so little attention. Likewise it is ironic that the greater part of the Protestant Church, which owes its historical doctrine to John Calvin, today espouses the doctrine of tolerance which was maintained by Castellio at the peril of his life in the face of hostility and relentless pursuit on the part of John Calvin; yet Protestant Christendom in this twentieth century fails to give credit to the great apostle of tolerance in the sixteenth century. The approaching year of 1964 will mark the four hundredth anniversary of the death of John Calvin. The present interest on the part of the Reformed theologians would indicate that the anniversary will be properly observed. The four hundredth anniversary of Castellio's death will occur one year earlier and may well pass unheeded. This thesis is presented with the sincere hope that a few friends will be made for Sebastian Castellio, apostle of tolerance in the sixteenth century.

The translations are my own unless otherwise noted and have been made from the Latin and the French texts which were made available through the excellent Inter-Library Loan
service of the University of Arizona. My expression of gratitude goes to Dr. Roland Bainton, eminent Castellionist and Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Yale, for his helpful suggestions.
"Esprit entier et impitoyable, il [Calvin] poursuivait avec une inexorable rigueur ceux qui s'écartaient de ses idées. Sébastien Castellion s'étant permis de contester l'inspiration du Cantique des Cantiques, fut chassé de Genève."

Batiffol
Le Siècle de la Renaissance
Of a humble peasant family in the little French village of Saint-Martin-du-Fresne near Lake Geneva in the province of Dauphiné, Sebastian Castellio was born in the year 1515. Although uncultured, the father, Claude, was a Savoyard mountaineer of scrupulous honesty, hard working and energetic. Sebastian together with several brothers and sisters was taught at an early age the principles of integrity by the use of a maxim oft repeated in the home:

"Ou pendre, ou rendre,
Ou les peines d'enfer attendre." ¹

By virtue of its mountain isolation the area of Saint-Martin-du-Fresne bestowed upon its rugged inhabitants a spirit of independence, humanitarian sympathy and clemency coupled with the love of freedom. This was the country which offered refuge during the Middle Ages to the Vaudois heretics and fugitives, the land of Berthelier, one of the heroes of the independence of Geneva, of Bonivard, the

prisoner of Chillon, and of Admiral Coligny.

Someone in the family or village must have discovered a thirst for knowledge in the young Bastian and urged him to fulfill his talents by securing an education in the nearby city of Lyons at the Collège de la Trinité, but who it was remains today unknown. Castellio himself during his lifetime was so entirely absorbed in his mission that he left few details regarding his childhood, youth and early manhood.

At Lyons, the city of industry, of the arts from nearby Italy, especially where the art of printing flourished and where editions of the classics were made available to students, the young man aflame for knowledge found a center of intellectual activity among the literary humanists to whom he attached himself. With little or no financial backing from his peasant family, the eager student went many times to bed on an empty stomach until his outstanding talents one day drew the attention of a well-to-do family who employed him as its secretary.

At the Collège de la Trinité Castellio encountered the world of classical antiquity restored to the students of the day by the humanists of the Renaissance in Lyons. As a student he speedily so distinguished himself as a Latin, Greek and Hebrew scholar that his friends latinized his name from that of Sebastian Castellio to that of Sebastianus.
Castalio or Sabaudo Castalione after the nymph Castalie
who dwelt in the fountain of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, the source of all poetry, thus making him the son of divine inspiration.

Later in life, fearing that he had given way to pride and vanity, he confessed before his detractors in Geneva and his reading public:

"Yes, I was vain; I confess it. I am sorry and ashamed of it today. I possessed a foolish and adolescent confidence in my wisdom; it happens too often to those who study letters and ancient languages that they attach more importance to it than to the spirit [i.e., religious matters]. And to point out to you how far I am from wanting to excuse my mistakes, I shall reveal to you and to the world, for my punishment and public shame, a vain trait which you doubtless do not know. If not, would you have silently passed it by? By expressing my hatred of it I want to make it hated by everyone.

"Then I was living at Lyons in my youth before going to find you [i.e., Calvin] in Strasbourg, it happened one day that someone instead of calling me by my accustomed name Castellio, called me Castalio. This name recalling the fountain of the Muses immediately pleased me. I appropriated it and, giving up the paternal name of Castellio, I used the name Castalio from then on. Further, I recorded this name as an acrostic in the first lines of my little Greek poem 'The Precursor' to evidence my foolish pride for posterity.

"I confess these things for which I have already blushed many times to myself upon reflection, since I have come to know the truth better, accused by my conscience more strongly than by a thousand witnesses. Thus renouncing henceforward this Greek vainglory, since I find today the opportunity which I have often sought, I desire that I be called by my family name of Castellio. I am not ignorant of the fact that some will be able to lay hold of this confession of my fault in order to reproach me. What does it matter? This humiliation even is profitable, first of all to me whose spirit needs to be humiliated as much as it had wanted to be exalted, and to others who, instructed
by my example, will learn to no more expose themselves to falling from a higher position by thus exalting themselves. I know, to be sure, how common is this fault, especially with men of letters, and how few perceive it. Would that this lesson be able to penetrate beforehand deeply into their hearts.\textsuperscript{\textdegree}2

This humble confession which evokes our sympathy reveals the gentle qualities and tender conscience of Sebastian Castellio who pleaded his case in sincere terms before the bar of justice of his day.

The Renaissance in Lyons was not limited to a study and imitation of the classics, but included a strong religious and moral emphasis. The Bible and especially the New Testament writers were studied eagerly in an effort to restore the spirit of the Christianity of the early centuries and the simplicity of the divine figure of the Christ of the Gospels in much the same way as the scholars turned to the ancient masters. A double triumph was envisaged, that of learning and piety, that of the classics and of the Gospel. These humanists of Lyons were neither revolutionary nor innovators but were moderate and sincere in their efforts to enlighten the world around them. A number of churchmen were favorable to the movement of whom the most cultivated and the most tolerant was Bishop Brignonnet of Meaux. The sister of King Francis I, Marguerite of Navarre, was sympathetic to the new thought, which was at first a simple

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. pp. 355 - 357, cited by Giran, p. 7.
movement of protest against the doctrinal authoritarianism and a proclamation of the liberty of conscience that each one may interpret the truth of the Gospel according to his own light. However, there was a strong reaction against these humanists of moderation who had had earlier the support of both clergy and court. Persecution became the order of the day and the illusions of the enlightened were doomed. The question was for them one of submission or of resistance. Bishop Eriçonnet and Marguerite of Navarre took refuge in mysticism. Others paid the supreme penalty. Executions multiplied. In January, 1540, three Lutherans were burned at the stake in Lyons. For Sebastian Castellio the moment was one of supreme decision. Influenced by the steadfast faith of the martyrs and by the publication of the Institutes of John Calvin, which had appeared in Latin in 1536 and embodied the doctrinal code of reformed theology, Castellio definitely cast his lot with the reformers, leaving Lyons in May, 1540, for Strasbourg, as a candidate for the sacred calling of minister, to join the exiled Calvin.

Strasbourg was a city of refuge open to the varying currents of thought from Germany, Switzerland, France and Italy, and an intellectual center providing an atmosphere of liberty, harmony and tolerance existing between Catholics and Protestants. The home of John Calvin which opened its doors hospitably to the young Sebastian, aflame with a sense of mission, provided not only a temporary home for
him but the beginnings of a seminary education in a milieu of humanists desirous of devoting themselves to the proclamation of the Gospel. For a brief period of eight days only he was to enjoy the intimacy of this embryonic Protestant seminary. A refugee family consisting of a woman, her son and servant arrived from France, and Sebastian, as the most recently arrived boarder, yielded his room that the family might find suitable lodging. During the absence of Calvin from Strasbourg, a servant of his, John Chevant by name, fell gravely ill and succumbed after an illness of eight days' duration. He was cared for compassionately by Sebastian night and day until the end.

In the course of an epidemic in the winter of 1540 - 1541 which followed closely upon the passing of Calvin's servant, a young student of Calvin's household named Claude Feray was stricken, and following his death the home was ordered evacuated by the municipal authorities. Sebastian received into his meager dwelling the evacuees consisting of Calvin's brother, Antoine, and three young students of the deceased Claude Feray, two of whom were subsequently stricken. Antoine and one of the students found lodging elsewhere, leaving Sebastian to care for the two sick young men; one succumbed to the epidemic and the other, to whom Sebastian gave up his bed, recovered. These events during his brief sojourn in Strasbourg reveal his compassion and humanitarian spirit which will be encountered again and again.
When John Calvin returned to Geneva in 1541 to resume his interrupted task of building a reformed church in the recently liberated Swiss city (1536) one of the problems before him was that of providing a system of public instruction in order that the youth might participate in the new education which was to include theology on all levels. The register of the General Council for May 21, 1536, carries the following decision:

"That first of all, the mass and other ceremonies and papal abuses such as images and idols be abandoned in order that the citizens may live according to the holy evangelic law and Word of God; that an attempt be made to find a man to teach, who is to be given a salary so that the poor may be taught without charge; that all be obliged to send their children to school to learn; and that all pupils as well as teacher, be required to be in residence at the school where the headmaster and his assistants will live." 3

To fulfill the responsibilities required by the municipal law, Calvin had sent for Mathurin Cordier, his former professor at the University of Paris, who had become headmaster of the Collège de Rive in Geneva and who had introduced the study of the French language into the curriculum in addition to Greek and Hebrew. During Calvin's period of exile in Strasbourg, Cordier had left Geneva for the Collège of Neuchatel. William Farel,

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3 Cited by Ferdinand Buisson, Sebastien Castellion, sa vie et son oeuvre (Paris, 1892), I, p. 125.
Calvin's associate in Geneva, attempted to restore the
dream so nobly undertaken with a new headmaster, Charles
de St. Marthe, a humanist from Lyons, who unfortunately
was thrown into prison as a Protestant at the very moment
of responding to the call from Geneva. The name of
Sebastian Castellio was proposed, and the Council of Geneva
acted favorably upon the suggestion, inviting him to become
the headmaster. The young man of twenty-six responded
eagerly and took up the task with enthusiasm. Calvin
however continued to entertain his hope of securing the
services of his former professor Mathurin Cordier. Always
modest where his abilities were concerned, Sebastian
resigned the task he had only just begun. Since Cordier
was not disposed to relinquish his work at Neuchatel, the
Council decided to keep its modest headmaster, and once
again he entered upon the task of instructing the youth of
Geneva. In addition to his teaching duties he was given
the neighboring parish of Vaudouevres in which he was to
preach as a layman on Sunday.

The instruction in Geneva was organized in classes with
seven grades subdivided into small groups of ten pupils each
with the subject-matter for each grade prescribed. The
sessions opened and closed with prayer and the singing of
a Psalm. At the close of school, the Lord's Prayer, the
Apostles' Creed or the Ten Commandments were recited. The
children had textbooks at their disposal, and greater stress
was laid, therefore, on reading rather than on memorizing.

Prizes were awarded for achievement to the two outstanding pupils in each class.

One of the great pedagogic events of the sixteenth century was the publication of the Sacred Dialogues which Sebastian Castellio wrote for the use of his pupils. These Dialogues were dramatizations of Bible stories in Latin and French in parallel columns, and their purpose was two-fold: first, to teach the elements of the Latin language, and secondly, to impart moral instruction. The principal Bible stories were divided into scenes and written in model Latin in dialogue form of graduated difficulty. This task was to occupy Castellio intermittently for a period of twenty years. It was in this work that is to be found the first mention of the themes subsequently so prevalent in the thought of Castellio such as Abraham's kindness in entertaining the angels unawares. Here in English is Castellio's version of Genesis 18:1 - 15. It is entitled, "Abraham's welcome to the strangers who present themselves before his tent."

Abraham - I see three men approaching. They must surely be tired of traveling, and it is so hot. I will run to meet them to invite them to stay with me. Sirs, if you want to please me, do not lodge anywhere else. You may bathe your feet, then rest under the tree,

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4S. Castellio, Dialogi sacri, latino-gallici, ad linguas moresque puerorum formandos (Geneva, 1543), Abbr. Dial. Sacr.
and in the meantime, I will have some bread baked for you in order that your spirits may be refreshed.

Angels - We will stay with you.

Abraham - I must go quickly into the house. Sarah, get three sacks of flour right away, some fine wheat flour which you will knead and make into cakes. Some guests whom I want to entertain well have come to us. I am going to the stable to kill a calf for them. In the meantime, see that our guests lack nothing.

Sarah - Hurry, Hagar! Light the fire. Heat some water while I get the flour. While it is heating, prepare the dough. Let us perform quickly what my husband has ordered.

Abraham - Kill the calf quickly. Sarah!

Sarah - What is it, dear?

Abraham - Have a good fire going.

Sarah - It has already been started.

Abraham - Put the kettle on. I want to be sure my guests are treated courteously and hospitably. Isn't the calf skinned yet, lad?

Lad - It is already cut up.

Abraham - Let us throw the pieces into the kettle. Put more wood on the fire, you there, so that it will cook sooner. Skim the broth. Hagar, set the table, and take it outside under the tree. Let us always be willing to show hospitality to the traveler. To take no thought for him would be very discourteous. Guests, all is ready. Sit down to the table and eat heartily. Here are the butter and milk. Take your fill of what we have and of what God bestows upon us. Lad, set the meat before them.

....

God - Where is Sarah your wife?

Abraham - She is in the tent.
God  - When I return next year at this same time, Sarah will have a son.

Sarah  - Ha, he, he, he, ridiculous! I am already wrinkled and shall I take pleasure in my husband?

God  - Why does Sarah laugh and deny that she can bring forth a child because she is old? Is there anything which God cannot bring to pass? (Ibid., Book I, 4.)

The homely realistic details of this little episode, such as the kettle, the milk and the butter, give life to the story recounted in the language and style of everyday life. In the second Dialogue based on Exodus 2:1-9 we sense the author's indignation over the cruelty of Pharaoh toward the Hebrew children. It is entitled, "Moses in the Bulrushes."

Jocabed  - We have escaped undetected this far and here we are at the river. Now we must expose this tiny baby so that Pharaoh will not know that we have kept him against his order and will. We have exposed him to grave danger in keeping him three months, but it was better to run the risk and even to be killed than to permit the death of such a fine child. Oh, the cruel king to order the death of the male children. How many have been slain at his order just at the beginning of their lives! Have we ever heard of such cruelty! To strangle babies at the beginning of life! Oh, my little one, your wretched mother is forced to abandon you here in the papyrus, you whom I have concealed three months and would longer if I could. How bitter a trial! Must I be separated from you without hope of ever seeing you again? What will become of me and of you, my son abandoned here? Since we cannot do what we wish, let us do what we can. I did my duty in hiding you; now I commit you to the mercy and providence of God. Goodbye, my darling,
goodbye, my little son.

Sister — Mother, I will stay here, concealed, if you like, to see what will happen.

Jocabed — It is a good idea. I will go home.

Pharaoh's Daughter — Here is the river where we come to bathe. Maidens, stay here near the river while I go with the servant to that lovely hiding place. But what do I see in the papyrus? Maid, go see what it is. It looks like an ark.

Maid — So it is, mistress, and covered with pitch.

Pharaoh's Daughter — Bring it here. Open it. It is a poor little baby and he is crying. It makes me feel bad. It is one of the Hebrew children.

Sister — I am beginning to hope we can save him. I will approach. God bless you.

Pharaoh's Daughter — What did you say?

Sister — Do you want me to go look for a Hebrew nurse to take care of the baby?

Pharaoh's Daughter — Yes, I would. Go look for one.

Sister — She will be here right away.

Pharaoh's Daughter — How fortunate that I came down here. I have a child whom I will bring up as my own. Nothing better could have happened to me, and I am not afraid of displeasing my father in a matter so kind and good. Oh! It is a crime to strangle new-born babies. How pretty he is! How well-formed! Isn't it wicked to kill such children?

Sister — Here is a nurse for you, Madame.

Pharaoh's Daughter — Woman, will you take care of this child for me? I will pay you.
Jocabed - I will be glad to. (Ibid., Book I, 16.)

Not only does Castellio scathe the severity of Pharaoh, but underlying the account, lies the providence of God which led Pharaoh's daughter to the spot where she was enabled to rescue the future deliverer of the Hebrew people.

An example of the Sacred Dialogues at the University of Breslau bears on a blank page a handwritten prayer in Latin dating from the sixteenth century. Is it perhaps a prayer used in a classroom in Geneva dictated or inspired by Castellio?

PRAYER

"O merciful God, be gracious to thy little flock. Deceptions and seducers increase daily; Christian charity is darkened everywhere; the watchdogs of the flock of God become more and more dumb except those who are changed into wolves. Do not descend upon us in anger. The people do not care at all for the truth. The wrath of God blazes forth more and more.... But you, O Son of God, to whom all power has been given in heaven and on earth, be present, and defend your own followers with might. Repress Satan and all his works. Lest we become like Sodom and Gomorrah, preserve for us the holy seed of learned Christian men and of your doctrine. May each devout individual pray and speak according to his whole heart and the Christian faith. Amen." 5

Thus it was that Castellio drew from the treasures of heroism and faith found in the history of the Hebrew people, gave to his pupils the taste of the Latin language and armed their young minds against the hour of evil. Since Caesar

5 Cited by Buisson, p. 153.
was found to be too difficult for children and Terence too immoral, Castellio prepared his own teaching material which, pedagogically speaking, represented a revolution because of a total absence of grammatical pedantry, the disappearance of scholastic display, the use of the simple and natural style in vocabulary and syntax, as well as the stress on the comprehension of content. These qualities mark the Sacred Dialogues as a hardy venture for the year 1543.

The French translation was omitted from editions which followed the first publication. The Dialogue based on Genesis 3:1 read in the following fashion:

"Pourquoi vous a défendu Dieu de ne pas manger
"Cuir vetuit vos Deus vesci
de tous les arbres du vergier?"

omnibus arboribus pomarii?" (Dial. Sacr. , Book I, 1.)

Not only were the Dialogues designed to be a Latin manual but also a means of Protestant instruction which would prepare the students for their place in life as Christian citizens. At the end of each Dialogue a sententia, or maxim, summing up the lesson of the preceding Scripture story was included. After the lesson on the fall of man in the Garden of Eden, we find: "Puer, disce obedientiam." ("Lad, learn to be obedient." Dial. Sacr. , Book I, 1.) Some of the sententiae are pointed phrases stating the religious and moral content of the lesson, sometimes a Scripture text. After the story of Gideon in Judges 7 we find that "Foolish
leaders count their soldiers, but wise men weigh them." (Book I, 28, Gideon.) Others present thoughts of practical worldly wisdom: "It is a righteous act to hide good men from the wrongdoing of the wicked." (Book I, 23, Rahab.) "In time of danger holy men sometimes deceive." (Book II, 9, Achimelech.) Some teach God's help and omnipotence: "God directs the righteous in the way." (Book I, 6, Rebecca.) "In a miraculous way God leads the righteous to happiness and honors after sorrow and disgrace." (Book I, 14, Joseph.) "Whom God wishes to preserve, He allows to fall into the greatest of dangers but not to perish." (Book I, 16, Moses.)

The power of faith is revealed in the following maxims: "Nothing is so difficult or hard that it is impossible to him who believes." (Book I, 4, Abraham.) That God answers prayer is shown: "God hears the prayers of innocent people." (Book III, 10, Susanna.) God keeps his promises: "When God makes a promise, He may be believed." (Book IV, 1, Mary.)

Punishment follows sin: "Those who commit sin privately will be punished publicly." (Book I, 2, Cain.) Sin is used as a means of salvation: "God is wonderful; He even uses men's sins to their salvation." (Book I, 15, Joseph's brethren.)

Occasionally there will be a detailed theological observation:

"In this life many atone sometimes for the sin of one man, because they are one body, as it were, of which the tie and relationship of all the members are
so great that there is a concord of their sorrows and pleasures. But in the next life, in which the souls will be punished, each one will pay the penalty not for another's sin but for his own." (Book II, 4, Jonathan.)

God's love is great: "Greater is the love of God toward one righteous man than his hatred toward all unrighteous men." (Book I, 3, Lot.) Castellio returns again and again to the fact that in this world truth is held in contempt, but as the representative of a small group exposed to the persecutions of those in authority, he finds comfort that the latter cannot go beyond the will of God. "God protects his own from their enemies." (Book I, 10, Laban.) "To God is the victory." (Book II, 6, Goliath.) The authorities often refuse to acknowledge the principle of truth: "Nothing is harder for the leaders of this world than believing the truth." (Book IV, 36, Gamaliel.) "It is dangerous to speak the truth." (Book II, 39, Sedecias.) "Truth brings forth hate." (Book II, 28, Micheas.) An allusion to the subsequent bitter quarrel with John Calvin is found in the statement that "Calumny interprets speaking the truth as sedition." (Book IV, 45, Tertullus.) A reference to Castellio's poverty occurs in the sententia that "Riches are a great hindrance to salvation." (Book IV, 23, Dives.) The principle of toleration, to which Castellio owes his posthumous glory, is found in the maxim, "In all nations whoever fear God and live innocently are accepted of God." (Book IV, 38, Cornelius.)

The Protestant slogan which had penetrated the humanistic
circles of Lyons is found in the declaration that "Salvation is from Christ alone." (Book IV, 4, Nicodemus.)

Sometimes strong feeling, instead of clothing itself in a brief adage, bursts out in a heartfelt cry. One reads at the close of the Dialogue where Elijah is contesting with the priests of Baal:

"Unjust men accuse the just of evils of which they themselves are the authors.... The world is full of wicked men and the number of righteous men is small. Often one has to believe in one man alone rather than in a thousand, for wisdom belongs to a small number. O blind humanity, when will you see this truth? What light will finally penetrate your eyes? Will you become wise only when it is too late? Oh, would that another Elijah could appear who by the earnestness of his spirit and word would cause to descend from heaven on the earth the fire of love to kindle the sacrifice of our prayers and to cause God alone to be henceforward exalted." (Book II, 27, Elijah.)

Book I of the Sacred Dialogues contains thirty-three scenes and deals with the period from the fall of man to the birth of Samson; Book II contains thirty-nine scenes and recounts Bible stories up to the time of King Zedekiah; Book III contains eighteen scenes and completes the Old Testament era; Book IV, comprising forty-seven scenes, begins with the annunciation to Mary and ends with the second coming of Christ and the last judgment:

Christ at his final appearance pronounces judgment upon the good and the evil. Characters: Jesus the Judge, those on his right hand and left hand.

Jesus - Come, blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For when I was hungry you gave me to eat....
Faithful - Lord, when did we see you hungry?

Jesus - Believe me, inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, you have done it unto me. (Book IV, 47, Last Judgment.)

It is apparent from this closing scene that Castellio has maintained the dialogue form even when the passage itself is not presented in the Bible in dramatic form. Seeing the possibilities, he selected the essential elements and converted them into a dialogue of highly dramatic potential. It is not apparent, however, from a reading of the Dialogues how Castellio used them as a teaching device. Perhaps they were read and explained, read again, and then parts were assigned to the pupils, and the little dramas were re-enacted in the class room.

The style is childlike, especially in the early books, lively throughout, and of medium difficulty. That Castellio employed proverbs and notes to summarize the contents is evident from the edition of 1562, perhaps dictating them as class notes in the beginning. His efforts to organize his pedagogy from a central point of view, the Christian attitude toward life, the summing up of the contents in the form of annotations, and the gradual increasing difficulty of construction, all seem unbelievably modern for the sixteenth century. We do not know if his pupils achieved his pedagogical aims, but the epitaphs at Basel written by his mature students reveal how deep was
their regard for a beloved professor: "Monuments of your ability and your devotion will endure and will be an eternal testimony to your sincerity." 6

The theology of the Sacred Dialogues is that of St. Paul, St. Augustine, Calvin and Jansenius: that the will, power, and absolute authority of God, which may seem to destroy all initiative in man, yet on the contrary, represent a powerful incentive to action, founded on the principle of the divine sovereignty of God. A confidence in God through faith which pervades the Sacred Dialogues is an expression of the Huguenot faith: "Prisons and chains do not prevent God from setting free his own." (Book IV, 40, Rhoda.) "When human wisdom at the end of its resources trembles and despairs, it is then that divine power bursts forth." (Book III, 14, Baltazar.) "One must believe God when he promises something even if it is contrary to nature; the one who is the author of nature is not subject to nature." (Book IV, 1, Mary.) There is the repeated assertion that the wars of the spirit must be carried on only with the weapons of the spirit (Book II, 6, Goliath).

The influence of the Sacred Dialogues was enormous.

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Forty-seven editions between 1542 and 1600 have been identified in Germany, Spain, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and Holland. Eighteen editions in Great Britain alone have been identified, but in France the Dialogues were unknown. They became the basis of all classical instruction in the Protestant schools of England and Germany for two centuries. One hundred thirty-three editions all together have been identified. There is a copy in Latin in the Yale Library with the inscription, "Bought at Boston, 1759. David Eli, his book." 7

During the fruitful period of his pedagogy in Geneva, Castellio married Huguine Paquelon, a young woman from Geneva of French origin, a girl of sweet, simple manners, yet courageous and loving. In order to improve his income to care for an increased household, he sought an increase from the Town Council in his wages which was denied. In the fall of 1542 an epidemic broke out in Geneva. An entry in the official register of the Council for September 25 reveals that the ministers were to provide the hospital with one of their number to minister to the stricken. Pierre Blanchet volunteered his services on the twenty-third of October and served until December when the plague had abated. In April the following year, it struck again, but

of the six ministers in Geneva, Calvin was the only one willing to risk himself at the hospital. Castellio offered to go in their stead, but the Council rejected his offer on the grounds that he was necessary to the school and furthermore had not yet received ordination. Once again Pierre Blanchet volunteered and was accepted. The first of June he was stricken and died. Then a young man from Tours, Simon Moreau, had the courage to volunteer his services which lasted five months, the duration of the need for a chaplain at the plague-infested hospital.

Twelve years after the death of Castellio, Theodore de Beza wrote that three men offered to serve: Calvin, Castellio and Blanchet. Lots were cast and the lot fell upon Castellio "who impudently refused to keep his promise." 8 Roset was only ten years old in 1543, and was doubtless recording the most probable of the legends current among the Protestants of Geneva.

Other difficulties were in hiding just around the corner for Castellio. He was devoting his leisure to a translation into French of the New Testament, efforts which were to prove the first indication of irritability between John Calvin and the headmaster of the school. The ill feeling was to increase with time and eventually

to separate the two men. His pedagogical success and now a translation of the New Testament, a work already undertaken by Calvin himself, were viewed with irritation. In a letter of September 11, 1542, Calvin wrote to his friend Viret at Lausanne:

"Hear about the crazy notions of our Sebastian. It's enough to make you laugh and make you angry. He came to me three days ago to ask if it would be all right with me to give permission to publish his translation of the New Testament. I replied that it needed numerous corrections... that I did not want to prevent the printing, but that I wanted, however, to keep the promise that I had made to Jean Gérard, that is to say, to examine and to correct what needed correction. Castellio rejected this condition. He offered, however, to come read me his manuscript if I would appoint a time. I advised him that never, even if he would give me 100 crowns, would I consent to bind myself to an appointment at a given hour and then to discuss now and then for two hours on a single word. When I said that, he left clearly grieved."

This letter indicates that Calvin considered Castellio, only six years his junior, audacious to attempt such an undertaking when another translation was hardly necessary, and that he felt unduly severe for the off-handedness with which Castellio, a beginner at translation, approached on an equal footing the learned author of the Institutes from whom he should have asked advice rather than approval. Doubtless Calvin was irritated that the younger man did not witness a more respectful deference, and Castellio, on the

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9 Cited by Étienne Gira, Sébastien Castellion et la Réforme calviniste (Haarlem, 1914), p. 54.
other hand, was surprised that Calvin should expect it.

A further complaint on the subject of translation was voiced by Calvin: "Castellio is stimulated by the idea of doing something novel, which leads him to do it badly most of the time." 10 Castellio was perhaps the first to discover, as his biographer Buisson has said, that "to resist Calvin was, in the mind of the latter, to resist the Holy Ghost." 11

During the winter of 1543 - 1544 another pestilence struck Geneva followed by famine. The young headmaster was discouraged on account of his damp living quarters and insufficient income out of which he had to pay the salaries of two assistants, and thought of resigning his post. Calvin set about finding a replacement for him while the Town Council entertained plans of bestowing a regular church pulpit upon their principal in order that he might pass from the professorial chair to the pastoral office. Ordination, however, was necessary for this step. Because Castellio denied the allegorical interpretation of Calvin about a phrase of the Apostle's Creed regarding the descent of


11 Buisson, I, p. 205.
Christ into hell, and because he questioned the canonicity of the Song of Solomon, which he considered lascivious and obscene, he was rejected for ordination by Calvin and the ministers of Geneva on theological grounds. The Council refused to take part in a theological argument, preferring to leave the matter up to the ministers. Therefore, Castellio asked for and received a letter of recommendation to a post elsewhere, explaining that he voluntarily resigned and that had it not been for the two points of doctrine, he would have been received unanimously to ordination.

Here is the precise point at which Castellio differed from the orthodoxy position held by Geneva, the precise point of difference between orthodoxy and liberalism. He dared to place his conscience above the consensus of his church and above universal tradition. The letter of recommendation, signed by all the ministers and composed by John Calvin, is the first document of the separation of the two currents of Protestantism. Was liberty of conscience or authoritarianism to mark the Reformation? Here is the first use of the principle of excommunication from the Protestant fold, done without anger, insult or violence, both parties acting out of conscience.

A letter of Calvin's dated May 31, 1544, carried the following information: "Our Sebastian was carried away against us in a most violent outburst. He began to contrive
a perpetual antithesis in order to establish on all points the contrast between us and the ministers of Christ." 12

The outburst here referred to occurred during a Sunday morning sermon at Vandoeuvres, which Castellio continued to supply as a layman until a successor should arrive.

Concerning the moral life of some of the Genevan pastors, Castellio declared:

"Paul was a servant of God; we serve ourselves. He was very patient; we are impatient. He spent nights dedicated to building the church; we spend the night in amusement. He was sober; we are drunken. He was threatened by seditions; it is we who stir them up. He was pure; we are dissolute. He was shut up in prison; we have imprisoned whoever insults us with a word. He used the power of God; we use that of another. He suffered at the hands of others; we persecute the innocent." 13

Against these very frank words of Castellio concerning his colleagues, some of whom were undisciplined in matters of sex, irresponsible in financial dealings, and lax, as we have seen, in their pastoral duties, Calvin complained to the Council, who issued a statement of censure and forbade Castellio to preach further at Vandoeuvres.

It is strange that a man of outstanding capabilities should be rejected by men anxious to build a theocracy. The explanation of Bainton is that "a religious community built around an idea can less readily tolerate a rejection

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of the idea than a failure to live up to it." 14

The decision of the Council forbidding Castellio to preach in his pulpit inaugurated the intervention of civil power at the request of the clergy in matters religious and theological, an act which was to result in subsequent disciplinary measures by the Consistory, which was organized to police the personal lives of the faithful. Infractions such as absence from church, attendance at parties and dances, or the speaking of frivolous words, reported by the Consistory to the Little Council, resulted in fines, imprisonment or banishment. Unable to continue as an honest scholar in such an atmosphere or to surrender his right of independent judgment to the demands of accepted orthodoxy, Castellio withdrew from Geneva, where dogma had triumphed over conscience and where free religious thought was dead. Concerning this episode we have the opinion of Voltaire who wrote: "Calvin had a tyrannical spirit of which one may judge by the persecution which he aroused against Castellio, a man more learned than he, whom his jealousy drove out of Geneva." 15

There was no French speaking country where Castellio could seek refuge, no church or school where he could offer his services; he was henceforward to be a solitary stranger. A letter from Calvin to Farel dated April, 1545, reads:

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14 Bainton, p. 106

15 Voltaire, Oeuvres complètes (Paris, 1878), XII, p. 306.
"If you knew how that dog slandered me, you would find the monks temperate and gentle in comparison... he was carried away like a madman without any motive... he vomited a mouthful of venom. He said that it was by my tyranny that he was driven from the ministry so that I could reign alone." 16

Without resources and with a growing family, Castellio settled in Basel where he was destined to endure eight long years of suffering, of heroic misery, and of deprivation, yet always without complaint. He became a proof-reader for the humanist printer Oporin, who was engaged in publishing the Latin and Greek classics, did some tutoring in Greek, and fulfilled the difficult tasks of a gardener and sawyer to provide a living for his increasing family. He devoted whatever hours he could take from sleep to classical and Biblical studies with the particular purpose in view of doing for France what Luther had undertaken for Germany, namely, two complete translations of the Bible in Latin and in French. In addition to all this, he enrolled as a regular student at the University of Basel. For firewood and for additional income, he harpooned driftwood from the Rhine which he was able to sell, an act for which he was later to be accused by Calvin. In Castellio's Defense he replied to the unworthy accusation that he had drawn in one day seven armfuls of wood for which he had

16 Cited by Buisson, I, p. 239.
been paid by order of the City Council. 17

The death of Hugunie Castellio in childbirth occurred in January, 1550, and was followed by the loss of a small daughter, Deborah, in May. Concerning the years of destitution and sorrow the essayist Montaigne observed after the death of Castellio:

"I understand to the great shame of our century that in full view two very excellent scholars died, in a condition of not having sufficient to eat: Lilius Gregorius: Giraldus in Italy and Sebastianus Castellio in Germany; I believe there are a thousand men who would have extended a call to them with advantageous conditions, or lent them a helping hand, if they had known." 18

The domestic sorrows were further increased by the serious illness of two other children, but a second marriage relieved the household distress sufficiently to permit the hard-working scholar to take up once again his study of the Biblical texts. The friendship of Boniface Amerbach, the professor of law at the University of Basel and friend of Erasmus, was a sustaining force during this unhappy period. Amerbach entrusted to Castellio the early education of his only son Basel, age 13, to whom Castellio later dedicated his Greek Dialogues for beginners. On the first of August, 1553, Castellio received a Master of Arts


degree from the University of Basel and in a short time thereafter was appointed to a chair in Greek. The subject of his thesis dealt with the question: "Would it be of much consequence in what spirit a matter be undertaken and could the same action be shameful in some and praiseworthy in others?" 19

The first phase of Castellio's life, that of preparation, is ended. Will he devote himself to Greek letters since ordination is no longer possible, or to education, or to the publication of classical editions? Will he find possible the quiet life of a scholar for which his soul longed? Such was not to be his destiny. In a few short months he was to become engaged in a terrible struggle. On October 27, 1553, the Spanish physician and theologian, Michael Servetus, was burned at the stake in Geneva for anti-trinitarian heresy, two years after the appearance of Castellio's French translation of the Bible, whose preface urged the new Protestantism to spread its truth by love and persuasion rather than by persecution. Before attempting to recount the background of the struggle for tolerance, we wish to consider the publications of Castellio during the years of poverty in Basel.

19 Cited by Buisson, I, p. 260.
"...Montaigne says in one of his essays, that the learned Castellio was fain to make trenchers at Basel, to keep himself from starving, when his father would have given any money for such a tutor for his son, and Castellio have willingly embrac'd such an employment upon very reasonable terms; but this was for want of intelligence."

John Locke

Some Thoughts Concerning Education
III
FRUITFUL YEARS AT BASEL

The eight years of hardship at Basel were productive years spent in classical and Biblical studies. In an attempt to make poetry Christian or Christianity poetic, or in other words, to give a decidedly Christian emphasis to the Renaissance, Castellio continued in Basel the tendency already revealed in the Sacred Dialogues, which were designed to impart Christian instruction through the classical medium of Latin, as we have shown in the previous chapter.

The first product from Castellio's pen in Basel was a Latin poem about the unwilling Old Testament prophet Jonah, comprising seven hundred lines of verse in dactylic hexameters and following closely the Biblical account in the Old Testament. The poem reveals the religious preoccupation of its author, the predominance of the moral idea in this thought and of practical piety. An important role was given to the heathen sailors who were willing to perish rather than to throw overboard the reluctant prophet, and to the Ninevites who became the recipients of God's forgiveness because of their repentance. Following a Ciceronian discourse on the part of Jonah in the stomach of the whale and his resulting successful ministry to the
wicked Ninevites, we find a moral reform taking place:

"All creation grieved; you would think the very stones were lamenting, Arrogance was immediately driven out of the converted city; Instead of soft luxury, instead of pillage raging furiously, A life content with its own followed, and modest customs, Sobriety and a mind intent upon work displaced Soft laziness and the wicked joys of shameful Venus." 1

The pardon of God follows this display of repentance on the part of man and beast. Even the ox foregoes his fodder, the goat his bush, the ass his straw and the lamb the udder.

A poem in Greek dealing with the infancy, work and death of John the Baptist, entitled The Precursor, Homeric in language, represents a fusion of the Gospel and of Homer, of sublime simplicity on the one hand and of grandeur on the other, which had been the pedagogic preoccupation of the Geneva headmaster. The Republic of Moses, with text in both Latin and Greek simplified for use with beginning students, was based on an extract from Josephus. Some translations into Latin verse from the Sibylline Oracles were included in a group of classical writings following the discovery of two new Sibylline manuscripts. Two

1 S. Castellio, Jonas propheta, heroico carmine latino descriptus (Basel, 1545), cited by Buisson, Sébastien Castellion, sa vie et son oeuvre, I, p. 282.
anthologies were compiled for the purpose of encouraging the new scholastic literature, Castellio acting as the principal editor for several collections: *Thirty-Eight Authors of Pastoral Poems* included twelve eclogues of Petrarch, sixteen of Boccaccio, pastoral poems from the celebrated authors of the end of the fifteenth century and of the beginning of the sixteenth, some forgotten Italian and German poets, some versifiers of Lyons such as Gilbert Ducher, some Christian poetry written in Latin, and a few of Castellio's poetic versions of the Psalms. A second anthology entitled *Poets Who Were Devout, Serious and Elegant* included the psalms of a brilliant Italian poet named Flaminio translated into Latin verse. These classical and Biblical translations occupied Castellio throughout 1545 and 1546.

*Moses Latinus* (1546), which was a translation of the Pentateuch into Latin, bore a preface in which Castellio expressed several methodological, theological and philological ideas peculiarly his own, which were in advance of his age. He expresses the opinion that an unscholarly style of translation and an obscurity of sense due to the habit of translators to transcribe literally the Hebraisms of the Old Testament instead of rendering their sense meaningful, resulted in coldness on the part of the reader of the Scriptures. The preface sets forth his method very boldly and answers with spirit the arguments of the critics which he foresees:
"I have undertaken to make Moses speak in Latin as
he would have spoken had he expressed himself in this
language; that is to say, with as much facility and
elegance as in Hebrew. There will be critics who
will find fault with this work.

'The former version, the good old version, pleased
me better,' they will say.

'Remain faithful to it, but realize that progress
is made daily.'

'What you have attempted there, many others have
done before you.'

'Compare their versions with mine and judge the
difference. Speak up! You will offend no one.'

'After all, it is not in elegance of language that
piety dwells.'

'Neither does it dwell in barbarity of language.'

'But I prefer this barbarity.'

'I am writing for those whom elegance does not
displease.'

'I like the majesty of these Hebraisms, their
venerable antiquity.'

'Then read the Hebrew.'

'I don't like affectation.'

'Neither do I, but I do not like carelessness either.'

'I am accustomed to these somewhat unlearned forms.'

'Allow others to become accustomed to more cultured
forms.'

'But Moses was a stammerer.'

'Yes, of tongue, but he had recourse to the eloquence
of his brother, but not his pen, for there is nothing
more eloquent than his writings.'

2 S. Castellio, Moses latinus ex hebraeo factus, et in
eundem praefatio, qua multiplex eius doctrina ostenditur
(Basel, 1546), Preface, cited by Buisson, I, p. 295.
The preface to *Moses Latinus* raises the theological question whether the law of Moses was or was not abrogated by the law of Christ. In attempting to answer the problem Castellio makes a distinction between the written law and the eternal law. The latter, which was before Moses, cannot be abrogated by Christ but rather is confirmed, preserved and developed. The only law which is eternal is the law drawn from nature and graven upon the heart, and that is the law binding upon all people. The knowledge of it is natural and is innate in every soul. The commandments in the Decalogue are given in order of importance; first the responsibilities toward God, and secondly, those toward man, including parental respect, respect for human life, respect for the sacred ties of marriage, and finally respect for the rights of property. Castellio asks if adultery is not a more serious offense than theft, and answers that according to the law of Moses, theft was punishable by a fine not to exceed four times the amount of the theft and that adultery was punishable by the supreme penalty. He observes with sadness that in his day "one laughs at adultery and hangs the thief." 3

The masterpieces of the early period in Basel were the translations of the Bible into classical Latin and into

vernacular French. Only the preface to the Latin version is still read today, in which is to be found an idea that was given the place of honor in a work that was produced amid unspeakable poverty and suffering, an idea that was a very important one in the history of ideas expressed in the sixteenth century, a doctrine which as yet had no name but which we of the twentieth century have labeled "tolerance." Calvin had pleaded eloquently for it in his dedication in the Institutes (1536) addressed to King Francis I, who was asked to exercise clemency in religious matters. The appeal had not been heeded and persecution had become the order of the day. The new doctrine set forth in the preface of the Latin Bible translated by Castellio, which was addressed to young Edward VI of England, set forth the necessity of respecting the consciences of others, of suffering an opinion different from one's own, and of abolishing on every level the rule of constraint in matters of faith. Since accurate judgments are difficult to attain, the rulers are urged to use caution in dealing with such questions. Castellio conceived of religion as inward and spiritual; the use of temporal weapons to control dissenting opinions seemed to him, therefore, stupid and even criminal. In taking up the same theme that Calvin had, he went beyond and defined precisely the new doctrine. The boy-king of England was only ten years old in 1551, but London was known as a haven for the proscribed
refugees from Geneva and Strasbourg under the Protestant protection of Edward's uncle and John Cheke, the advisor to the ruler in theological matters. Undoubtedly Castellio had in mind an appeal to all kings of all times for as long as there was a need for tolerance.

"The Scriptures are full of enigmas and inscrutable questions which have been in dispute for over a thousand years without agreement, nor can they be resolved without love, which appeases all controversies. Yet on account of these enigmas the earth is filled with innocent blood. We certainly ought to fear lest in crucifying thieves justly we crucify Christ unjustly. If we suffer Turks and Jews to live among us, the former of whom scarcely love Christ and the latter dearly hate him, if we suffer detractors, the proud, envious, avaricious, immodest, drunkards, and like plagues, if we live with them, eat with them, and make merry with them, we ought at least to concede the right to breathe common air to those who confess with us the same Christ and harm no one, who are indeed of such a temper that they would rather die than say or do anything other than that which they think they ought to say and do. Of all men this sort is the least to be feared because he who would rather die than say what he does not feel is not open to bribery and corruption. I venture to say that none are more obedient to princes and magistrates than those who fear God in simplicity and obey him to the extent of their knowledge. On controverted points we would do better to defer judgment, even as God, who knows us to be guilty, yet postpones judgment and waits for us to amend our lives." 4

Castellio concludes:

"I address you, O King, not as a prophet sent from God, but as a man of the people who abhors quarrels and hatred, and who wishes to see religion spread by love rather than by fierce controversy, by purity of

heart rather than by external methods.... Read these sacred writings with a pious and religious heart, and prepare yourself to reign as a mortal man who must give an account to immortal God. I desire that you may have the meekness of Moses, the piety of David, and the wisdom of Solomon."

Of Castellio's translation of the Latin Bible, Buisson says that it was of a "faithful and learned simplicity."

A page from Genesis will suffice to illustrate the simplicity of style and vocabulary:


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6 Buisson, I., p. 323.
Attention is called to the locution of *genius* for *angelus* in the above passage. Other similar locutions employed by Castellio in an attempt to eliminate Greek roots are *lavare* for *baptizare* and *collegium* for *synagoga*.

The Latin Bible appeared in 1551 and reached an eleventh edition in 1778. The French translation appeared four years later in 1555, containing likewise a dedication which was a plea for religious liberty addressed to the great persecutor Henry II of France. The passage which follows is from the dedication and is given in the original language and spelling:

"Quand en bataille la nuit suruient, on cesse de combattre insuau jour, de peur que d'aventure en frappant a l'aventure, au lieu des ennemis on ne tue ses amis, comme ainsi soit qu'il-vaille beaucoup mieux éparner ses ennemis, que de tuer quant-é-quant ses amis. Autant en fait-on de jour: c'est que après qu'on est venu aux mains, e est on mêle les uns parmi les autres, l'artillerie cesse, de peur de l'inconvenient que dit ét. À quel propos ie di ceci, s'il vous plait, Sire, vous l'écouterés. Le monde est aujourd'hui en grands troubles e brûllis, principalement touchant la religion, e n'y eut onque tant de maux e méchancetés, à quoi on peut bien entendre que c'est la nuit d'ignorance, en laquelle si tous ne sont, pour le moins plusieurs y sont. Car si par tout il étoit jour, jamais sur vne même couleur on ne feroit inégens tant divers, voire contraires. Ou s'il ét jour, pour le

moins les bons e mauvais, en matière de religion, sont tellement mêlés ensemble, que si on veut défaire tous ceux qui ne s'accordent à la vérité, il y a du danger que avec les mauvaises herbes, on n'arrache le blé: ce qui serait un dommage irreparable. En tel inconvenient et jusqu'à present tomes tombé le monde, comme nous voyons que tant de prophètes et apôtres, e tant de mille martyrs, voire même le fils de Dieu, ont été mis à mort sous couleur de religion: "...Croyés moi, sire, le monde n'est aujourd'hui ne meilleur, ne plus sage, ne mieux voyant qu'alors. Parquoi ce seroit le meilleur, tandis que les choses sont tant douteuses, ou tant brouillées, d'attendre de décocher, jusqu'à tant que le jour levé, ou que les affaires soient mieux démêlés, de peur que parmis ces ténèbres e brouillis on ne face chose, de laquelle il faille puis après dire, Je ne le pensoi pas." 8

The French translation was prepared with the common people in view and illustrates current sixteenth-century vernacular speech. As in the Latin Bible Castellio had sought to eliminate all Hebraisms and Greek roots, so in French he sought to avoid expressions of foreign influence that the Scriptures might be the more easily comprehended by the uneducated people. For example: "Tell anyone that he should take up his cross and he will readily agree

because the cross is no longer in use as an instrument of execution, but tell him to carry the rope for his own lynching and he will not so readily accede." 9

Therefore, from the standpoint of language, the French Bible marked a bold departure from other translations and was the object of numerous criticisms by those who were shocked to find the traditional archaisms and Hebraisms which represented a "Biblical style" replaced by current and profane terms. In the dedication to Henry II is to be found Castellio's statement of what he was attempting to accomplish: "[J'ai traduit la Bible en François, le mieux et en langage le plus entendible qu'il m'a été possible." 10. In the advance notice which preceded the translation he develops further his principle:

"J'ai eu principalement égard aux idiots et pourtant ai-je usé d'un langage commun et simple... au lieu d'user de mots Grecs ou Latins qui ne sont pas entendus du simple peuple, j'ai quelquefois usé des mots Français quant en ai peu trouver; sinon, j'en ai forgé sur les Français par nécessité, et les ai forgés tels qu'on les pourra aisément entendre. Quant on aura une fois oui que c'est comme seraient ces sacrifices ce mot brulage, lequel mot j'ai mis au lieu de holocauste, sachant qu'un idiot n'entend, ni ne peut de long tans entendre, que veut dire holocauste: mais si on lui dit que brulage est un sacrifice auquel on brule ce qu'on sacrifie, il retiendra bien tout ce mot, par la vertu du mot


10 Le Bible Fr., Preface, cited by Buisson, I, p. 323
Two years previously (1553) a French translation prepared by John Calvin had made its appearance which was destined to become the official Bible of the Reformed Church and which was more successful than the French translation of Castellio, which had only a single printing. In the following examples of comparison between the renderings of Calvin and Castellio the common tone of Castellio's phrasing is evident: "n'usez pas de vaines redites" (Calvin), "ne iasés pas beaucoup" (Castellio); "leur long parler" (Calvin), "leur caquet" (Castellio); "une fille" (Calvin), "une garce" (Castellio); "et Léa conceut & enfanta un fils" (Calvin), "si fut Lia enceinte et fit un fils" (Castellio). Generally speaking, Castellio remained within the limits of suitable speech and often avoided rather shocking expressions that were maintained in the Protestant versions as late as the nineteenth century. For "Tu ne paillarderas point" of Calvin, Castellio wrote "N'adultère point."

In an effort to avoid words that are too close to the Latin, he used lauer instead of baptiser; envoyagière instead of colonie; arrière-femme for concubine; diâtre for idole; soupper for cène and rognner for circoncire. A tendency to secularize is seen in the use of chanson for

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11 Ibid., Preface, cited by Buisson, I, p. 323.
pseaume and homme savant for scribe. Thus Pentecôte became Cinquantième. At the end of the Bible, in a Declaration, he explained the words which he had manufactured as well as the more difficult words which he had retained like oracle, synagogue and évangile. That Castellio was not completely removed from his learned background may be seen in the following examples where he retained the Latin while the translator of Geneva used a French expression. For l'Éternel we find Iova; for lour du repos, lour du Sabbat; for the ainsi soit-il of Calvin, Castellio retained amen; for louez l'Éternel, Castellio used Halleluja; for la perdition et la mort, he wrote Pluton et la mort; for la jalouseie, Cupido; and for l'homme, Adâ. In the rendering of the Decalogue, Calvin and the modern versions have translated the imperative as a future ("tu ne feras pas ceci"), but Castellio translated "N'aye point d'autres dieux que moi" as a categorical imperative, which is clearer French. For "manger du pain" he used simply "manger"; for "l'étranger qui est dans tes portes," he wrote "l'étranger qui soit chés toi"; instead of "tu seras maudit sur tout le bétail," he rendered the expression "tu seras la plus mauditte de toutes les bêtes." In order to answer a question in Hebrew, the verb of the question was often repeated: "Veux-tu que j'aille chercher une nourrice parmi les femmes des Hébreux pour allaiter cet enfant?" "Va," lui répondit la fille de Pharaon. Castellio
answered simply, "Oui."

A number of expressions with an Oriental flavor have been expressed in simple French; "écouter" for "prêter l'oreille"; "je vous assure" instead of "en vérité je vous dis"; "qu'il en soit puni" instead of "son sang sera sur lui"; and "aâgé e vieux" for "vieil et plein de jours."
The version of 1553 has "Mais votre parole soit, Oui, oui; non, non." Castellio rendered it more understandable with "Mais quand vous parlez, si c'est oy, dites oy; si c'est non, dites non." Where Calvin said, "Les pensées des justes sont jugement," Castellio said, "... sont équitables." "Une ordonnance perpétuelle en leurs aages" became "Une ordonnance perpétuelle laquelle ira de père en fils." "Il portera son iniquité" became "Il en sera puni." Calvin translated Romans 1:16, "L'Évangile du Christ est la vertu de Dieu en salut à tous croyants"; Castellio changed en salut to pour le salut which is retained in the version of Louis Segond, the preferred version and the best known today in Protestant France.

The following examples show the improved rendering of Castellio over that of Calvin and the persistance of his translation or interpretation to the present day:

Job 39:1

(Calvin) "...remplir l'assemblée des lionceaux..."
(Castellio) "...rassasier l'appétit des lionceaux..."
(Segond) "... apaises-tu la faim des lioceaux...."

Isaiah 7:14

(Calvin) "La vierge concevra et enfantera un fils...."

(Castellio) "Il y a une fille enceinte laquelle enfantera un fils...."

(Segond) "Voici, la jeune fille deviendra enceinte; elle enfantera un fils...."

I Corinthians 1:25

(Calvin) "Car ce qui est fol de Dieu est plus sage que les hommes et ce qui est faible de Dieu est plus fort que les hommes."

(Castellio) "Car la folie de Dieu est plus sage que les hommes et la faiblesse de Dieu est plus forte que les hommes."

(Segond) "Car la folie de Dieu est plus sage que les hommes et la faiblesse de Dieu est plus forte que les hommes."

James 2:13

(Calvin) "Miséricorde se glorifie à l'encontre de jugement."

(Castellio) "Miséricorde fait la figue au jugement."

(Segond) "La miséricorde triomphe du jugement."

Although Castellio's translation followed Calvin's by only two years, here are several examples to show the former's modernity.

II Samuel 2:32

(Calvin) "Quand ils furent en Hébron le jour leur luisit."

(Castellio) "Ils arriverent à Hébron au point du jour."

Job 5:7

(Calvin) "L'homme est nay à l'affliction."
(Castellio) "L'homme naît pour avoir peine."
I. Samuel 18:25

(Calvin) "Saul pensait de le faire venir entre les mains des Philistins."

(Castellio) "... de le faire tomber...."
Romans 8:18

(Calvin) "Les souffrances du temps présent ne sont point dignes de la gloire à venir."

(Castellio) "Les souffrances du temps présent ne sont pas à comparer à la gloire à laquelle nous parviendrons."

Isolated words selected at random indicate a more modern usage on the part of Castellio: cacher for absconser; pour instead of à ce que; arbre fruitier for arbre fructifiant; boire en chantant for boire à la chantrerie; se reposer de son ouvrage for cesser de son oeuvre; c'est lui for c'est il; tête for chef; séparer de instead of diviser d'avec; rougir for avoir la face verougneuse; alliance for paction; puis for de rechef; souvenance for recordation; semblable à nous for selon nostre semblance; and tente for tabernacle.

M. Douen, who has made an extensive study of the texts of Calvin and Castellio, is of the opinion that the text of 1588 of the Geneva revisers could pass for a text written twenty-five years earlier than that of Castellio, and that the Bible of 1555 appears younger than that of 1553 by at
least fifty years. 12

A comparison of I Corinthians 13, a chapter very dear to Castellio, will reveal that Castellio's style is briefer, more elegant and better French than the Revision of 1588. The mistake in syntax ("Quand je parlerais... et que je n'aye... je suis") did not disappear from the Bible of the Huguenots until 1669. M. Douen prefers the expressions "la charité n'est point enjusée," "la perfection," and "trois choses demeurent" in the Revision of 1588 to the renderings of Castellio: "amour n'a point enuie," "ce qui est parfait," and "foi, espérance e amour durent." He prefers, however, "Amour est patiente et débonaire,"

"E si je dépendoi tous mes biens en aumônes," and "i'ai anéanti les choses enfantines" of Castellio to those of the Revision of 1588: "Charité est d'vn esprit patient: elle se montre benigne"; "Et quand bien ie distribueroy tout mon aoiur à la nourriture des poures"; and "ce qui estoit d'enfance s'en est alle." 13

M. Bouen concludes that the versions of 1553 and of 1555 represent two systems of translation, 14 that Calvin's


13 Ibid., cited by Buisson, I, pp. 432 - 433.

14 Ibid., cited by Buisson, I, p. 434.
is a literal version and Castellio's is truly a translation which strives to render the sense of the passage rather than a mere translation of the words. The Geneva translations, which included the edition of 1553 and the revisions of 1560 and 1588, endeavored to preserve the color of the original by translating the Hebrew words into French, a method which often results in the same obscurity in the translation as in the original. The reader must find the meaning for himself. Castellio, on the other hand, felt it the duty of the translator to make plain the thought of the original by the use of the correct French expression. M. Douen has reproached Castellio with making a Ciceronian translation: "By the use of periodic style in imitation of the Latin classics and in perfect contradiction to the genius of the Semitic languages, he lays himself open to the charge of altering, if not the sense, at least the appearance of the original." 15 This is precisely what Castellio set out to do. He has replaced the Hebrew construction of sentences coordinated with and by various constructions which the modern translators have occasionally adopted although they have not done so as freely as Castellio. Compare the following examples of translation of Exodus 9:7:

(Calvin) "Et le cœur de Pharaon s'aggrava et ne laissa point aller le peuple."

15 Ibid., cited by Buisson, I, p. 435.
(Soc. bib.) "Mais le coeur de Pharon s'endurcit, et il ne laissa point aller le peuple."

(Castellio) "Néanmoins il eut le cœr si opiniâtre qu'il ne lacha point le peuple."

The Geneva Bible of 1553 rendered Genesis 3:24: "Et deschassa l'homme et logea...." Castellio varied the sentence structure with a subordinate clause: "Et quand il eut chassé l'homme, il logea devers le levât du vergier d'Eden, les Chérubins...." Genesis 3:15 is translated in the Geneva Bible: "Je mettrai inimitié entre toi et la femme... et icelle semence te brisera la teste...."; and by Castellio: "E si mettrai telle inimité entre toi et la femme, e entre ta semèce e la sienne que la sienne te cassera la tète...." Speaking of the lamp that should not be put under a bushel but on a stand (Matt. 5:15), "...afin qu'elle luise à tous ceus de la maison" (Castellio) was substituted for "...et elle éclaire tous ceus qui sont dans la maison" (1553).

God drives Adam away from the Garden of Eden and the tree of life "...afin qu'il n'en mange...pour vivre à jamais" (Castellio), whereas the Geneva Bible reads: "...pour qu'il n'en mange et vive à tousjours" (Genesis 3:22 - 23). In Genesis 1:31 Castellio replaced the somewhat primitive style by one more connected: "Cela fait, Dieu vit que tout ce qu'il avait fait, était trêbon." The Geneva Bible had "Et ainsi fut. Et Dieu vid tout ce qu'il avait fait; et voilà il estoit tresbon."

There is a marked tendency in Castellio's translation to prefer indirect discourse to the direct. Psalm 14:1:
"Les fols disent en leur cœur qu'il n'y a point de Dieu" (Castellio); "L'insensé dit en son cœur: il n'y a point de Dieu" (Geneva).

Castellio considered the Bible as a book which he had the right to remake if he thought it necessary. He inserted the apocryphal books among the canonical books and filled the gap between the Old and New Testaments with extracts from the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus. He respected in general the sense of the original in spite of the liberties which he took in handling the text. The following examples reveal the typically French tone which he gave to the original. Where the Geneva Bible said, "Oing to la tête et lave ta face," Castellio wrote, "Oin-toi la tête et te lave le visage." Again where the Geneva Bible spoke of "la vallée d'ombre de mort," Castellio called it "une noire et mortelle vallée." Where the Geneva Bible had commanded, "Apportez et nous beurons," Castellio translated, "Apportés nous à boire." Castellio summed up in a single sentence certain enumerations. Where the Geneva Bible of 1553 had rendered, "Le fils de Salomon fut Roboan, duquel fut fils Abie, duquel fut fils Asa," Castellio simplified to "Salomon eut un fils Roboan. E Roboan, Abie. E Abie, Asa" without repeating the verb.

Calvin translated I Corinthians 13:13 as follows:

"Maintenant donc, ces trois choses demeurent: la foi, l'espérance et la charité; mais la plus grande des trois est
la charité." Under the pen of Castellio this passage became: "Foi, espérance et amour durent; mais de ces trois la plus grâd et amour." Calvin's "vergier qui n'a point d'eau" became Castellio's "jardin sans eau."
Calvin's "une des costes d'icelui" became Castellio's "Une de ses côtes." Calvin's "l'obscurité en laquelle Dieu estoit" became Castellio's "l'obscurité ou était Dieu." Calvin's "nous bastirons sur icelle" became Castellio's "nous y bâtissons." Calvin's "des enfans qui ne font que se dépraver" became Castellio's "des enfans gâtés." Calvin's "de dur cerveau" became Castellio's "têtu."

Sometimes Castellio alters the tone of the text to achieve a more connected rendering: "Et la garce courut raconter l'affaire ches sa mère" was translated in the Geneva version, "Et la iouvencelle courut et annonca en la maison de sa mère selon ces propos." The modern translation reads, "La jeune fille courut raconter ces choses à la maison de sa mère." In several instances Castellio anticipated modern spelling in writing montrer for montrer; soudain for soudain; and montagne for montaigne. M. Douen finds traces of words of Bressian dialect: vinage for boisson; rocheforce for Dieu tout puissant; mal sacrer for maudire; mitrier for maîtriser; hermi for desert; délaver for tarder; and la boverie for
les boeufs. Some words occur in Castellio's French Bible that have now disappeared from the French language: 

- *aujourd'hui* for **aujourd'hui**;
- *braconnier* for **garde-chasse**;
- *faitard* for **fatigue**;
- *gabier* for **plaisanter**;
- *mignotte* for **delicate**;
- *seigneurier* for **dominer**.

When Castellio comes upon a proverb to translate, he is careful to keep the proverbial expression as in Genesis 9:6: "Qui sang d'homme épandra, son sang par homme épandu sera." A grave and poignant tone is observed in Ecclesiastes 1:2: "Tout ne vaut rien, dit le Prêcheur, tout ne vaut du tout rien."

In conclusion it may be observed that Castellio approached the text of the Bible as he did his Greek and Latin models, that is, as a profane book rather than as a sacred text which permitted no alterations in form of expression, distinguishing clearly between the letter and the spirit. In an effort to make the Bible accessible and understandable to as great a reading public as possible, he eliminated the exotic and Oriental turns and substituted a clear form of French expression in order to heighten the sense of Scriptural reality. M. Douen comments that Castellio's translation "does not seem like a translation

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16 Ibid., cited by Buisson, I, pp. 421 - 422.
17 Ibid., cited by Buisson, I, p. 421.
but rather a book thought and written in French, and in reality the first truly French translation of the Scriptures."  

Castellio's own witness to his translation is expressed simply and effectively in the preface to the Psalms (1547) where he declared that he has tried to accomplish a task "agréable à Dieu et utile aux hommes."  

Thus closes a period of classical and Biblical scholarship. When Castellio next takes up his pen, it becomes an instrument of a major polemic within Protestantism, in which the Professor of Greek at the University of Basel will be engaged until his death.

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18 Ibid., cited by Buisson, I, p. 436. Castellio's methodology, which was severely criticized by his adversaries, closely parallels that of the editors of the New English Bible who state in the Introduction to the New Testament of the New English Bible (Oxford and Cambridge, 1961): "We have conceived our task to be that of understanding the original as precisely as we could (using all available aids), and then saying again in our native idiom what we believed the author to be saying in his."

19 S. Castellio, Psalterium, reliquae sacrarum literarum carmina et precationes (Basel, 1547), Preface, p. 12, cited by Buisson, I, p. 334.
"Honneur, gloire et richesses seront la récompense de vos peines: surtout ne faites faute de défaire le pays de ces zélés faquins qui excitent les peuples à se bander contre nous. Pareils monstres doivent être étouffés, comme j'ai fait de Michel Servet, Espagnol."

Calvin au marquis de Poët
30 septembre, 1561
The case of Michael Servetus, which resulted in his martyrdom at the stake in Geneva for heresy, became a cause célèbre which touched off the toleration controversy in Protestantism because of the direct agitation on the part of Sebastian Castello. Servetus was a Spaniard who was a typical representative of the universal man of the Renaissance and at the same time, of the liberal movement within Protestantism.

Born in 1511 to a family that was noble and devout in Villanueva during a period of indulgence on the part of the Inquisition, and of Erasmian influence at the court of Charles, who had been reared in the Netherlands and who had surrounded himself with courtiers devoted to Erasmus, Servetus at fourteen was attached to the service of the king's confessor, Quintana, a liberal Franciscan. In an atmosphere of mystical illuminism cultivated by the Jewish and Mohammedan conversos and of Erasmian undogmatic piety, Servetus wrestled with the problem of monotheism as opposed to trinitarianism. At the University of Toulouse, where he took up the study of law, he encountered student groups engaged in Bible study. Joining them in pursuing the
Scriptures, Servetus discovered that the word "Trinity" does not occur there; and applying this knowledge to the situation in which he grew up, he began to question why the one essential tenet of Christianity that was such an offense to the monotheistic Jews and Moors, should be required of them at all. Delving into the question more thoroughly, he discovered that the doctrine of the Trinity was first formulated at the Council of Nicaea in 325 A. D. as a means of showing the complexity of relationship within the unity of the Godhead. He studied the illustrative arguments of St. Augustine, the demonstrative position of Richard of St. Victor and the fideist view of William of Occam, and came to the conclusion that the doctrine of the Trinity is neither Biblical nor philosophically sound, and therefore, should not be made a requirement of the Christian faith. The logical outcome of Servetus' study was his conclusion that the Holy Spirit was not a person but the spirit of God in man, and that Christ was not the eternal Son of God. Further, man was capable of participation in the divine nature: "God can communicate divinity" (Ibid., #11b, p. 19) "not indeed by a degradation of divinity but

1 M. Servetus, De Trinitatis Erroribus, libri septem (Haguenau, 1531), #11a and #11b, trans. The Two Treatises of Servetus on the Trinity, by Earl Morse Wilbur (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 172 - 173.
by an exaltation of humanity" (Ibid., #12a, p. 20); that after the consummation of the ages, Christ will restore the kingdom of God and we shall no longer need an advocate or mediator (Ibid., #81 - 82, pp. 125 - 126).

Servetus' book *On the Errors of the Trinity* appeared in 1531 at Haguenau near Strasbourg. Basel and Strasbourg for all their broadmindedness found the work and the author unacceptable, and Servetus, who had rashly sent a copy to the Bishop of Saragossa, was speedily denounced to the Inquisition with a summons to appear before it. The following year (1532) there appeared two Dialogues on the Trinity in which he declared the former work to be immature and attempted to define his position:

"All that I have lately written, in seven books, against the received view as to the Trinity, honest reader, I now retract; not because it is untrue, but because it is incomplete, and written as though by a child for children. Yet I pray you to keep such of it as might help you to an understanding of what is to be said here. Moreover that such a barbarous, confused and incorrect book appeared as my former one was, must be ascribed to my own lack of experience, and to the printer's carelessness. Nor would I have any Christian offended thereby, since God is wont sometimes to make his own wisdom known through the foolish instruments of the world. I beg you, therefore, to pay attention to the matter itself; for if you give heed to this, my halting words will not stand in your way. Fare you well."2

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2 M. Servetus, *Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo, De justicia regni Christi, capitula quatuor* (Haguenau, 1532, trans. Ibid., p. 188).
The Protestant and Catholic countries were henceforward closed to Servetus. A possible haven was the new world to which Servetus may have been the first to think of migrating to escape religious persecution. "With Jonah," he said, "I longed to flee ad novas insulas." The eastern border of Europe likewise offered a possible place of refuge, where surviving feudalism made possible diversity of belief. Under an assumed name he decided upon France where he was known as Michael Villanovanus or Villeneufve. In 1533 he pursued studies at the collège de Calvi in Paris, and failed to keep an appointment with John Calvin. In 1534 the famous Placard affair made Paris an uncomfortable spot for a proscribed man, and he withdrew to Lyons, where he became a corrector and editor for a publishing firm. Between 1535 and 1541 he edited two geographies of Ptolemy, and in 1541 he edited six volumes of Pagnini's Bible. In the preface to the Bible he rejected the orthodox view of prophecy; he omitted the Song of Solomon entirely from the work; he rejected Isaiah 7:14 as a prophecy of the virgin birth of Christ in a marginal note; and made Isaiah 53 refer to Cyrus the Great. In the geography of Ptolemy he referred to the promised land as a sterile place although he was merely copying

from an earlier edition; nevertheless he was to hear about this "borrowing" later in Geneva.

Servetus turned next to medicine, taking up residence and study at the University of Paris, supporting himself with the income from a book on pharmaceutical studies entitled On Syrups, which enjoyed six editions, and from lectures and instruction in geography and astrological medicine. As a result of his dissection of corpses he discovered that blood passes through the lungs for the sake of aeration, a discovery known as the pulmonary circulation of the blood, which he was to announce in the Christianismi Restitutio (Restoration of Christianity) in 1553. Following his medical training Servetus practiced medicine for twelve years in and near Lyons, continuing to maintain his interest in theological matters, which had broadened through contact with Anabaptists in Strasbourg to a rejection of infant baptism and to a belief in the imminent return of Christ to restore his kingdom. Using the number 1260 as the number of days spent in the wilderness by the woman in Revelation 12:6 and adding it to 325, the date of the fall of the Church (since on that date the Council of Nicaea had formulated the doctrine of the

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4 Ibid., p. 82

Trinity), Servetus established the year 1585 as the date of the great restoration. An interest in Neo-Platonism centering in Christological mysticism influenced Servetus' theological thinking which was reflected in the new work, still in manuscript form in 1546 when Servetus began a correspondence with John Calvin.

Thinking to instruct Calvin on theological matters pertaining to Christianity and infant baptism, Servetus urged his correspondent to read a section of his manuscript pertaining to baptism, which had apparently been sent by Servetus at an earlier date. Calvin replied with a copy of his Institutes, which Servetus commented upon in an insulting manner and returned to the author. Calvin, however, did not return Servetus' manuscript, in spite of thirty letters which Servetus continued to send him. To a Huguenot publisher in Lyons Calvin wrote that "Servetus was a Satan and was wasting his time." To Farel he wrote that "Servetus has just sent me, together with his letters,


a long volume of his ravings. If I consent, he will come here, but I will not give my word, for should he come, if my authority is of any avail, I will not suffer him to get out alive." (Ibid., XII, p. 283, Feb. 13, 1547.)

To a minister in Geneva, Abel Poupin, Servetus wrote that "Instead of a God, you have a three-headed Cerberus. I know that I shall certainly die on this account, but I do not falter that I may be a disciple like the Master." (Ibid., VIII, pp. 750 - 751.)

Servetus prepared a second manuscript either from a rough draft of the Restoration of Christianity, from copious notes, or from memory, added the thirty letters to Calvin, and in 1553, the work was published secretly near Lyons by Balthazar Arnouillet and Guillaume Guérout, who accepted the manuscript for printing on terms of costs and a bonus and who burned the manuscript page by page as the printing proceeded. Of the one thousand copies printed bearing the initials MSV, one came into the possession of one Guillaume Trie, a Protestant in Geneva, who wrote to his Catholic cousin in Lyons complaining that the Catholics tolerated such a promulgator of heresy as Michael Servetus Villanovanus in Lyons. The Catholic cousin laid the letter before the Inquisitor Matthieu Cry who investigated without success and who dictated a letter back to Geneva asking the cousin for tangible evidence. Trie's reply included a few manuscript pages of Servetus' Restoration of Christianity.
and the copy of Calvin's Institutes containing Servetus' insulting remarks. Such evidence could only have been supplied by John Calvin who later denied having cooperated with the Inquisition: "But where, if you please, would I have suddenly obtained such familiarity with the Pope's satellites?" (Ibid., VIII, p. 479.) Servetus was questioned, admitted nothing, and declared himself to be in agreement with the Church and the Christian religion, yet nevertheless was placed in prison. Realizing his predicament to be anything but secure, he escaped early the following morning on April 7, 1553, by scaling a roof and a wall. The Inquisition subsequently discovered the secret printing press, confiscated Servetus' property, and burned all available copies of the Restoration of Christianity, of which only three survive today, one at Vienna, one at Paris and one at Edinburgh. Servetus was burned in effigy after strangulation for heresy, sedition, rebellion and evasion of prison.

Some four months after his escape, on August 13, Servetus was recognized in Geneva during a Sunday morning service by some visitors from Lyons who reported his presence to John Calvin. He was immediately placed under arrest. According to his own testimony, he had arrived on foot only the previous evening with the intention of engaging a boat for Zurich and of making his way to Naples to practice medicine. Why he so exposed himself
is difficult to understand unless he misjudged Calvin, who he knew furnished evidence to the Inquisition. Why Calvin detained him merely passing through Geneva is equally difficult to understand except in the light of his letter to Farel, "for should he come...I will not suffer him to get out alive..." (Ibid., XII, p. 283.) In fairness to Calvin it should be noted that the statute under which Servetus was to be condemned was the Code of Justinian which prescribed the death penalty for denial of the Trinity and for rebaptism. Calvin gave his own explanation that the purpose of constraint was to vindicate the honor of God:

"Those who would spare heretics and blasphemers are themselves blasphemers. Here we follow not the authority of men but we hear God speaking as in no obscure terms he commands his Church forever. Not in vain does he extinguish all those affections by which our hearts are softened: the love of parents, brothers, neighbors and friends. He calls the wedded from their marriage bed and practically denudes men of their nature lest any obstacle impede their holy zeal. Why is such implacable severity demanded unless that devotion to God's honor should be preferred to all human concerns and as often as His glory is at stake we should efface from memory our mutual humanity." (Ibid., VIII, p. 476.)

The trial which followed was a nightmare of horror. It consisted of five phases, the first comprising a series of examinations based on accusations furnished by Calvin such as charges dealing with the early life of Servetus, his publications and his unorthodox doctrines, such as his rejection of the Trinity and infant baptism. It was
charged that he had been a source of trouble to churches in Germany, where he had been condemned and from which he had fled to escape punishment. These were all denied. That his Restoration of Christianity had been a source of infection to many was likewise denied. To the charge that he had discredited the authority of Moses by calling Palestine a sterile land, Servetus replied that the remark, which he had not written, applied to the present time. Calvin recorded regarding this last that "the dirty dog wiped his snout and said there was nothing wrong with the passage." (Ibid., VIII, pp. 496 - 497.) Servetus' attitude toward the Old Testament prophecies was recalled, in particular, the application of Isaiah 53 to Cyrus. On the subject of the Trinity, Servetus declared that he believed it but interpreted the word "persons" differently from Calvin, believing it to mean a mode of divine manifestation. On the subject of infant baptism, he termed the doctrine an invention of the devil.

In the second phase of the trial Servetus was given the materials to present his requests in writing. He demonstrated by an appeal to ecclesiastical history that there had been no criminal persecution in the early church and that in the reign of Constantine the maximum penalty for heresy had been banishment. He reiterated the fact that he was not seditious and begged for representation by counsel. He was answered that heretics had been executed
from the time of Constantine to Justinian and, as for a lawyer, he was told that he could lie well enough without one. (Ibid., VIII, pp. 771 - 775.)

Two examinations followed in which the prosecution declared his doctrines were subversive and that his private life had been dissolute. These charges were not sustained. A messenger arrived from France requesting that Servetus be turned over to the Inquisition and that he be asked to state whether or not the jailor had aided his escape from prison. Servetus exonerated the latter from all complicity, but begged the court to try him in Geneva rather than surrender him to the Catholic courts.

The third phase of the trial, which was largely theological, consisted of a written discussion between Calvin and Servetus in which they came to grips over the doctrine of the Trinity and the nature of God and man, a discussion not conducted in the best of temper on the part of either man but with considerable reviling. On September 5 the Council voted to send all the information of the trial to the other Swiss cities and to ask for advice. Calvin wrote to the Frankfort ministers requesting them to destroy all available copies of the Restoration of Christianity, describing it as a "rhapsody composed of all the impious ravings of all the ages." (Ibid., XIV, p. 600.) Servetus addressed a petition to the Council on September 15 begging that the delay be shortened and that he be
released. He requested a change of clothing which he had not been permitted for five weeks, complained that the lice were eating him alive, and once again requested a lawyer. (Ibid., VIII, p. 797.) The Council voted the change of clothing at the prisoner's expense. On September 22 a petition from the prison reached the Council in which Servetus declared that he had been falsely accused of denying the doctrine of immortality and that Calvin, his false accuser, should be imprisoned and interrogated on the grounds that it was not the office of a minister to betray him to the Inquisition, to make a capital accusation and to pursue him so relentlessly. "Let Calvin be not merely condemned but exterminated and driven from your city. His goods should be adjudged to me as compensation for what he has caused me to lose." (Ibid., VIII, p. 806.)

In the fourth phase of the trial, replies were received from the Swiss cities of Zurich, Berne, Basel and Schaffhausen. All recommended severity, but none mentioned the extreme penalty. A refugee from Italy, Vergerio by name, a minister of the Gospel in the prisons, wrote to Bullinger of Zurich on October 3 that "he detested such monsters as Servetus but that fire and sword should not be used against them." (Ibid., XIV, p. 633.) On October 9 the same Vergerio wrote that "he was terrified by the tragedy of Servetus. The Papists would now scoff that under the guise of the Reformation the churches were being deformed and the
fundamentals shaken." (Ibid., XIV, p. 633.)

The last phase of the trial included the death sentence on grounds of anti-trinitarianism and anti-paedobaptism, to be carried out on October 27 at the stake. Calvin records that the ministers tried to change the manner of execution on humanitarian grounds without success. (Ibid., XIV, p. 590.)

"When they brought him news of his death, Servetus was at intervals like a madman. Afterward he uttered sighs which were heard throughout the room.... At times he would groan like one possessed. In short his expression was like one who had a demon. Finally his cry mounted as he bellowed in Spanish, 'Misericordia! Misericordia!'" (Ibid., VIII, p. 501.)

Servetus requested and was granted an interview with Calvin, who came to the prison. He asked Calvin's forgiveness for his errors, his ignorance and his sins. Calvin bade him beg God's pardon and withdrew when remonstrance proved unavailing. (Ibid., VIII, p. 501.) Servetus addressed a final request, which was supported by Calvin, to the Council that he be allowed to die by the sword lest he recant in the last moments. This was denied.

The final march was accompanied by William Farel. Servetus was led to a pile of wood still green, in the Champel field outside Geneva. A crown of straw and leaves sprinkled with sulphur was placed on his head; his body was chained and a copy of the Restoration of Christianity was fastened to his arm. When the rope was passed several times around his neck, he begged that it be twisted no further.
When the fire was applied before his face, he cried out, "Jesus, Son of the Eternal God, have pity on me." A half an hour later he was dead.

Voltaire writing in the eighteenth century commented sharply upon this execution: "Un véritable assassinat commis en cérémonie." A second reference to the unpleasant episode mentions Calvin by name:

"Je sais que souvent le Malin
A caché sa queue et sa greffe
Sous la tiare d'un pontife
Et sous le manteau d'un Calvin."  

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"Il vaudrait mieux laisser vivre cent, voire mille hérétiques que de faire mourir un homme de bien, sous ombre d'hérésie."

Sebastian Castellio
Traité des hérétiques
V

APOSTLE OF TOLERANCE

Not only had a man of flesh and blood cruelly been put to death by Protestant Geneva, but the very foundation of the Reformation had received a mortal blow. Amid a growing murmur of disapproval, Calvin hastened to justify the execution with his pen. On February 24, 1554, four months after the martyrdom of Servetus, appeared his Déclaration pour maintenir la vraie foi qui tiennent tous les chrétiens de la Trinité des personnes, en un seul Dieu, and as a subtitle, Contre les erreurs détestables de Michel Servet, Esquivol. Ou il est aussi montré qu'il est licite de punir les hérétiques, et qu'a bon droit ce méchant a été exécuté, par justice en la ville de Genève in a French and Latin edition. There was an indignant champion in Basel ready to enter the arena of protest against what he believed to be an insult to the very principles of the Reformation and a crime against free inquiry and the humanitarian spirit. Calvin's justification had only just been put in circulation when there appeared a work in Latin entitled De haereticis en sint persequendi et omnino quomodo sit cum eis agendum, doctorum virorum tum veterum, tum recentiorum sententiae. Liber hoc tam turbulento tempore
pernecassarius et cum omnibus, tum potissimum principibus et magistratibus utilissimus, ad discendum, quodnam sit eorum in re tam controversa tamque periculosa, officium (Magdeburg, 1554) followed in a very short time by a French edition (Rouen, 1554) entitled Traité des hérétiques, à savoir si on doit les persécuter et comme on se doit conduire avec eux, selon l'avis, opinion et sentence de plusieurs auteurs tant anciens que modernes; grandement nécessaire en ces temps de troubles et très utile à tous et principalement aux princes et magistrats pour connaître quel est leur office, en une chose tant difficile et périlleuse. The dedicatory epistle of the Latin version to Duke Christophe of Wirtemberg was signed by Martin Bellie and begins with the parable of the White Robe written in familiar and vivid style:

"Most illustrious Prince, if you had told your subjects that you would come to them at some indefinite time and commanded them all to prepare white robes for themselves and to come before you thus dressed in white whenever you appeared, what would you do if you discovered later that they had paid no attention to preparing their white robes, but that in the meanwhile they were debating about your person? Some said that you were in France; others, that you had gone to Spain; some, that you would come on horseback; others, in a chariot; some, with great ceremony; others, without retinue. Would you be pleased?

"Again, what would you say if they fought among themselves, not only with words but with blows and swords; and that some wounded and killed the others who did not agree with them? One will say, 'He will come on a horse.'

'No, in a chariot,' will declare another."
'You lie.'

'No, you lie. I'll hit you.'

'I'll run this sword through you.'

"O Prince, would you esteem such citizens? If, however, some performed their duty in accordance with your command to prepare white robes for themselves and the others oppressed them or put them to death, would you not destroy these scoundrels?

"But what if these murderers said that they had acted in your name and by your order although you had previously expressly forbidden such conduct? Would you not think such great and outrageous wrong worthy of punishment without mercy? Most illustrious Prince, I beg you to listen with favor to the reason why I say these things.

"Christ is the Prince of this world who, when he left the earth, foretold that one day he would return at an indefinite hour. He commanded men to prepare white robes for his coming, that is, to live together in a Christian spirit, lovingly, without controversy and contention, showing love to one another. Let us consider, pray, how we fulfill our responsibility.

"How many are careful to prepare their white robe? Who is he who strives with all his might to live in this world in a holy, just and religious manner while awaiting the coming of the Lord? For nothing is there less concern. The true fear of God and Christian love have grown cold. We spend our lives quarreling, contending and in all manner of sin. There is controversy not about the way in which we come to Christ who can correct our lives, but about the office of Christ, namely, where he is now and what he is doing, how he is seated on the right hand of the Father, and how he is one with the Father. Likewise there is controversy about the Trinity, about predestination, about free will, about God, about angels, about the state of souls after this life, and about other similar matters, which are not very necessary to know in order to obtain salvation by faith (for the publicans and sinners were saved without the knowledge of these matters) nor are they able to be known, if we do not have first of all a pure heart, for to see these things is to see God who cannot be seen except by a clean and pure heart according to the Scriptures: 'Blessed are the pure
heart for they shall see God.' Further, these matters, even if they are understood, do not make a man better as St. Paul said: 'If I understand all mysteries and secrets and have not charity, I am nothing.' This concern on the part of men (which has an adverse effect and is vicious in itself) engenders other worse evils. For men being puffed up with this knowledge, or rather with this false opinion of knowledge, scorn the others in a haughty manner to their detriment; and sometimes cruelty and persecution follow such pride that no one wants to put up with another who differs in some way with him. Today there are as many opinions as men....

"If there is someone, however, who tries to prepare the white robe, that is, to live in a holy and just manner, all the others rise up with one consent against him if he disagrees with them on something. They accuse him and pronounce him a heretic without the possibility of doubt on the ground that he wants to be justified by his works. Horrible crimes which never occurred to him are attributed to him, and then the common people are prejudiced by slanderous remarks to consider it a great sin just to listen to him. Hence arises a brutal rage to employ cruelty, with the result that we see men so incensed by slander that they are infuriated when they see a man, who is to be put to death, first strangled and not burned alive at a slow fire.

"Although this is extremely cruel, yet they commit a more horrible sin by covering up these crimes under the robe of Christ, and by declaring that they are accomplishing his will thereby, although Satan could not think up anything more repugnant to the nature and will of Christ! And yet those who are so opposed to the heretics, as they call them, are so far from hating wicked men that they make no scruple of living in luxury with the greedy, of encouraging flatterers, of aiding the envious, of holding conversations with slanderers, of carrying on with drunkards, gluttons, and adulterers, of reveling and feasting with mockers and imposters, and of living daily with such people who are hated of God. Who can doubt that such people hate virtues and not vices? For the man who loves evil hates the good. If you see someone who loves evil, you must not doubt that he hates the good.

"Most illustrious Prince, I ask you, what do you
think Christ will do when he comes? Will he commend and approve such actions?...

"O Christ, Creator and King of the world, do you see these things? Have you become totally different from what you were, so cruel and opposed to yourself? When you were on earth, there was no one more gentle; more merciful, more patient of insults. You were like a sheep dumb before the shearer. When beaten, spit upon, mocked, crowned with thorns, crucified shamefully between thieves, you prayed for those who showed you all these injuries and insults. Have you now become so changed? I ask you by the holy name of your Father if you command men, who do not understand your precepts and orders, as our masters require, to be drowned, lashed to their very entrails, sprinkled afterward with salt, dismembered, roasted over a slow fire and tormented with all sorts of punishments as long as possible? O Christ, do you order and approve these things? Are those who make these sacrifices your vicars for burning and dismembering? Are you present when summoned to this cruel butchery and do you eat human flesh? If you do these things, O Christ, or command that they be done, what have you left for the Devil to do? Do you do the same things which Satan does? O wicked audacity of men to attribute to Christ the things which are done at the command and instigation of Satan!"

This preface by Martin Bellie is one of the mother documents on the freedom of conscience, a view which the Christian world holds today; but so unforgivably new was it in the sixteenth century that it was a dangerous, diabolical doctrine. Suspicion regarding the author of this spirited allegorical protest was not long in naming Castellio the real Martin Bellie, a nom de plume, which, according to Castellio's biographer, Ferdinand Buisson, indicated that

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here was a declaration of war against religious persecution. A contemporary Castellionist, Bruno Becker of the University of Amsterdam, considers it more probable that Martin recalls Castellio's birthplace, St. Martin-du-Fresne, and Bellie that of Belley, the county-seat of Le Bugey in which St. Martin-du-Fresne is located. Is it not entirely possible that the ingenious mind of Castellio coined the name under the double motivation of etymology and patriotism? In the Sacred Dialogues he had expressed his aversion to persecution exhibited by Pharaoh toward the Hebrew children and by the brethren toward Joseph. His rejection for ordination in Geneva because of theological non-conformity on two minor counts and his years of poverty and hardship in Basel had undoubtedly increased his humanitarian sympathies and his convictions regarding individual freedom of conscience. The prefaces to the Latin and French translations of the Bible had carried protests against religious persecution. Although the nom de plume was strongly suspected by the ministers in Geneva, yet the name was accepted and the term of "Bellianist" was given to those who advocated religious liberty.

2 Buisson, Sébastien Castellion, sa vie et son oeuvre, I, p. 358.

The *Traité des hérétiques* established a new literary genre, the Protestant pamphlet, written clearly and spiritedly in a popular manner but grave and serious in tone, for the purpose of convincing by means of logical point by point demonstration. Two questions are presented: What is a heretic? How is he to be treated? The answer to the first is plain and to the point. "Certainement après avoir souvent cherché que c'est d'un hérétique, je n'en trouve autre chose, sinon que nous estimons hérétiques tous ceux qui ne s'accordent avec nous en notre opinion."4

Since Christians are divided on many matters such as baptism, the invocation of saints, free will and the Lord's Supper, the only sensible program is to bear with one another. The more one comes to a knowledge of the truth, the less is one inclined to persecute. The man who condemns others on theological matters only proves that he himself is lacking in patience and knowledge. While he occupies himself in condemning others, the Gospel itself suffers, for who would want to become a servant of Christ if he knows that in case of doctrinal irregularity he would be burned alive by order of Christ even if he confessed him in the midst of the flames and cried out with all his strength that he believed in him (*Ibid.*, pp. 30 - 31).

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The reference to Servetus could hardly be more plain.

Castellio will answer the important question of how heretics should be dealt with by citing the opinions of learned men, both contemporary and of former times, against persecution. He calls first upon Martin Luther who differentiated between the spiritual kingdom of God under Christ and the kingdom of this world under the civil power.

"Le royaume mondain a ses lois, esquelles sont sujets les corps, et les biens terriens des hommes mortels. Outre cela, il n'a aucun droit, ni puissance. Quant à l'âme, le Seigneur Dieu ne veut point qu'elle soit liée par aucunes lois mondaïnes, et ne le peut aussi souffrir, luy qui seul a droit et Empire sur icelle." (Ibid., p. 34.)

The magistrate cannot see within the heart and perceive the secrets which are known to God alone; therefore he must permit each individual to believe as he wishes or as he can without constraining anyone in the faith. Furthermore, nothing should be more free than matters of faith and religion; heretics may not be repressed nor constrained by any exterior force. Heresy is a spiritual matter which cannot be quenched by any fire, nor drowned nor washed away by water, but can be cut away, burned and drowned by the sole means of the Word of God (Ibid., p. 47).

Castellio continues his investigation of the authorities by consulting John Brenz, the reformer of Wirtemberg, who had written a tract against the persecution of Anabaptists and who had been a proscribed fugitive in Germany. Brenz
likewise distinguishes between spiritual and secular sins and declares:

"Mais les incrédules et héritiques, qui vivent honnêtement, et sans reproches devant le monde, sont destinés et remis au supplice de l'Évangile, et du Seigneur Dieu, après cette vie. Donc Christ aussi commandait à ses disciples en S. Mathieu, au 13\textsuperscript{e} chapitre qu'ils n'arrachassent l'ivraie, mais laissassent l'un et l'autre croître jusques à la moisson, etc. Par lesquelles paroles il a voulu démontrer, que les Chrétiens ne s'efforçaient point de mettre à mort par glaive les incrédules, ou héritiques, lesquels en ce lieu sont appelés zizanie; mais qu'ils bataillassent contre eux par le glaive spirituel, jusques à ce que la moisson vienne, et alors ils recevront juste punition, s'ils ne se convertissent et retirent de leur perverse sentence. Car si quelqu'un pour incrédulité ou héritie, devait incontinent être puni par mort, icelui ne serait pas seulement privé de la vie corporelle, mais serait en danger de perdre son âme, d'autant qu'avec le temps il eût pu par aventure renoncer à son incrédulité, délaisser son erreur précédente, venir à repentance, et se convertir à la vraie foi.... Saint Paul écrit.... "Évite l'homme héritique....." Saint Paul ne dit pas ici qu'il faille jeter au feu l'homme héritique, ou le tuer par glaive...." (Ibid., pp. 59 - 60)

Erasmus is cited next:

Le père de famille, c'est-à-dire le Seigneur Dieu, ne veut point que les faux Apôtres et héritiques soient mis à mort, mais qu'ils soient tolérés et endurés, si paraventure ils viendront point à repentance, et de zizanies s'ils se tourneront point à froment, ou s'ils ne s'amendent qu'ils soient réservés au jugement de Dieu, lequel en fera punition un jour viendra." (Ibid., p. 83.)

Sebastian Castellio's spiritual forerunner, Sebastien Frank, a disillusioned reformer from the province of Bavaria and author of a monumental ecclesiastical encyclopedia of eight volumes entitled \textit{Chroniques}, who had made religious persecution a crime against humanity twenty years earlier,
is asked for his opinion. He refers to the parable of Christ regarding the wheat and the tares:

"Si la puissance d'arracher les zizanies eût été donnée au monde, icelui eût arraché le froment au lieu des zizanies...." (Ibid., p. 108.) "... la vraie église c'est celle laquelle souffre persécution, et non pas celle qui persécute." (Ibid., p. 112.) 

"... où trouverait-on assez de bourreaux, et de bois pour les brûler tous?" (Ibid., p. 116.)

A number of quotations follow from the various Church Fathers: Lactantius, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Augustine. In the extract from Lactantius, we find these beautiful words:

"Il n'est besoin de force et injures, car la Religion ne peut être contrainte. Il faut plutôt procéder par paroles que par bastures, afin que la volonté y soit.... Car la Religion doit être défendue non point en tuant mais en admonéstant, non point par cruauté, mais par patience; non point par méchanceté, mais par foi." (Ibid., pp. 117 - 118.)

Castello's interpretation of Lactantius is vigorous:

"Ce sont choses fort contraires, que la bourelerie et la piété, et ne peut être conjointe la vérité avec la force.... Car si tu veux défendre la Religion par sang et par tourments, icelle ne sera pas défendue, mais polluée et violée. Rien n'est plus volontaire que la Religion, laquelle, si le coeur n'y est pas, est nulle." (Ibid., pp. 117 - 118)

Three short extracts from the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom are quoted in which heretics are compared to blind men whom it is necessary to take by the hand and gently guide, and to sick men who need help and encouragement (Ibid., pp. 133 - 134). St. Augustine, to whom both the advocates of liberty and the apologists for persecution appealed, was unwilling to appeal to the secular
power before 404 A. D., but later became the first theorist of the Inquisition, yet without advocating the death penalty, by appealing to the Old Testament and to the words of Christ in the New Testament, "Compel them to come in." Castellio quotes several extracts from St. Augustine, who observed that time is necessary for men of good faith to mend their errors: "corrigés et convertis, que occis et perdus." (Ibid., p. 132.)

Castellio, writing as Martin Bellie, consults contemporary as well as ancient theologians. Othon Brunsfield, a doctor, jurisconsult, teacher and theological scholar, who died at Berne in 1534 leaving behind him a great reputation, wrote: "C'est contre la volonté de l'Esprit de brûler les hérétiques." (Ibid., p. 124.) Urbanus Rhegius, reformer and minister at Lunebourg, who had died in 1541, declared: "Le Seigneur Dieu n'enseigne point de brûler les pauvres brebiettes errantes et éparses, mais de guérir celles qui sont infirmes et malades." (Ibid., p. 127.) Conrad Pellican, a notable Hebraist in Zurich who wrote Commentaries on the New Testament, was consulted concerning the interpretation of Matthew 13:

"Les serviteurs qui veulent cueillir les zizanies devant le temps sont ceux qui estiment que les faux apôtres et maîtres hérétiques doivent être punis par glaive et par mort. Le père de famille ne veut point qu'ils soient occis mais soufferts, si d'aventure ils s'amenderont et soient convertis de zizanies à froment. Que s'ils ne s'amendent, ils soient réservés à leur juge lequel quelquefois les punira." (Ibid., p. 125.)
Gaspar Hédion, reformer in Strasbourg, wrote concerning Luke 5:10 ("You will become fishers of men."): "Et ce contre la cruauté par laquelle aucuns aiment mieux occir les Juifs, Turcs et autres infidèles, et les envoyer en Enfer, que les gagner vifs à Dieu." (Ibid., p. 120.) Jean Agricola from Eisleben, minister to the court of the Elector of Brandenburg in Berlin, engaged in a pun on the words from Titus 3: "Évitez l'homme hérétique." "Il paraît qu'on lise de vitæ et ajoute ad ignem." (Ibid., p. 121.) Christophe Hoffman, a Lutheran minister, declared: "Car le jugement de punir les hérétiques est spirituel et appartient au jugement de Christ." (Ibid., p. 122.) Jacques Schenk, a German commentator on the Epistle of Paul to Titus, was quoted as saying:

"Les hérétiques ne doivent être fuis ou évités quand ils nous assaillent: mais par la parole de Dieu, avec très grande douceur et bénignité, sans courroux, sans injures, sans malédictions, ou paroles outrageuses, doivent être instruits, repris et convaincus; et pour icheux faut prier Dieu. Car certes par cette seule raison ils sont ou convertis, ou convaincus, et chassés. Certainement Christ au désert, à la sommité du Temple, et en la haute montagne, ne surmonta pas Satan en se courrouçant, murmurant ou injuriant, mais par la parole et vertu de Dieu, le vainquit et mis en fuite." (Ibid., p. 121.)

A quotation was included from Calvin's first edition of the Institutes, where he insists that it is necessary

"... tâcher par toutes les manières que nous pouvons, ou par exhortation, ou par doctrine, ou par clémence, et douceur, ou par nos prières envers Dieu, qu'iceux convertis en meilleure vie, se retirent en la compagnie et unité de l'Eglise. Et non seulement
ceux-là doivent être ainsi traités, mais les Turcs aussi, et les Sarrasins, et autres ennemis de la vraie Religion; tant s'en faut que ces raisons doivent être approuvées par lesquelles plusieurs jusques à présent se sont efforcés de les contraindre à notre foi, quant ils leur défendent l'eau, et le feu, et leur refusent tous devoirs d'humanité, quant ils les persécutent, avec ferrement, et armes, etc." (Ibid., pp. 123 - 124.)

Numerous other quotations from Calvin showing the right of appeal to the civil power could have been cited, but they were not in keeping with Castellio's purpose of showing unanimity on the question of constraint, and, in the case just cited, of providing an occasion of embarrassment to Calvin. To close the section of contemporary opinions, Castellio included a reproduction of his preface to the Latin translation of the Bible addressed to Edward VI of England.

A section written by two authors using pseudonyms concludes the Traité des hérétiques. The first author known as George Kleinberg demonstrates how persecution has harmed the world by presenting a pathetic picture of the ravages in the Netherlands, where in an extermination program against the Anabaptists more than 30,000 lives were lost in a period of thirty years at the command of one man. Kleinberg closes with an impassioned appeal: "O Christ, O Dieu fort, O Père du siècle à venir! O Prince de Paix! O Lumière du monde, illumine les yeux des Princes....." (Ibid., p. 147.) The author of this section was probably David Joris, a proscribed Anabaptist fugitive.
from the Netherlands, who was living in Basel in 1553 under the assumed name of Jean de Bruges.

A second author appears under the name of Basile Montfort, which only thinly veils Sebastian Castellio. This second author, writing under the pseudonym, brings the treatise to a close by a discussion of various Old and New Testament passages which seem to advocate persecution: Exodus 22:20; Deuteronomy 13; Leviticus 24:16; Exodus 32:28; Joshua 7:24-25; Acts 5; Luke 14:23 and II Corinthians 10:4-5. Concerning these Scriptures Castellio as Montfort declares that one must choose between a narrow, strict interpretation without claiming to apply it to heretics or else be courageous enough to claim the necessity of universal extermination: "... il y ait des sectes imménumérables, desquelles il n'y en a pas une, qui s'accorde avec l'autre, de l'interprétation des Écritures; il les faudrait donc mettre toutes à mort, excepte une, et icelle la plus petite, comme ainsi soit que le troupeau de Christ est petit." (Ibid., p. 161.)

Concerning the account of Ananias, who was struck dead by the judgment of God for lying (Acts 5), Castellio suggests: "Ceux-ci, au contraire, ne mettent à mort que

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5 Castellum and montfort are etymologically very close. In a subsequent work, Contra libellum Galvini, Castellio mentions neither Martin Bellie nor Basile Montfort, but does refer to George Kleinberg.
ceux qui ne veulent mentir: car si quel qu'un consent à leur religion par paroles et par fait externe, il n'est point occis à soi soit que de cœur il soit du tout contraire." (Ibid., p. 166.) Castellio expresses his opinion that constraint and persecution engender hypocrites: "Si le Roy de Turquile le commandait, toute la Turquie recevrait incontinent l'Évangile. Seront-ils pourtant Évangeliques?" (Ibid., p. 161.)

As the preface had opened upon an allegorical scene, so the epilogue closes upon another, that of two armies, the one of strife and the other of Christian love, the latter appearing in glowing terms.

"Les bons sont gens de basse condition, et de nulle estime, povres et malôtrus, ignorant, débiles, infirmes, moqués, et méprisés, harcelés, et affligés, pacifiques, débonnaires, humbles et abjects, abaissés, et rejetés, viles et contemnés, et tels que le monde a en horreur, les balaures et ordures, la reclus, et ce qui ne vaut rien entre les hommes, gens qui ne tiennent compte de leur honneur, zélateurs de l'honneur de Dieu, qui rendent bien pour mal: lesquels étant maudits et injuriés bénissent, et suivent Christ l'agneau de Dieu par toutes croix, tribulations, adversités et par vertus." (Ibid., p. 193.)

"Et derechef j'écrirai en grosses lettres, cette sentence de St. Paul: 'Ne veuillez juger aucune chose devant le temps, jusques à ce que vienne le Seigneur, qui illuminera les choses secrètes des ténèbres, et manifestera les conseils des coeurs." (Ibid., pp. 195 - 196.)

Thus does the Traité des herétiques affirm with clarity and moderation the necessity of respecting the liberty of the individual conscience, not by an isolated solo voice but by a concert of voices singing in unison from the very
heart of the Reformation and strengthened by earlier opinion from the Church Fathers. Concerning this unique document Bossuet wrote: "Il faut convenir, ces raisonnements sont tirés du fond et, pour ainsi dire, des entrailles du protestantisme."   

It will be recalled that Calvin had already entered the polemic field just previous to the appearance of the Traité des hérétiques with a justification for the death of Servetus with his Déclaration pour maintenir la vraie foi which was reprinted in Calvini Opera as Defensio orthodoxae fidei de Sacra Trinitate contre prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serveti Hispani. To this tract Castellio replied with the Contra Libellum Calvini in quo ostendera consatum haereticos jure gladii coerendos esse, which was not allowed publication because of censorship in Basel. This document was not to see the light of day until 1612, almost fifty years after the death of Castellio, when it was published in Holland. The Contra Libellum Calvini is a seriatim reply to Calvin in the form of a dialogue between Calvin and Vaticanus. The preface of the treatise states that the author has no desire to defend the doctrines held by Servetus, but that he is purposing
to attack the doctrine of Calvin: "Et pour qu'il n'y ait pas de contestation possible je citerai chaque fois textuellement le paragraphe que je veux réfuter et j'instruirai ma réponse au-dessous avec un numéro correspondant." 8

The parry and thrust exchanges of the dialogue create the illusion of a duel and maintain the reader's interest throughout:

Calvin: A great number by their impure and wicked life compromise the success of the Gospel.

Vaticanus: Let him call impure and wicked the adulterers or the drunk or such; it is normal. They are wicked. But Calvin does not understand that there is a class of men still more wicked. It's the class of hypocrites, who are devouring wolves concealed in lamb's clothing. 9

Calvin: What condemns awkward zeal is the ignorance which inspires it. But there is a praiseworthy zeal. It is that which motivates the sons of God, which drives and stirs them to the defense of the faith they believe.

Vaticanus: The sons of God? If you were of the sons of God you would do the works of God. A son of God does not affirm his faith in burning a man, but in making himself burned for it. 'He who perseveres to the end' says the Gospel, 'will be saved.' But in what is it necessary to persevere? In persecution?


No, in tolerance. This is a certainty of the faith which Calvin does not know.¹⁰

Calvin: There is no doubt that the good protectors of the faith before judging ought to be acquainted in a loving manner with the question in all solicitude and fear of God.

Vaticanus: Just so did they act regarding Servetus. He was recognized on a Sunday; he was arrested on leaving church, and was thrown into prison from which he departed only to be led to the stake. There is without doubt the Calvinist method of becoming acquainted in a loving manner with the question in all solicitude and fear of God.¹¹

The following responses of Vaticanus, who is Castellio, summarize the major emphases of the *Contra Libellum Calvini*:

Vaticanus: One of two things is true, Calvin: you put Servetus to death either because he thought what he said or because he said what he thought. If you killed him because he spoke according to his inner conviction, you killed him for the truth, for the truth consists in saying what one thinks even if one is wrong. The psalmist declares that the one who speaks the truth according to his heart is happy. You had him put to death. If it is because Servetus had an erroneous conviction that you caused him to die, you should have, before going that far, led him to other sentiments or demonstrated to us, texts in hand, that those who err or who are deceived in good faith ought to be put to death.¹²

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¹⁰ Ibid., Art. 46, cited by Giran, p. 250.

¹¹ Ibid., Art. 61, cited by Giran, p. 256.

¹² Ibid., Art. 80, cited by Giran, p. 265.
Vaticanus: What do you think about this, Calvin? If someone had given the cardinal of Tournon the advice of Gamaliel about those five young men he burned at the stake a few days before the punishment of Servetus, would you have said that this man was blind? What advice would you have given him? To release them? Why? Because they professed the true religion? But you know that the cardinal did not think so, and you would not have been able to compel him to think so. Would you have undertaken a discussion with him? But he would not have admitted your arguments nor even the discussion. Seeing that the discussion might last for more than thirty years and the peril the prisoners were undergoing, say, what would you have advised? Is it not clear that in such a circumstance the advice of Gamaliel [Acts 5:38 - 39] is the only one of wisdom? ... If one listened to Gamaliel one would not run the risk of fighting against God. Today his words could find numerous applications. For if the papists followed his advice, they would not persecute so many innocent men, and the Zwinglians and the Calvinists would not make disciples and imitators of the papists in this respect. But this man is so cruel, and he pursues with a hatred so inexorable the shades of Servetus, that he prefers to see people burned by papists rather than supporting the advice of Gamaliel and rather than admitting his mistake. 

Vaticanus: Calvin declares that the Catholics not only are in error, but that they are heretics, wicked, blasphemers, and devoted to the worship of another God or of Anti-Christ. Very good, but if they have another God, they must baptize in the name of this other God. Now Calvin was baptized by them and considers this baptism valid. A dilemma is imposed: either the Catholic baptism is the true one and the Catholic heretics have the true God or else this baptism is evil and Calvin ought to be re-baptized, if he

wants to be a Christian. Furthermore, if Calvin wanted to obey this law which he proclaims, he should not have burned Servetus. He should have had him stoned by the people, and it is Calvin, the pure among the pure, who should have cast the first stone.\footnote{Ibid., Art. 107, cited by Giran, p. 277.}

A lively discussion takes place regarding Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5, \textit{ibid.}, Art. 89), the wheat and the tares (Matt. 13, \textit{ibid.}, Art. 96), the death penalty declared by Nebuchadnezzar for blasphemy (Dan. 3:29, \textit{ibid.}, Art. 116), and Deuteronomy 13:6 - 10 (\textit{Ibid.}, Art. 117). The primary thrust of Castellio’s polemic against Calvin is the necessity of adherence to the spirit of the law rather than to its letter, and that love is the supreme test of the Christian life rather than an adherence to doctrinal belief:

\textbf{Vaticanus:} Let us choose whether to retain the former covenant to the letter without changing anything and becoming like the Jews, or let us permit these figures to vanish in order to keep only the spiritual sense, if we are Christians. If this savage zeal were sincere, at least it would be necessary to apply it to all the violators of the law and not to heretics alone. If Calvin were truly zealous, he would have begun at home (he will understand what I mean). Why does he begin with heretics, the only guilty ones the law does not name? Why not rather with adulterers, which are numerous at Geneva and whose punishment is prescribed in the law? How does he more easily obtain the severity of the magistrate against heretics for
uncertain errors than against adulterers for certain errors? I do not say this to ask that adulterers be punished with the Mosaic penalty; I prefer to see the other penalties softened than aggravated by a return to the legislation of Moses. I know what men are today. If it were necessary to apply the death penalty to all those who incurred it according to the laws of Moses, just Heaven, who would escape? But when Calvin recalls us with so much severity to this law, it is an outrage that he should close his eyes to the most evident crimes and that he abuse the compliance of the magistrate to bring about the death of those whom this law nowhere commands to kill.15

Castellio can contain himself no longer and he bursts out in indignant sarcasm:

Vaticanus: But in the name of God, what does he mean by this massacre of a whole city? When he will have gathered together the necessary forces, Calvin will invade France and the other nations which he deems idolatrous; he will upset cities, will cause all the men to pass under the sword, will spare neither women nor children, will kill all the flocks, will gather up, as he says, all the furniture in the public square and will burn it all with Servetus. Is that what he wants to do? Is it there that this Jew will lead us who reads Moses with a veil over his face, who does not understand that the law of Moses looks forward to the law of Christ, who forgets that the son will not bear the iniquity of the father! Shall we never leave the shadows of the law to reach the light of the Gospel? 16

In fairness to Calvin, it should be said that this portion of Castellio's attack is unjust. Calvin did not

16 Ibid., Art. 122, cited by Buisson, II, p. 52.
plan to wage any war of extermination beyond the borders of Geneva. Castellio pursues the logical outcome of Calvin's position regarding the purity of the Church within his own territory and extends this program to Christendom at large, a program which Calvin did not envisage. Castellio's argument is that there should not be any war at all in defense of doctrine: "Killing a man is not defending a doctrine; it is killing a man. When the citizens of Geneva killed Servetus, they did not defend a doctrine; they killed a man." ¹⁷

This energetic manifesto of free faith went unheeded. The authorities of Basel curtailed the "freedom of the press" less rigorous though they were than those in Geneva, with whom they evidently did not relish theological quarrels and possible ruptures. However Castellio might be admired as the Professor of Greek at the University, he would not be allowed to anger the ministers of Geneva. No gags were put upon the latter, however, and Theodore de Beza, who was destined to play a leading role in the constitution of the Reformed Church of France and was currently the Professor of Greek at the Academy of Lausanne, sprang into action with holy indignation over Castellio's Traité des hérétiques with a De Haereticis of his own entitled De haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis libellus, adversus

¹⁷ Ibid., Art. 77, cited by Giran, p. 263.
Martini Belli farracinem et novorum Academicorum sectam, Theodora Beza Vezelio autore (Sept., 1554) which was followed by a French version, De l’autorité du magistrat en la punition des hérétiques et du moyen d’y procéder (1560). These documents favoring persecution were popularly known as the Anti-Bellius. They are a justification of the death of Servetus and an attack upon the principle of liberty of conscience, in the form of a detailed answer to the Traité des hérétiques of Martin Bellie. Not only does Beza give an affirmative answer to three questions which he examines, namely: (1) If heretics should be punished; (2) If punishment is the responsibility of the magistrate; and (3) If punishment may include the death penalty; but in addition, he exhorts the Prince of Wirtemberg to punish severely the disturbers and cruel ruffians within the Church of God "afin de bien servir Dieu qui vous a mis le glaive en mains pour maintenir l’honneur et la gloire de sa Majesté," and also to reestablish torture, although "il ne me semble point qu’on pût trouver tourment correspondant à l’énormité d’un tel forfait." A Dutch Castellionist in the seventeenth century referred to the Anti-Bellius as a "bloody book in

18 Theodore de Beza, Anti-Bellius, cited by Giran, p. 213.
19 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 215.
favor of constraining heretics"\(^{20}\) with good reason. Beza refers to the doctrine of Bellianism which is "cette charité diabolique et non pas chrétienne,"\(^{21}\) which would result in disintegration of the Church. Stern procedures are to be inaugurated against "toy, Bellie, et toy, Montfort, ensemble toute votre ligue."\(^{22}\)

Castellio wrote a reply in March, 1555, to the Anti-Bellius, both in French and in Latin, which bore the title *De haereticis a civili magistratu non puniendis, pro Martini Belli farragine, adversus libellum Theodori Bezae libellus*. Authore Basile Montfortio. (Traité démontrant que les hérétiques ne doivent pas être punis par le magistrat civil, écrit par Basile Montfort en faveur du "Mélange de pièces" de Martin Bellie et contre le traité de Théodore de Bèze). The manuscript, still unedited, was discovered in 1939 by a Russian refugee named Bruno Becker in the Library of the Remonstrants in Rotterdam. The Latin manuscript consists of 363 pages in its entirety but at least one-fourth of the manuscript has


been crossed out. These rejected passages are an indication of what Castellio considered would prove too irritating to his adversaries or what the censors would not accept. Until the discovery of this manuscript, it was believed by Castellio's biographers that the Contra Libellum Calvinii was his last word in the polemic which followed the martyrdom of Servetus. In the preface of this manuscript, which is known as the De l'Impunité des hérétiques, Castellio confesses that he had wished to be silent regarding the Anti-Bellius of Beza since his Traité des hérétiques was "assez garny de vérité."24

"But after having discussed these matters with friends, we thought that if we left the field free to the eloquent refinements and fine speech of our adversaries without making known our answers, many people would be deceived. Seeing this great danger, I decided to answer Beza. As there are three classes of people in this matter, I endeavored to keep them all in mind. First of all, those who are gentle and kind, in order that they may have arguments to defend themselves; secondly, the harsh and inhuman, that they may be refuted; lastly and particularly, those who are uncertain, that they may be informed." (Ibid., p. 107.)

"It is Beza himself, who will furnish me in his book with both the method and the arguments to refute it. I am going to follow his plan and I will try to refute his slanders and accusations in the order of presentation... without display of learned artifices...


24 S. Castellio, De l'Impunité des hérétiques, cited by Becker, ibid., p. 107.
or subtleties, simply by exposing the truth alone in order to save the lives of many, to reveal the true nature of those who are thirsty for blood and to demonstrate the confidence that should be accorded them in uncertain matters." (Ibid., pp. 107 - 108.)

Many of the arguments against the persecution of heretics and in favor of tolerance already presented in the Preface of the Latin translation of the Bible (1551), in the Traité des hérétiques (1554), in the writings attributed to Martin Bellie and Basile Montfort, which were the work of Castellio, and especially in the Contra Libellum Calvini are found again in the De l'Impunité des hérétiques; however, the latter sets limits to the tolerance of Castellio:

"If someone denies the existence of God, his power and his goodness as well as the obligation to worship him; if someone blasphemes God openly, far be it from us to prevent the magistrates from punishing such a man. For he sins against the natural law (Romans 2: 14 - 15) which, by means of visible things, teaches all people the eternal power and divinity of God. Such people ought therefore to be punished not because of religion (for they have none) but because of their irreligion." (Ibid., pp. 108 - 109.)

Castellio had already admitted the punishment of those who deny the creation of the world, the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection. In the Contra Libellum Calvini he had written: "If they deny God, if they blaspheme, if they publicly speak evil of the holy doctrine and the life of Christian men, I leave them to the magistrates for punishment, not on account of religion, which they do not
have, but for a lack of it."  

Castellio's attitude toward apostates stands out clearly: "If a Christian renounces the Christian confession, rejects the Bible entirely and teaches his error to others, I would not protest if the magistrate punished such a man."  

The outstanding merit of the De l'Impunîtè des hérétiques, in the opinion of Professor Becker, is its commentary upon the first Traité des hérétiques. Beza misinterpreted in several places the ideas of Martin Bellie, George Kleinberg and Basile Montfort; these misinterpretations Castellio corrects and explains with precision. He did not doubt the ultimate victory of the truth:

"Do you wish to extinguish the truth by eloquence? Do you not know that God surpasses the wise in wisdom? Do you not know that those who have resorted to such tricks before you have almost all been revealed by the light of God? Go, climb the sharp mountain peak, prevent the sun from rising; yet it will rise. In brief, your artifices will be uncovered by a light of truth much greater than that which has revealed the artifices of your adversaries. No slander, no eloquence, no prudence, no force nor power, in short, will prevent the finger from being pointed at you as you have pointed it at others." (Ibid., p. ill.)

Castellio describes in moving accents the atrocity of the execution of Servetus:

"But we shall speak only of his death and


26 De l'Impunîtè des hérétiques, cited by Becker, ibid., p. 109.
punishment and not of his doctrine. When he had been
condemned to death by fire, humbly he sought
decapitation from the magistrate of Geneva, lest in
despair, because of the torture by fire, he say that
he had erred and failed through ignorance through a
desire to advance the glory of God. The request was
not granted him by the kind and pitying senate. Quite
the contrary!

Hearing this horrible sentence which
contained no pity for the one to be burned alive, then
led to the place of punishment and secured above the
wood, seeing with his eyes the executioner set fagots
under it and place hot sulphur on his head, and make
other preparations, was so moved with horror of the
fire that he excreted in his breeches. Servetus,
I say, being in such agony in which there was set
before him no hope of profit, pleasure or honor,
but the horrible torment of infamy, would he not
gladly have saved his life if he had recognized his
sins? Answer, Beza, pray, and answer as you would
answer if you were in the same situation. ”

Here also is to be found Castellio's free definition
of the true Church, a body that is a spiritual one and
non-formal:

"They are the true Church who truly hear the
shepherd's voice, that is, who obey him; who have
the true use of the sacraments, that is, who have
been washed with the washing of rebirth, and are new
creatures, baptized with fire and with spirit; who
have truly eaten the flesh of Christ and drunk his
blood, that is, having put off the old man of sin,
have put on the new, and abandon their members to
be armories of justice to God as they had abandoned
them to be armories of injustice to sin. This Church
is unknown to the Calvinists, as Calvin himself writes,
because, being prevented by their visible and physical
[church] and limited by the visible signs of the latter,
cannot see or consider the former [i.e., invisible
Church]." (Ibid., pp. 85 - 86.)

In a passage of defense for the Anabaptists, whom to

27 Ibid., cited by Marius Volkhoff, "Sébastien
Castellion et l'idée de la tolerance au 16e siècle,"
Castellioniana, pp. 84 - 85.
defend in the sixteenth century required no small amount of courage, Castellio's simple good sense is revealed:

"Regarding what you say about the Anabaptists, that they condemn lawful marriages and magistrates and defend homicide, I ask what is the source of your knowledge? Certainly it is not from their books, and still less from their words. You must have heard it from their enemies. But if you wish credence to be given to enemies, take care that you not be judged likewise. They said that Zwingli preached the Gospel to trees, stones and animals because it is written: 'Preach the Gospel to every creature.' That the Lutherans called the Virgin Mary a harlot. That Farel had as many devils in the beard as hairs to which he gave food every time he took a meal, and several other false things which are unworthy to relate. Come now, Beza, do you want people to believe these things? Why then do you believe the enemies of the Anabaptists? Do you think their enemies are less liars than yours? Further, since there is not a sect of Anabaptists, you ought not to speak of them in a general sense; as you would not want people to say of you what they say of the Lutherans, since you differ with them in some matters. And yet in other countries they call you all by the name of Lutherans. As for me, I surely do not believe what you say of the Anabaptists. Those of Munster have not condemned the magistrate but have shown a change of opinion, even retaining one named Cniperdoling who formerly was of the magistracy. Concerning marriages, even their enemies wrote that each one had several wives, a statement which does not agree with the saying that their wives were held in common, and if you hear that today they have only one. It has been told to me by two people who were not Anabaptists that there is in Bohemia a sect of Anabaptists who hold marriage in such reverence that if an adultery is discovered, they excommunicate and drive out the guilty party from their midst without ever receiving him again. But if you say, however, that there are some who by their foolish revelations defended adulterers and homicides, I shall answer that the others ought not to be reproached for it. On the contrary, the good that those do, who regard marriage as a holy institution, should be imputed to those whom you accuse. Further, if all had held sometime a wrong opinion and now feel otherwise, you should not now thus speak of them. Just as if Theodore de Beza had sometime highly praised and taught wantonness and adultery in verse that was beautiful, sweet and elegant,
such a mistake should not be a reproach or detriment to him. Formerly there were among the prophets of God false prophets who were sometimes called prophets of God. Ought the true prophets to be condemned? There were in apostolic times Christians who taught that there was no resurrection, others who said it had already taken place. Should the true Christians be included in the condemnation?

"... Believe me, Beza, however little you may consider the Anabaptists as men, yet God will govern their cause.... Perhaps you will say that I am an Anabaptist, for your defenses are always like that, but by such means you will prove nothing. I am not an Anabaptist, and it seems to me that I recognize wherein they are in error, but however that may be, my opinion is that we ought not to oppress the Anabaptists by slander (nor even a thief)." (Ibid., pp. 92 - 95.)

Although the above passage is diffuse and negligent, the thought is clear, the tone is personal, often ironical and sometimes witty. Castellio was to return to the notion of religious liberty later in the closing years in Conseil à la France désolée and in De Arte Dubitandi, but De l'Impunité des hérétiques closed the polemic which waged around the unhappy memory of Michael Servetus.
"Future generations will wonder why, after so splendid a dawn, we are forced back into Cimmerian darkness."

Sebastian Castellio
De Arte Dubitandi
VI

CLOSING YEARS

In order to avoid further debate and the possibility of difficulties with Geneva, the authorities at Basel forbade the publication of any more tracts upon the subject of tolerance. The field of battle now shifted to theology. Castellio's *Annotations* on Chapter Nine of Romans, which had already been printed in the Latin translation of the Bible, had attacked the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, and the Basel censors proceeded to seize all the copies and to remove this dangerous section. However the pages were quickly copied by hand, multiplied swiftly, and were circulated widely. The doctrine of predestination, which was obnoxious to Castellio, was the very heart and soul of Geneva theology and had been set forth in the *Institutes*.

"We call predestination the eternal counsel of God whereby he has determined what he wants to do with each man, for he does not create all for a similar purpose, but ordains some to eternal life and others to eternal damnation. Thus according to the end to which man is created, we say that he is predestined to death or to life."

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1 Jean Calvin, *l'Institution chrétienne* livre III, ch. xxi, verset 5, cited by Giran, Sébastien Castellion et la Réforme calviniste, p. 295.
To this austere doctrine Castellio opposed the following comments:

"God has created no man for the purpose of condemning him, but he has willed that those who refuse to be good be lost. He wills, in effect, that all men be good and that all be able to be saved... as he says, 'I do not will the death of any sinner, but I will that he be converted and live.'"\(^2\)

"God wills that all be saved through Jesus Christ. All those who want to be saved through Christ are able to be, provided they want to do what is necessary to obtain salvation.

"Those who perish do so contrary to their destiny and the will of God, of their own fault and of their free will.

"Those who are destined to death can be saved... if they mend their ways in time.

"Those who are saved, are saved by the election and free mercy of God.

"Those who are condemned, are condemned, not because God willed their condemnation without cause known to us; but God willed their condemnation because they repudiated knowingly and willingly the love of the truth, and this reason for their condemnation is known to us and is openly made plain to us through the Scripture."\(^3\)

"The good that one does is with the help of God; the evil one commits is contrary to the will of God. The essential thing is that the one who professes the name of Christ give up iniquity."\(^4\)

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4 Ibid., p. 29, cited by Giran, p. 301.
Castellio ends the commentary on Romans 9 with an appeal to hope: "Let no one despair, let no one believe himself lost without hope. 'Come to me,' said the Master himself, 'all you who are weary and heavy-laden, and I will give rest to your souls." 5

In response to the widespread circulation of these pages against predestination, Calvin complained that "the rumor has spread about that I am condemned as a heretic because they claim that I have made God the author of sin." 6 Calvin demanded of the magistrates at Berne that the slander mongers of their city be banished. The magistrates replied that they would forbid their subjects to take part in discussions concerning predestination and that they would destroy any publications counter to the reformed movement in Berne. A friend of Calvin declared that at Berne "We no longer meet one out of a hundred who speaks well of Calvin." 7

Forbidden by the authorities of Basel to engage in controversial matters of religious tolerance and predestination, Castellio tried to forget Calvin, returned to his beloved classics, and became once again the humanist, occupying himself with the preparation of new editions of Homer,

5 Ibid., p. 29, cited by Giran, p. 301.
7 Letter of Haller, cited by Giran, p. 309.
Xenophon, Herodotus, Diodorus and Thucydides. The Professor of Greek was immensely popular with his students at the University, and little groups formed about him, convinced of the principles of tolerance. In addition to the Greek classics Castellio occupied himself with the translation from German into Latin of a mystical work of an unknown author of the fifteenth century, *Theologica germanica*, under the *nom-de-plume* of John Theophilus. Its subject dealt with "the new man" from whom all sin has been removed, and developed the thought of St. Paul: "I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me." (Philippians 4:13.) Calvin discovered in the work "... hidden venom and nonsense forged by the craft of Satan to confuse the simplicity of the Gospel."8 Luther, however, who became more mystical in later years, declared: "What a priceless book! I thank God that I can read in the German language such beautiful words." (Ibid., p. 322.) The *Theologica germanica* was a negation of dogma and a declaration that God lives in the conscience of man. The circulation of this expression of mystical religion was very wide, and it became later a powerful influence in England. In the same field Castellio translated the *Imitatio Christi* of the mystical Thomas à Kempis, a work which passed the censorship of Basel.

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8 Cited by Giran, p. 322.
Prevented from writing on controversial matters, one might suppose that Castellio would be left in peace to translate the works of others, but Geneva was not so disposed. Simon Sulzer, a pastor in Basel on friendly terms with Castellio, Beza and Calvin, begged Beza not to stir up the Greek Professor who was engaging in harmless humanist endeavor. The quarrel, however, which had begun in Geneva between the young headmaster and the acknowledged head of Geneva Protestants in 1544 would continue until the death of Castellio. The circle of suspicion was tightening about him and a new series of attacks beginning in 1557 was about to break. The man himself was to be the target. Theodore de Beza had just published a translation of the New Testament with Annotations (1557) in which "quidam impudentissimus circulator" is accused of bold sacrilege. Castellio, who recognized the reference to himself, wearily laid aside his translation work and took up his pen to compose a Defensio suarum translationum Bibliorum et maxime Novi Foederis, the publication of which was promptly banned by censorship, perhaps for reasons of prudence lest a new theological debate disturb the peace.


between Geneva and Basel. The Defensio was finally permitted publication in 1562 but only with certain expurgations dealing with predestination and free will, passages which were copied down and circulated, however, among Castellio's friends. Two complete copies exist today, one in the Library of the British Museum and the other at Cornell University.\(^\text{11}\) The method employed is typically Castellionian. Beza's accusation is presented, and Castellio's defense follows as, for example, in the section concerning Matthew 4:23:

"What I [Castellio] have translated, 'Healing everywhere all sicknesses and weaknesses,' he [Beza] has translated, 'Healing whoever was sick and whoever' (Latin, quosvis) was weak.' Then he [Beza] makes this observation: 'For the particle, \(\forall\) is plainly not universal here, but indefinite, which, if a certain very impudent translator had noticed, he would not so ignorantly have interpreted, "God wants all men to be saved," and similar passages which he misapplied to overthrow the doctrine of predestination.'

"Defense: 'From the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.' Is it not strange if he [Beza] thinks that God is unwilling that all men be saved, since men like to judge God by their own nature? But I thank you, O God, that you are a God who does not want the death of sinners, nor that I nor anyone else perish, but come to a knowledge of the truth." (Def. Trans. p. 34.)

\(^{11}\) M. Sape Van Der Woude, pastor of the Lutheran Evangelical Church of Amsterdam, supplied the Latin text of "The Censored Passages from S. Castellio's Defensio suarum Translationum," Autour de Michel Servet et de Sébastien Castellion, ed. Becker (Haarlem, 1953), pp. 259 - 279.
The above shows the warm-hearted evangelical tendency of Castellio who thought that the doctrine of predestination was a misrepresentation of Christ's message of salvation freely offered in the Gospel to all. That Castellio was not a rugged individualist but a faithful member of the Church is shown by the defense dealing with Luke 2:34: "I will willingly submit my judgment to the Church concerning a matter so controversial whenever necessary." (Ibid., p. 49.) That he was a man of gentle nature who wanted to discuss theological differences in a friendly manner and who invited criticism from his opponents given in a brotherly manner, an attitude quite remarkable for the sixteenth century, is revealed in another censored passage.

"For he [Beza] should have warned me about my errors in a friendly manner as I requested in my Preface [i.e., in the Preface to his translation of the Bible]. Yet never by a word nor by a letter was I admonished, but by his books widely circulated was I reviled with curses and condemned in matters least worthy of condemnation. What Christian charity and brotherly admonition! He repudiated the duty of friendly admonition seven years ago in a pamphlet entitled Zoographia against a theologian Cocleus by name, calling him a snail [a pun on the Latin word cochlea, a snail] and depicting him as a very deformed beast. Convinced that the Church of Christ was not edified by scurrilous attacks, I decided to admonish Beza.... In a friendly way I told a mutual friend about the matter, as I was once admonished by friends and as I wish to be admonished. God knows if I am lying. But Beza was so far from accepting the correction that he published a similar pamphlet called Passavantius, as is well-known. Afterward he continued to sow curses against me by word of mouth and in writing in a manner unbelievable. A friend has written me that the cause of Beza's hatred toward me is my admonition in regard to Cocleus. I was so expert in the matter, as Solomon says, 'Admonish a fool and he will hate you.'
Now he rages against me more bitterly than he did against Cceleus. Nor can it be true, as he says, that he is motivated by a zeal for truth. Truth, that is, Christ, teaches love which is not abusive, which does not return evil for evil, much less evil for good. I do not report these matters because I grieve to be evil spoken of by slanderers, for I remember the Master's words, "Blessed are you when lying men speak all manner of evil against you for my name's sake; rejoice and be glad." But I report them because it is a cause for grief that those who profess that they are the defenders of the truth, learned men, and correctors of others, are so far from the fruit of the truth." (Ibid., p. 154, I Peter 2:8.)

Castellio's comment upon Beza's translation of Acts 17:22 was heeded by the latter in a subsequent edition; what Beza translated as "very religious" in a complimentary sense, Castellio rendered "a little too superstitious" in a modest way, lest Paul offend the Athenians (Ibid., p. 189). Other matters brought up for discussion in the censored passages concern the hardening of Pharaoh's heart (Ibid., p. 199, Romans 9:15); the woman who washed the feet of Christ with her tears (Ibid., p. 182, Luke 7:47); Jacob and Esau (Ibid., p. 154, I Peter 2:8); the permissive will of God (Ibid., p. 199, Romans 11:31); the anxiety of Paul regarding reprobation (Ibid., p. 200, I Corinthians 9:27); the New Covenant (Ibid., pp. 204, Galatians 4:24); and the conditional character of free will (Ibid., pp. 200, 206, I Corinthians 9:27, I Timothy 2:4).

Beza had translated I Timothy 2:4 as "God who wished men to be saved, whoever they may be." After a lengthy discussion of this misinterpretation of the Apostle's
meaning, Castellio takes up a possible objection on the part of some that God does not seem to be omnipotent if He wishes all men to be saved, for all men are not saved.

"To this objection I answer that God does not want to save except with a condition, namely, if they admit Christ; otherwise He does not wish them to be saved. For outside Christ is no salvation, and it is fitting that men be saved by the way of salvation. God does not want to constrain them to admit Christ, for this would not be to admit Christ but to be constrained.

"Likewise it disturbs some that many are dead and are dying daily to whom the doctrine of Christ has not been presented. To this I reply that Christ is sent as the sun, which comes from the east to the west, not at a given moment but over a space of time. If before the sun has reached Great Britain from farthest India, someone dies in Britain, it is not necessary to ask whether it wishes to lighten all to whom it comes, for it is the nature of the sun to so wish. It is not able to wish otherwise, speaking after the manner of men, no more than not to be what it is. For it is as characteristic of the sun to shed light as it is to be the sun. But whether anyone is dead or shuts his eyes is immaterial to the sun, which retains its own nature however it is received. So is the nature of Christ, the sun of the world, who comes to everyone to lighten and to save. The fact that someone is dead or closes his eyes to this light detracts in no way from the nature of Christ, since it does not depend upon man but upon himself. Therefore he is the Saviour of all men as the sun lightens all men even if they admit neither its light nor his salvation. There is no way of explaining these matters with those who are stubborn. I have spoken my opinion; I hinder no one in his" (Ibid., p. 206.)

The whole of the censored passages reveals a liberal Scriptural interpretation, a broad and tolerant attitude, a sincere desire for a friendly exchange of thought and a modest attitude: "I have spoken my opinion; I hinder no one in his." (Ibid., p. 206.)
To this *Defense of His Translations*, Beza responded in an even more venomous tone: *Theodori Bezae responsio ad defensiones et reprehensiones Sebastiani Castellionis, quibus suam Novi Testamenti interpretationem defendere adversus Bezam, et eius versionem vicissim reprehendere conatus est* (1563). Castellio, prevented by death, was unable to reply to this new attack.

In the meantime certain anonymous writings had appeared attacking the theological position of Geneva and had been quite naturally but erroneously laid at the door of Castellio. Calvin took up his pen and wrote two short treatises entitled *Responses à certaines calomnies et blasphèmes en français mais courtes*, in which he named Castellio as the likely author of these anonymous documents, and *Brevis responsio ad diluendas nebulonis cujusdam calumnias quibus doctrinam de aeterna Dei praedestinatione foedere conatus est*. A complaint was lodged before the Basel authorities regarding the hotbed of heresy being nurtured at the University. The Professor of theology, Martin Borrhaus, who was a member of the censorship board which had repressed Castellio's recent works, "invited" Castellio to declare himself upon the subject of predestination. "I am willing," replied the Greek Professor, "but will you permit me to print my pronouncements?" He received a negative reply. Borrhaus then summarized the Reformed doctrine in a series of forty-nine propositions
and invited the pastors and professors of Basel to meet together for a discussion period. Castellio attended at the entreaty of a colleague in whose sincerity he trusted. The major portion of the assembly was devoted to other matters. Although the bell had sounded for dinner, Borrahaus insisted that Castellio address the assembly. He was beginning his remarks on the Scripture passage, "Jacob have I loved; Esau have I hated," when someone called out, "Blasphemy!" Castellio stopped short and refused to speak further. The meeting disbanded. A complaint was lodged against him with the Town Council, which stated that he had denied the inspiration of a Pauline passage and the doctrine of predestination. His colleagues at the University took up his defense, and after declaring that the saved owe their salvation to God but denying that the lost were hated by God before they ever committed sin, Castellio was released by the Council.

A new treatise by Calvin appeared entitled *Calumniae nebulonis cujusdam, quibus odio et invidia gravare conatus est doctrinam Johannis Calvini de occulta Dei providentia* (1558). Direct and personal accusations were interspersed with doctrinal considerations. Castellio was charged with having forgotten the hospitality he had accepted from Calvin in Strasbourg in 1540; with having discussed in an impious and jesting way sacred matters; with having led a wild life in his youth; and of having been guilty of theft.
These accusations were too much to be endured in silence. Castellio composed his defense entitled *Defensio ad authorem libri, qui titulus est, Calumniae nebulonis* (1558). It is in this document, which was dedicated to John Calvin, that we are permitted the closest glimpse of this truly fine defender of the rights of conscience. He expresses his sorrowful surprise to see a man with the stature of Calvin pursuing him so relentlessly and writes that he has hesitated to reply to these numerous accusations fearing that even a moderate response would serve only as a further irritation rather than a means of convincing, and that he had felt it his duty to endure patiently and in silence this slander. However, his patience has limits, and in order that men may know that Calvin is in error,

"... sans enthousiasme je te suis sur ce terrain," although it is "... plus doux de discuter en toute fraternité et dans l'esprit de Christ, et non à la façon des païens avec des injures qui ne peuvent que porter un grand préjudice à l'église."\(^{12}\)

Castellio declares that it is his duty to answer with moderation the impassioned attacks: "You declare that it is out of hatred that I oppose your ideas.... You cover me with insults and slanders, reproaching me for crimes which

fall under the jurisdiction of civil justice."\(^1\)

Castellio divides his defense into three sections: the first dealing with the anonymous writings erroneously attributed to him; the second dealing with the invectives cast at him by Calvin; and the third dealing with the crimes of which he is accused. Concerning the first, he declares that he hasn't even yet seen them, and that Calvin charges him with their authorship entirely without proof. If their circulation is a criminal act, it is Calvin who is to blame for making them known. Concerning the insults he writes:

"You use accusations very freely. It is from the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaks.... You call me a blasphemer, slanderer, evil spirit, snarling dog, an ignorant and beastly person, full of impudence, a hypocrite, a wicked corrupter of Scripture, a jester who makes fun of God, a despiser of all religion, an unclean dog, an impious and obscene being with a twisted and perverted mind, a vagrant, a bad character...."

"Eight times you call me a good-for-nothing, a real example of Christian gentleness. I believe I am capable of enduring these epithets, and I thank God who strengthens me for I remember the prediction: 'Blessed are you when they will say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice and be glad....' Can it be possible that the same person wrote The Life of the Christian and The Slander of a Good-for-Nothing? The first was written according to the spirit of God and the second according to you; in the first you pictured the true Christian, and in the second, you depicted yourself.... Perhaps you persuaded yourself that not without cause have you covered me with insults;

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\(^1\) Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 348.
but God will judge between us.

"But there is nothing so carefully hidden that it will not be revealed eventually. Christ was not always crucified between two thieves. One day the truth crucified will be raised to life. You, Calvin, will render an account to God for the insults which you have heaped upon one for whom Christ died. Truly are you not ashamed? Do not the words of Christ give you a guilty conscience, 'He who is angry against his brother without a cause will be liable to judgment; he who calls his brother a bad character will be thrown into outer darkness; he who calls him a fool will be thrown into hell fire'? Or could it be that you do not consider me your brother? Consider whose son you are: I believe I am a son of God through grace in Christ. Surely a very unworthy son but my worth is in Christ. If you deny what I affirm, it is before God that my conscience, which He knows utterly, will confound you. 'Who are you that judgest the servant of another? Let him stand or fall before his master.'" 14

Concerning the charge of theft, Calvin had written:

"Regarding the theft of the driftwood on the Rhine to heat your house, was it not your own will which impelled you to commit it?" Castellio replied:

"If I stole because I was predestined to as you teach, why do you insult me? Should you not rather have pity on me since God created me for this destiny and since it is not possible for me not to steal? Why don't you leave me in peace? Why do you fill the world with the sorry report of my thefts? Is it to have me punished by the magistrates that Calvin thus denounces me, for he is not ignorant of the severity of justice toward thieves?" 15

Castellio explains the circumstances of this episode:

"At the time when I was accused by you of stealing wood, I was in a state of poverty to which, as everyone

14 Ibid., cited by Giran, pp. 349 - 350.
15 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 353.
knows, the virulence of your denunciations had brought me.... I was devoting myself to the translations of the Bible which procured for me the hate and envy of the very ones whose affection they should have attracted. Thus the world habitually rewards benefits. I was completely absorbed by my studies; I would have preferred to beg rather than give them up.

"I was living on the banks of the Rhine and during my rest hours, I would harpoon the driftwood which the Rhine carried along when it overflowed. I would heat my house with this wood. Here is the fact of the matter which you present as a theft. This wood is common property and belongs to the first comer. I did not appropriate this driftwood secretly (for what can one do secretly in full daylight in the middle of the city on the banks of the Rhine?) nor did I act alone. Most of the city fisherman and often a large number of neighbors joined me. Moreover, one day a water course which emptied into the Rhine above Basel, having broken its dikes, brought down with force a supply of wood which was usually directed into the city by means of a canal. More than two hundred men were employed to harpoon the wood from the banks. I went there with four of my friends and having settled down in a boat which I had bought for this purpose and which I had moored at the shore, we harpooned with our hooks the driftwood. I succeeded in drawing from the water in one day seven armfuls of wood, and when it was evening, I received by order of the Senate (as did all the other robbers) a quarter of a gold crown. For you must know (I can swear it before God and before men) that there is nothing which is more foreign to me than theft. My father had the good quality, in spite of a great ignorance in religion, of abhorring lie and theft above all and of having inspired in us a horror of them. This proverb was very familiar in our home: 'Ou pendre, ou rendre, ou les peines d'enfer attendre.' This caused me to have a horror of these two vices from my earliest years, and I call all those who have known me here and elsewhere to witness to this fact.

"Regarding this story about the wood that you tell, I had already heard that it was told among your followers, but I thought it was unfounded gossip like those that are repeated in your circle against those that are known to displease you. But that you of all people who know me could believe it, was unthinkable to me. That you in a book destined for the public would go so far as to spread it to every corner of the world
and for posterity, although I know you, I thank God that I would never have believed it. But I see now how true is the old saying, 'I do not know anything so stupid as that spoken by a scholar.'

Castellio expresses surprise that such a rascal would have been placed at the head of the Geneva school with the education of the young entrusted to his care and reminds Calvin of the character certificate he had furnished upon the occasion of Castellio's departure from Geneva. He cites likewise the episode quoted in the beginning of this study of the substitution of the poetic name of Castalio as if he had been a son of the nymph Castalie, a goddess of the Muses, and expresses his infinite regret for his foolish pride. Can one more simply or humbly confess his faults?

"It is the same with your charge concerning the youthful pranks and empty follies. Here again I recognize that I have sinned against the Apostle's injunction which forbids even innocent jokes, and I pray God to forgive me and that the pardon which I feel within me may be completed by his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I confess these two sins and I will take care that your reproaches may be morally profitable to me."

Regarding his hospitality at Strasbourg in 1540 which had been of seven or eight days' duration, and that as a paid boarder, he recalls how he had willingly cared for the sick servant and later, during the absence of Calvin, he had

16 Ibid., cited by Giran, pp. 355 - 356.
17 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 360.
braved the perils of an epidemic to open his rooms to and to care for Calvin's young friends in need. Regarding the accusation of imposture, he declares that

"... you are doing wrong not only to God whose servant you are condemning, and to the one you are falsely accusing, but at the same time to the University and Republic of Basel since they have not yet discovered in me the being whom you are denouncing, or else they are guilty of criminal indifference if, knowing me, they continue to put up with me."18

Calvin had accused Castellio of refusing to profit from the occasion offered him by the professors and ministers of Basel to rail against religion in a public meeting. To this charge Castellio replied that he felt no shame for his actions on this occasion, and that the many witnesses present could testify for him, whereas Calvin knew of the incidents only by hearsay. Regarding the accusation of impiety, Castellio declared that the austerity of his life was known to a host of associates and that his writings were a testimonial to his conduct. Calvin had invoked the Deity to witness his accusations. Castellio answers,

"... you invoke Him to accuse me; I invoke Him because I feel myself falsely accused. If I lie and you speak the truth, then I pray God that He will punish me according to the measure of my crime, and I request that my life and my honor be taken away from me. But if I speak the truth and you are a false accuser, I ask God to protect me against the snares of my adversaries and that before your death, He will cause you to regret your conduct in order

18 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 367.
that this sin will not cause prejudice to th
salvation of your soul."19

In August, 1558, appeared a pamphlet entitled Réponse
aux calomnies de certains sycophantes which contained
further accusations from Théodore de Beza, who employed
a rich vocabulary. He inquired of the learned and
enlightened University and city of Basel how long they
intended to put up with "cette honte, cette fange, cette
peste dans votre sein?"20 To his Defense which remained in
manuscript form unprinted, Castellio added an appendix in
which he pointed out the carelessness of the accusations
and the superficial credulity of Beza with which he tried
to make Castellio appear ridiculous under the pretext that
he was a harmful influence on the students with his naive
doctrine of perfection. To these remarks Castellio replied
as if in prayer:

"O Christ, Son of the living God, who realized
here below the ideal of perfect endurance, give me
enough spirit of renunciation to endure these sarcasms,
these insults, and these slanderous remarks. Give
me the strength to love my adversaries, to turn to
good all the evil they build for me in order that I
also may call myself a son of the Father of goodness,
who makes the rain to fall on the good and the evil,
and his sun to rise on the just and the unjust. What
do the decisions of others matter if I possess your
love? What does the weight of their sarcasms matter
if I have the approval of your Spirit? Or their
persecutions if you open to me the kingdom of life?"21

19 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 370.
20 Cited by Buisson, II, p. 128.
21 Defensio, cited by Giran, p. 376.
The Defense takes on a new and unaccustomed character. It is no longer a scrupulous and detailed examination of the adversaries' accusations but an expose of the Calvinist regime: that in imitation of Rome they are encouraging the magistrates to track him down to death; that they are censoring his writing while multiplying their own without permitting the recourse of a written defense; that they are suspicious of those who are friendly to Castellio; and that their methods are founded upon the dream of an empire more temporal than spiritual, founded upon constraint rather than upon love. "I do not envy you your power nor your weapons," he declares; "I have other weapons: truth, innocence, help, the prayers and name of the One who gives me help and grace." Castellio exhorts Calvin to listen to the ass of Balaam, to the exhortations of a vaurien; he warns him that the law of Basel is severe to false accusers; he declares that he is not vindictive and that it is his honest desire to return good for evil; he reminds Calvin that Christ told his disciples that they would be measured with the same measure which they applied to others and that the man who hates his brother is a murderer. The treatise concludes with the cry of a loving heart which is anxious to forgive others for their wrongs toward him.

22 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 379.
"By the sufferings of Christ, I beg of you, I plead with you, do me the favor of respecting my liberty; stop overwhelming me with false accusations. Permit me to profess my faith without constraint as you are permitted yours, and as I allow you to do so myself. As for those whose doctrine differs from yours, do not be quick to believe that they are in error, and do not accuse them of blasphemy. A great many people of uncontested piety differ considerably from you. As to the essence of religion, I differ scarcely at all from you. In spite of the fact that with numerous believers I interpret the Scriptures differently from you, it is with all my strength that I profess with you the religion of Christ.

"Surely one of us is wrong; let us love each other anyway. The Master will reveal the truth to those who are wrong. We know, or at least we should know, the responsibilities of Christian love. Let us practise them, and by our zeal close the mouths of our adversaries. You think your opinion is right? Others think theirs is right. May the more learned behave in the more brotherly fashion, and may they not be boastful of their learning. For God knows that it is the proud which he abases and the humble that he raises up.

"I am motivated by a great loving desire to say these things to you. I offer you love and Christian peace. I call on you to evidence love, and I am trying with all my soul to do so before God and the living Spirit as witnesses.

"If, in spite of all, you persist in attacking me in hate, I can only be silent. May God be our judge and may He pronounce between us according to our faithfulness.

"Written in September, 1558, at Basel."23

This treatise was circulated in manuscript form. A mutual friend of Calvin and Castellio delivered a copy to Calvin who flew into a rage and dismissed the messenger.

23 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 386.
Apparently the Reformers of Geneva and the Professor of Greek at Basel no longer spoke the same language. In his *Philosophical and Historical Dictionary*, Pierre Bayle, writing of Castellio, recorded: "Il faut demeurer d'accord que Castellion, hérétique tant qu'il vous plaira, donnait de plus beaux exemples de modération dans ses écrits que les orthodoxes qui l'attaquaient." 24

The spirited *Defense* was not to be printed until 1593, thirty years later. While Castellio was involved in theological difficulties within home territory, prompted largely by the Reformers from Geneva who seemed determined to pursue their quarry, he was writing feverishly, engaged in a new project of writing known as the *Dialogi IIII: De Praedestinatio ne, De Electione, De Libero Arbitrio, De Fide*. The preface sets forth the purpose of these theological treatises.

"There are those who believe that God from all eternity has created unto salvation a certain number who cannot be lost, and that the others consigned to perdition can never be saved. This belief causes the first group to live in pride and perfect tranquillity of soul since they are assured of their salvation while the second group, conscious of their sins, believe themselves consigned to eternal death and live in despair." 25

24 Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et philosophique, quatrième édition* (Amsterdam, 1730), article Castellion, II, p. 85.

Since the matter of free will and faith are directly related to the question of predestination, Castellio proposes to examine these matters with the purpose of bringing to his readers an assurance of the love of God and a religion of hope to all. Although he does not claim to speak with authority, it is his opinion that God is the Father of all and not of a chosen few as taught by Calvin. He introduces Fredrick and Louis who converse together about predestination in a cordial manner:

Fredrick - What topic shall we discuss?
Louis - Predestination.

Fredrick - It is an arduous and very complex problem, and it would be better not to talk about it if the boldness of certain people had not made its examination necessary to our time. But if we discuss it in the fear of God, I trust that he will uphold us in our search. Now, explain in a few words what you think of predestination.

Louis - Well, men have not been created to the same destiny. In his eternal and steadfast wisdom, God has destined one group to salvation and the other to perdition. Those whom he has ordained to salvation are saved, not by their moral efforts or their victory over themselves, but by the free mercy of God. It is through his mysterious, but just and incontestable will, that those whom he ordains to perdition behold all access to life closed to them.

Fredrick - Therefore you believe that there are certain men whom God has personally ordained to damnation and who cannot be saved?

Louis - That is correct.

Fredrick - What would happen if they obeyed God? Would
they not be saved?

Louis - Certainly they would be saved, but they are not able to obey God for he has removed from them faith in his name and life in his Spirit. Therefore they can only will to perform evil, being necessarily inclined toward sin.

Fredrick - But then it is God who, by his will, has given them this instinct for evil.

Louis - Certainly, as God created the wolf to devour lambs.

Fredrick - They are therefore condemned and rejected before birth.

Louis - That is right.

Fredrick - They are not condemned because of their sins.

Louis - It is because of their sins that they deserve this condemnation.

Fredrick - When did they deserve it?

Louis - The day when God ordained it.

Fredrick - They deserved it therefore before birth? Think what you are saying. If they deserved punishment, it is therefore because they merely existed. In order to deserve something, it is necessary to exist.

Louis - All things are present in God.

Fredrick - Thus the sins of the wicked were present in his thought when he created the wicked. If sins are the cause of the condemnation, it is because they preceded it, unless you want to place the effect before the cause which is against nature.

Louis - But there are two causes of condemnation: the one resides in God who is sovereignly just although incomprehensible. The other resides in the sin of man.

Fredrick - For which of these two causes does God
condemn man?

Louis - For both of them.

Fredrick - That is impossible, for it is by an eternal decree that he condemns man, and sin is not eternal.

Louis - But sin is from all eternity in God since all things are present in him.

Fredrick - Therefore no cause is able to be anterior to sin. One cannot, if one takes account of the idea of time, imagine something which is anterior to eternity; therefore if, from all eternity, sin existed in God, I do not see why he must look for reasons for condemnation other than sin, unless sin does not appear to him a sufficient cause, which certainly you do not believe. 26

Castellio develops the theology that God wills the salvation of all men, and that if sin and death came upon all through the mistake of Adam, salvation and life ought to be extended to all through the merit and life of the second Adam, that is, Christ. Calvin's teaching of the universality of sin but of salvation to only the elect was to Castellio a scholastic childishness. If God only pretended to call unto himself all men, but reserved the privilege of salvation to a certain few, he would be guilty of duplicity. "What difference would there be between such a God and the devil?" 27 It is inconceivable to Castellio in his childlike simplicity that God has created


27 Ibid., cited by Buisson, II, p. 177.
men destined to eternal misery.

Louis and Fredrick continue their friendly discussion on the topic of elections:

Louis - The Calvinists illustrate this doctrine by a parable. A doctor comes to a hospital. He cares for and cures free of charge a few sick men who display their gratitude to him because they had no right to his services. The other sick men to whom the doctor does not minister cannot complain for he owes them nothing.

Fredrick - Surely, but is this doctor powerful enough to cure all the sick? Is he also merciful?

Louis - Yes, it is only his mercy which motivates him to cure the sick.

Fredrick - If you were the doctor, would you cure them all?

Louis - Obviously.

Fredrick - Then you would be more merciful than the doctor. Now, in your parable, the doctor is God, the one in the name of whom Christ said: "Come unto me all you who are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest!" Your parable is inaccurate. I will tell it such as it should be. A doctor comes into a hospital and he says to all the sick, "I have a potent remedy to set before you. All those who will take it will be cured." There are those who eagerly take the remedy and they are cured. Others finding it too bitter refuse to take it and they cannot be cured. Christ came into the world to cure all the sick of which humanity is composed, but his remedy is bitter for it consists in giving up oneself entirely. Those who consent to do so are saved, and those who do not want it are lost through their own fault. Christ has the power to cure all who want to be cured, but he cannot do the impossible. 28

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Castellio's attitude toward election is based on the ability of the doctor to cure plus the voluntary cooperation of the invalid. The doctor's ability is never lacking; the voluntary cooperation of the invalid, on the other hand, may be often lacking.

Fredrick and Louis continue their discussion on the matter of free will:

Fredrick = Here is what we affirm and witness: that it is freely by the grace of God without any merit on our part that we are saved. It is not in our power to acquire salvation of ourselves, but it is in our power to lose it and to lose it easily. The first man was placed in the Garden of Eden without being the least deserving of it, but it was as a result of his disobedience that he was driven out. We say with the Apostle Paul, "If you live according to the flesh you are destined to death, but if you kill the works of the flesh through the Spirit, you are destined to life. He who sows to the flesh will reap corruption." Thereupon our adversaries protest loudly; they declare that we are looking for salvation by our own merits! Let them become angry then at the holy Scriptures which overflow with similar declarations. "It is not those who say, 'Lord, Lord,' who will enter into the kingdom of heaven, but those who do the will of my Father!" What do these words mean? Is the merit of salvation attributed there to man? Not at all. It is said that salvation depends neither upon him who wills nor upon him who runs; it is God who shows mercy, but still it is necessary to will and to run.29

The religion of Castellio is one of liberty, one of

human energy and triumphant will, a Christian stoicism devoid of fatalism, a religion of hope, love and joy, and one capable of shedding optimism in dark places. A necessary distinction is made between faith and belief, or adherence to dogma, which may develop into pride. Faith transforms and renews; by an act of trust, abandon and a giving up of self, the son of Adam becomes the man renewed, the man in Christ who lives daily under direct inspiration from Christ in an hourly consecration to the will of God.

Fredrick - He who became for us the way, the truth and the life, did not hesitate to submit his will voluntarily to that of his Father. "Not my will but thy will." That is why, my friend, if you feel mounting within you an unjust anger, it is necessary to renounce it, for Christ demands it. If you feel tormented with impure desires, you must renounce them for Christ wills it. If you intend to take vengeance on an adversary, you must forgive him. If someone suggests that you do evil to another, you must do a kind act instead. He who wants to laugh must weep; he who seeks glory must accept shame; he who seeks wealth must yield to poverty. If someone asks you what you want, you must ask before replying, "What does Christ want?" And it is by faith, my dear Louis, that you can do all that. Without faith you can do nothing. Faith alone permits you to will. I have not yet conquered in this fearful struggle. I am even yet very far from victory and from the crown of life, and I do not feel I have the right to speak of things which I do not know. But if you want to be my comrade in the fight, with the help of God, I will help and uphold you as much as lies in my power.

Louis - Yes, Fredrick, and although I feel my flesh
stir and tremble, my whole spirit and heart motivate me to follow you. I see that there is no other road which can lead to salvation. Man must lay aside his mortal nature; he must be clothed with the nature of Christ. He must strive, exert himself, toil and sweat to restore in him the creature he was originally. I am happy to have you for my traveling companion. God will lead us. May he cause our resolution to serve his glory and the salvation of our souls.

Fredrick - I bless God for having given you the will to make this resolution. May he realize in his fullness what his Spirit has begun in you. But I want to exhort you again before terminating our discussion to give the credit to God, if you believe in him and in his inexhaustible love. Almost always the cause of sin in men comes from the poverty of their faith in the mercy and love of God. All things are possible to those who believe. Strengthen yourself in the thought that you can do what you will. Let us strengthen ourselves in the resolution of unshakable trust that God wills and can cause us to love him with all our heart, soul and will.

Castellio's expression of vibrant optimism in the power of progressive faith was not to be given to the world until 1578, fifteen years after he had ceased to struggle toward perfection. The Four Dialogues were published at Basel by Faustus Socinus who was a precursor like Servetus of the Unitarian movement.

Another theological tract printed in 1570 was written in answer to a friend who had objected to Castellio's theology and carried the title: De Obedientia: An possit

homo per spiritum sanctum perfecto obedienti legis Dei

(February 20, 1562). The question concerned the possibility of the attainment of moral perfection. Castellio differed from the orthodox position that man was desperately wicked, his thesis being that man, while not naturally good, was capable of becoming so. Although man has fallen in Adam, he has been raised again in Christ. Conversion thus becomes a progressive state toward man's original perfect condition rather than a supernatural act at a given moment in time. He uses the metaphor of St. Paul concerning the wild olive tree which is typical of man before he has any divine instruction; the amputation of the unfruitful branches marks the beginning of the conversion experience; an ingrafting takes place from a branch borrowed from another tree which is Christ, and the sap as it passes from the roots through the trunk to the branches becomes impregnated with the qualities of the engrafted branch. Gradually the roots and the trunk change their character, the tree becomes a new tree which bears fruit, the natural result of divine art through the Holy Spirit. The entire operation lasts over a period of time. Wild shoots must be pruned in the process from the state of irrenatus, then renascens and passing to renatus. The engrafting may fail if it is mistreated or if the wild shoots are allowed to grow. The man in the process of rebirth, since he is free, may revert to his former state if he does not heed the culture of his soul. With faith,
energy, vigilance, perseverance and the help of God, nothing is impossible to one who believes.  

Buisson declares that "the originality of Castellio lies in not wanting to omit nor to lessen the religious act but to transform it into the realm of knowledge and to make of it a moral act..."  

One of the most remarkable literary monuments of the sixteenth century was Castellio's *Conseil à la France désolée*, auquel est montrée la cause de la guerre présente et le remède qui y pourrait être mis et principalement est avisé si on doit forcer les consciences (1562), which contains a penetrating analysis of the evils that were destroying France. This analysis is simply stated: "I find that the principal cause of the sickness, that is, of the sedition and war which torment you, is the forcing of consciences and the desire to maintain one's religion."  

There are two false remedies which are being employed by both Catholics and Protestants during the wars of religion: an attempt at extermination of the opposing religious group and the forcing of consciences. Castellio addresses himself

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32 Buisson, II, p. 209.  
first to the Catholics, asking them if it is just to
persecute others who want to believe only what is written
in the Scriptures, and if they would want to be persecuted
for not believing some dogma contrary to their consciences. 34
Then Castellio turns to the Evangelicals and inquires if
God has commanded them to return evil for evil and instead
of enduring persecution, to persecute others. Instead of
appealing to bloodshed, to the forcing of consciences, and
to condemnation of others as infidels for not agreeing in
matters of doctrine, Castellio appeals to the Gospel of
love, to a respect for the consciences of those who
profess differing opinions, and to a freedom of faith, all
of which were a dim echo of early Christianity. 35 "If a
sick man was not able to eat a good piece of meat which
had been prepared for him, would you want to stuff it
forcibly down his throat?" 36 He presents further
considerations: a Christian who becomes one by constraint
will not be a good Christian. He who constrains another
is like a foolish man who fills a large barrel containing
a small amount of wine with a large amount of water in order
to have a larger quantity. Constraint only engenders

34 Conseil, pp. 8 - 12, cited by Buisson, II, p. 229.
36 Ibid., p. 33, cited by Giran, p. 401; cited by
Buisson, II, p. 231.
hypocrisy. There is another consideration: constraint increases the popularity of an opposing opinion.

"Do you see, Catholics, what your persecution against Luther caused? You became suspect. People wanted to find out what was going on and what had caused such a stir, so that for one man burned at the stake, a hundred more arose. Today there are thousands instead of ten who now are daring to make war on you.

"Likewise you Evangelicals, when formerly you fought with spiritual weapons which you had learned from Christ and his apostles, God blessed and strengthened you. But since you have taken up carnal weapons, things go against you. Instead of advancing, you retreat. This is not the result of chance but of the providence and will of God who usually brings about such results from such causes."37

Speaking in much the same attitude as did Christ, who wept over Jerusalem as he looked into the future and foresaw her destruction, Castellio looks into the future and sees only perpetual bloodshed, or else the victory of one side to the enslavement of the other. He feared hypocrisy caused by the constraint of consciences more than either of these eventualities and considered it no solution at all. There is only one solution worthy of intelligent Christianity. It is to leave the two religions free that each individual may choose for himself which of the two he wishes and to permit in France two churches. The solution is liberal; a solution of tolerance and of respect of conscience:

"The advice which is offered you, O France, is that you cease forcing consciences, killing and persecuting and that you allow that within your

37 Ibid., p. 42, cited by Giran, p. 403.
borders it be permissible for those who believe in Christ and receive the Old and New Testaments, to serve God according to their faith rather than of another." 38

Castellio's final plea is to the common people:

"And you, the common people who are neither teachers nor lords, do not be so quick to follow those at least some individual will learn something and will recognize that I have spoken the truth. Even if there is only one, I shall not have spoken in vain." 39

Men were not to heed this plea for a return to common sense. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was only ten years in the future from the circulation of the Comité la France désolée. Theodore de Beza was ready with his condemnation of the work and of its author as "very dull and ignorant and unskilled in such matters as to advise that each man believe what he wants." 40 Apparently religious liberty was a dangerous concept and an open door to heresy, the honor of God not permitting that men be brothers.

Castellio was invited to occupy the chair of Greek at the University of Lausanne, but the University of Basel insisted upon retaining him and granted him an increase in


40 Ibid. opera quae supersunt omnia, XXI, p. 85, cited by Buisson, II, p. 236.
salary. He was given permission to re-publish his translations of the Bible and the expurgated *Defense of His Translations*. Theodore de Beza had edited a revision of his own translation of the New Testament (1560) and in the preface he had remarked that Castellio was an instrument of Satan.\(^4\) Beza also wrote a letter of complaint to the ministers of Basel denouncing the Bible of Castellio: "... impious and of a satanic spirit in several places by an Anabaptist, a shameful individual, a stupid profaner of holy matters, a liar, a falsifier, a stinking sycophant, a man who would set straight Balaam's ass and an enthusiastic defender and patron of heretics, adulterers and murderers."\(^5\)

Geneva continued to rage, strengthened in her determination to close once and for all the mouth of the "trouble-maker." The ministers of Geneva summoned before the Consistory a nephew and an aunt of Castellio, whom they described as "the most wicked devil of hell."\(^6\) About the same time a burlesque farce was played with the consent of the Council of Geneva within the very walls where Castellio had served as headmaster (1541 - 1544) entitled

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41 Cited by Giran, p. 413.
42 Ibid., p. 414.
43 Letter of Michel Chateillon, June 20, 1561, cited by Giran, p. 417.
The Sick Pope, in which Castellio was represented as an unscrupulous man of ambition ready to betray the Reformed movement and to serve the Pope in return for a good salary as an emissary of the devil. Castellio was sick at heart when he heard about this defense of the honor of God. With an attitude of Christian stoicism, however, he continued to defend the truth as he saw it to the very end. He had translated the Thirty Dialogues (1562) of Bernard Ochino, who was serving a parish of Italian refugees in Zurich. The work, which curiously had escaped the censorship of Basel, espoused Bellianism, the point of view that marriage was a human institution and that the law of Moses did not forbid polygamy. Ochino was immediately banished from Zurich in the dead of winter, an old man of seventy with four small children, three of whom died of an epidemic. Finding all doors closed to him in Switzerland and Germany, Ochino himself died in Poland in 1566 while planning to seek refuge in Moravia.

As the result of an accusation lodged by Theodore de Beza and of complaints against the translation of the heretical Thirty Dialogues, Castellio was indicted and brought to trial in Basel in November, 1563. For several months he had been subject to recurring fever, broken in health from the years of struggle in which he had passionately engaged, from poverty, from overwork and privations of material needs. His frail health was not able to endure
the multiplied shocks of sorrow. In the midst of the proceedings against him, and although gravely ill, he composed his final defense entitled *Sebastiani Castellionis De Calumnia Liber* in answer to Beza's denunciation. The manuscript, written in the handwriting of another from information and notes supplied by Castellio, perhaps from his bed of illness, is at Rotterdam today. The *De Calumnia* suggests that the case against Castellio was grave and its outcome more dubious than any of the previous attacks against him. Banishment was perhaps the ultimate sentence which he could expect if convicted. An Italian nobleman in Poland, the Marquis of Oria, who was concerned for him, supplied him with directions as to the route to follow.44

The indictment of Beza carried unbelievable accusations which Castellio deals with one by one in short sentences, in his habitual fashion, with all his customary vigor and clarity. He is accused first of being a libertine. In answer he invokes the totality of his writings, of his words and of his acts as refutation of this charge.

"That is why, first of all, I call upon my accuser to prove what he says. If he does not prove it, it follows naturally and necessarily that he is guilty of slander. If he experiences no moral guilt for having accused an innocent man, I affirm that he is

very close himself to the heresy of the libertines."  

Secondly, Castellio answers the charge of Pelagianism simply by stating the charge and asking that the accuser prove his charge: "I am accused of denying the grace of God and original sin. I ask him to prove it."  

Thirdly, he is charged with being the protector of criminals, heretics, adulterers, thieves and assassins. To this charge he replies:

"What I have always thought and still think in conformity with the sacred writings and the Confession of Basel is that God has entrusted the sword of external authority to the magistrates, his servants, for the protection of the good and for the punishment of the wicked, and I add that as long as there will be criminals, they must be condemned; and he who would oppose this manifestation of power resists God himself."  

Fourthly, he is charged with being a papist and of blasphemy against the grace of God. He replies:

"I a papist? The man to whom eminent representatives of the Roman Church have often made, both formerly and recently, so many exceptional offers, and who have simply always refused them? Blasphemer of the grace of God? Slander is manifest even here, for I have always believed and taught that it is freely by the mercy of God and by faith in Christ that we are saved and strengthened, as all my writings attest."  

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45 S. Castellio, De Calumnia liber unus (Aresdorf, 1578), Abbr. De Calumnia, cited by Giran, p. 424.  
46 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 424.  
48 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 425.
Fifthly, he is charged with being an academic (i.e., a sceptic) and of having the spirit of the Anabaptists.

Note the extreme simplicity of the refutation:

"The academics were philosophers who claimed that one cannot know anything and consequently they affirmed nothing. But Beza in his whole denunciation is indignant precisely at my affirmations! As for the Anabaptists, what their 'spirit' is, what they say or think about the word of God, is their affair. What I think and have written about it, I am quite ready to state.

"I have written and I still am writing, as I think, that theological controversies on religion cannot be solved even with the Bible... And I insist that if we are not absorbed in possessing love, it will come to pass that the more of the letter we have, the less spirit there will be. Our dissension will increase, and our condition grow worse." If I do not have love," said the Apostle, "I am like sounding brass or clanging cymbal."#49

Lastly, Castellio was accused of translating the Bible under the inspiration and dictation of the devil. He replies at length to this charge:

"You can judge by my Bible of the probability of the charges. They accuse me of having stolen with a boat-hook the wood of my neighbor. There is a charge, very gracious Lords, which permits you to judge of the mentality of my accusers.

"If you credit such an accusation, you would necessarily implicate all my neighbors, a multitude of fishermen, numerous citizens of Basel, that is to say, more than three hundred souls, who with me, in full view, stole the same driftwood. My adversaries interpreted this as theft in their books published far and wide. Judge for yourselves of their validity and consider how far hate drives them. My writings? They have interpreted them with the same success and fortune as my Defense.

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#49 Ibid., cited by Buisson, II, p. 259.
"If my accuser consents to prove these things and all those with which Calvin and Beza reproach me in their writings, simply let him come before your Senate and in your presence, even in the German language (although it is with great difficulty that I express myself in German) I am ready to plead. It is with confidence that I turn to you, gracious Lords. Since I am attacked so violently, I implore you with all my heart to let me defend myself. If not, I pray that at least my silence may not be imputed as my crime. If Calvin and Beza are men of good faith, let them appear and prove before you, my judges, the crimes of which they accuse me in their writings. In spite of the fact that I have absolute faith in the excellence of my cause, you understand, I offer my head willingly to a just punishment. If they do not have bad consciences, they ought not to fear the tribunal of Basel since they have not feared to accuse me before the whole world. I hope, O very gracious Lords, that you will be the vicars of God in this circumstance as in all (and as you were recently for me). I know that it is your business only to establish what is true and that you will apply yourselves with great prudence to make a decision only after a very conscientious examination. My adversaries and accusers are great and powerful, but God, who judges without respect of persons is powerful also. I am only a poor humble man without prestige, but God has regard for the humble, and he does not allow their blood unjustly spilt to go unpunished. In a second of time it is easy for a wicked man to cause a wound, but it is also possible that once it has been made, that hundreds of doctors exhaust their knowledge upon it, and countless years roll by without the wound's being healed! O my God, who searchest my heart and that of my adversaries, come and judge my cause!"

The emotions aroused during the proceedings of the investigation, a persistent fever and violent stomach pains caused a relapse. Castellio passed away on December 29, 1563.

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50 The denunciation of Beza was summarized by Adam of Bodenstein in a letter written in German.

51 De Calumnia, cited by Giran, p. 426.
a man exhausted in body and spirit at the age of forty-eight. His death was the occasion of mourning at the University of Basel. The coffin was borne aloft on the shoulders of his students and was followed by a numerous throng of friends to the cloister of the Cathedral of Basel where the valiant champion of the rights of conscience was laid to rest. An epitaph graven on the marble monument reads: "To a very famous professor beloved of learned and pious men for his extensive learning and devout life."

An undisguised joy on the part of the adversaries greeted the news of Castellio's death. Beza wrote to Bullinger in Zurich: "I prophesied only too truly when I told Castellio that the Lord would punish him for his blasphemies, but I prefer not to judge the dead."\(^{52}\) Bullinger replied: "Castellio is dead? So much the better!"\(^{53}\) A fervent Calvinist wrote that he had offered special prayers asking God that the Church be rid of the pest.\(^{54}\) A theologian named Gwalther of Zurich wrote to Beza: "In order not to go plead his cause before the Senate of Basel, Castellio has appealed to Rhadamante."\(^{55}\)

\(^{52}\) Cited by Buisson, II, p. 266.

\(^{53}\) Cited by Giran, p. 432.

\(^{54}\) Cited by Buisson, II, p. 266.

\(^{55}\) Cited by Giran, p. 433.
On August 2, 1564, a student of Castellio wrote from Geneva:

"Here we do not mention Castellio, a man of faith and purity of life, and even if someone presumed to mention him, he would immediately be subject to torture, to the sword, and I do not know what terrible punishments. But it doesn't matter if one is not permitted to declare openly his conviction. There are many Castellionists here."

Castellio's will showed his concern for his wife and nine children and disclosed his fatherly desire that a portion of his noble ideal be realized in them. With simple Huguenot gravity he reveals a slight glimpse of the humble hearth:

"In the name of God who made heaven and earth and of Jesus Christ, his Son, our Lord: inasmuch as I do not know when it will please God to take me from this life, it seemed wise, since I am now in good health of body and mind, to prepare my will in order that my heirs may know my last wish when the time comes.

"First of all, I request as guardian of my wife and children M. Nicolas Blesdyck [This name has been scratched out and replaced by that of M. John Bauhin, doctor.] and M. John Brandmiller, pastor, begging them to undertake the responsibility and hoping that they will, for the friendship which we bear each other in Christ.

"In the second place, regarding the inheritance which belongs to my wife and children, I wish that the laws and customs of Basel be carried out.

"Thirdly, regarding the few books of which I am the author which have not been printed, I request that the above-mentioned guardians do with them according to the wisdom given them of God; as for me, I give them full authority over them.

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56 Ibid., cited by Giran, p. 433.
"As to the children, I want them all to learn to read and write, at least German and French if they are in Germany; further, that they learn a trade in order to work with their hands, and that they live by the sweat of their brow, according to the discretion of the above-named tutors.

"And you, my friends in Christ, whoever and wherever you are, in the name of Christ, I entrust to you my wife and children even as you would want your own entrusted. May God grant us all his eternal peace through Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord. Amen.

Written at Basel in my home December 4, 1560, in my own hand. Sébastien Chateillon."

After having scratched out or corrected two or three words, Castellio added below: "I have reread and approved the above, November 1, 1563." 57

A small detail but a curious one regarding Castellio as a husband and father has been brought to light by V. L. Saulnier. Jean Rouxel, a Latin poet and a professor at the University of Caen, died in 1587. A colleague related in his funeral oration that Rouxel had known Castellio in Basel in 1554 and had been admitted as a member of Castellio's household upon the condition... "that he would solemnly promise not to blaspheme, nor to say anything of his host in his absence that he would not say in his presence, and that he would not make any attempts upon the honor of Castellio's wife and daughters, nor to

57 Cited by Giran, p. 430, from MS #506, Library of the Remonstrants, Rotterdam.
look at them with a French eye.\textsuperscript{58}

Castellio's successor at the University of Basel in the chair of Greek, Theodore Zwinger, refused to receive a salary which was given to the widow of Castellio. Letters that passed between the children and their guardians indicate that the latter fulfilled faithfully their responsibility in their regard. The youngest son, Fredrick, born in 1562, received a Master of Arts degree from the University of Basel in 1588 and perpetuated in his lifetime the name of his father as a vicar in a parish near Basel and later as Professor of Rhetoric at the Academy of Basel.

One of the unprinted manuscripts written in 1562-1563, referred to in Castellio's will and considered by Castellionists to be the most fundamental expression of his thought, was to remain in manuscript form in the Library of the Remonstrants in Rotterdam until 1937 when the De Arte Dubitandi et Confidendi, Ignorandi et Sciendi was published in Italy for a young woman of Berlin who had not succeeded with publication in Germany because of Hitler's racial laws.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{58} V. L. Saulnier, "Castellion, Jean Rouxel et les Oracles Sybillins," Autour de Michel Servet et de Sébastien Castellion, p. 226.

\textsuperscript{59} Elizabeth Feist Hirsch edited the Latin publication; a French translation was made in 1953 by Charles Baudouin on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the death of Servetus.
In De Arte Dubitandi Castellio became the precursor of the Enlightenment, the seeker after truth who feared no scientific investigation and who placed doubt itself at the very basis of all his speculations. There are, according to Castellio, three sources of knowledge: experience, revelation and reason. The first two are subject to the third for clarification and elaboration. On this basis many of the traditional dogmas of the faith are incapable of conclusive demonstration and lie in the realm not of knowledge but of faith. The two must be clearly distinguished and what we believe we must not pretend to know. Castellio explains his purpose in the following manner:

"I want to present some rules by means of which each one may, in the midst of a wave of differing opinion, by which the Church is shaken today, stand on his own two feet and be in possession of a truth which is so tested and sure that he may continue in a living faith and sense of duty like a rock which nothing can shake.

"I have entitled this book On the Art of Doubting and Believing, of Ignoring and of Knowing, because what I intend to set forth first of all are the things which we should doubt and which we should believe, what we may ignore and what we should know. Many will be surprised at the title and will find it ridiculous to have explained an art of doubting or of ignoring, for human nature is so well endowed that there is no need of being instructed in these matters through an art. But if you will read carefully the entire book and will consider attentively all the points, you will doubtless observe that these attitudes are occasionally necessary, and that there is need of a genuine art to persuade others to maintain them. One of the most opinionated sins into which men sometimes fall is to believe where they should doubt and to doubt where they should believe, or to ignore
what they should know and to want to be able to know what they may ignore.

"I would like to add that the art which I am setting forth is of such a nature that those, who believe in Christ in simple faith and who obey his teachings without investigation, can do without.

"I shall begin with matters which are universally accepted and which cannot be denied by those who ignore or reject the Scriptures. These established, I shall confirm the Scriptures [i.e., revelation] by their witness; thus the Christian religion will be found to be consistent with nature [i.e., human experience] and with reason, and will be confirmed. Then I shall apply myself exclusively to the Christian religion, and I shall point out the proper way to follow in the controversies which divide, insofar as God will permit, without whose help we would not know how to form a single thought.

"As for you, my reader, do not approach with ill will or hostile prejudice. I speak my opinion, not an oracle for all to receive."

Chapters 1 - 4 of Book I take up the arguments for the existence of a good God; Christianity produces the best results (5 - 11); the Scriptures are inspired (12 - 17); their authority resides in the thought rather than in the letter, a spiritual inspiration rather than a literal one (16); doubt may properly exist in uncertain matters such as persecution for heresy (18); some certain and some doubtful matters (19); what should be known (and these are clear) are duty toward God and duty toward man (20); some theological and controversial matters such as baptism (21 - 22); an

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argument against a literal interpretation of Scripture (23),
and a powerful appeal to reason and the use of the mental
faculties as a means of arriving at the truth:

"Some go so far as to teach that we should believe
the unbelievable in the Christian faith.... Such a
grave and destructive error should not be tolerated,
and since those who twist it, defend it with such zeal,
we must try no less zealously to refute it. I will
fight it with all my strength, and if I do not make
an end of the monster, I hope at least to give it a
severe wound...." (Ibid., pp. 92 - 94.)

Chapter 24 teaches that we do not need to deny what
is above the senses, for example, whether God created the
world; chapter 25 teaches that reason is the gift of God
and is to be used:

"Reason is the daughter of God; she existed before
all Scriptures and ceremonies, even before the world's
creation; she will continue after all Scriptures and
ceremonies and even after the destruction and renewal
of the world. God is no more able to abolish reason
than to abolish himself. Reason, I say, is an eternal
word of God and much older and more sure than
Scriptures and ceremonies. It is through her that God
instructed men before Scriptures and ceremonies, and
it is through her that he will instruct men after they
have passed away.... It was through reason that Christ
taught others and criticized books and ceremonies
which the Jews placed above reason.... For the letter
of the law forbade all work without exception on the
Sabbath, but reason conceived that 'The Sabbath was
made for man and not man for the Sabbath' (Mark 2:27).
It was the same when Jesus said to the Samaritan woman
that 'The hour will come and is already present when
true worshippers will worship the Father neither at
Jerusalem nor on this mountain but in spirit and in
truth' (John 4:21 - 24). This declaration is not
founded on any other text but upon reason alone...."

"For it is reason which teaches us what is good or
evil. From reason is born the conscience which is not
found in animals, children or the insane because they
lack reason. It is reason which seeks, finds and
interprets truth. If some textual passage, either secular or sacred, is obscure or altered by time, it is reason which corrects it, or which labels the matter as questionable until the truth comes to light, or until the matter is definitely judged as uncertain. (Ibid., pp. 99 - 101.)

Chapter 26 presents passages from classical authors on reason; the fall of man did not corrupt his reason (27); the will may become an impediment to sound judgment as those who persist in their aversion to truth develop diseased wills (28); reason must be used to counteract what the senses sometimes seem to say (29); if impediments to the mind are removed, man is able to judge of matters which fall within the scope of reason (30); a discussion of some Biblical passages (31); impediments or prejudices must be removed (32); in order to see clearly, men must learn to hate themselves (33). The purpose of Book I is to demonstrate that it is necessary to resolve by the senses and by reason even in matters of religion all the questions which fall under the judgment of the senses and reason.

Book II takes up some of these questions and presents some clear but unintelligible facts: Why did God provide food for the fish, the birds and other animals in certain ways? Why did he give the metals for man's use but not without much labor? Why did he create human beings naked? Why did he not provide them with hair or wool like the animals as protection against the weather? Our response to these and other mysteries can only be by faith. The
assumption of one God (II, 2) is likewise a mystery to be taken on faith. Castellio holds an imaginary dialogue with Athanasius regarding the Trinity, the intricacies of which man cannot understand. Since a belief in this doctrine will exclude the simple who cannot comprehend it, this doctrine should not be made an essential to salvation, II, 2).

Castellio understood faith to be a result of man's free will. Those who live in love, live in faith. Faith is a work, the ultimate of all works. The chapter on faith breaks off abruptly as though the writer intended to come back to it (Ibid., p. 144).

Chapters 7 - 29 deal with the subject of justification, which Castellio does not understand as a magical substitution of the righteousness of Christ imputed to sinful man, but an actual restoration of the image of God in man through the means of faith. Chapters 30 and 31 take up the atonement in which the somewhat bold and original opinion is presented regarding the work of Christ that God was not appeased thereby but man returned to God. Christ bestowed for the past the certainty of pardon upon condition of self-improvement, and for the future, the motivation and inspiration necessary in order to be able to improve by growing more and more into righteousness. Chapters 38 - 44 concern the Lord's Supper in which Castellio sees only a commemoration and allegorical image.
Thus does the author of *De Arte Dubitandi* plead for the reduction of Christian dogma to a minimum of essentials in the interests of truth as well as of Christian charity. The area of the essentials should be narrowed and the scope of the non-essentials widened so that future generations will not persecute dissenting opinions. All interpretation should be tested by reason which will correct the incorrect impressions of the senses and of revelation. The truth is glimpsed through differing opinions, each contributing to the whole truth.
VII

"Un pauvre proté d'imprimerie,
Sébastien Chateillon, posa pour tout
l'avenir la grande loi de la tolérance."

Michelet
Renaissance
VII

INFLUENCE AND ANALYSIS

Oblivion swiftly enfolded the memory of Sebastian Castellio in which he rests even today, his name being little known to historians, pedagogues, men of letters and theologians. The marked aversion which his adversaries evidenced toward him in his day so engulfed his person, even in circles sympathetic to his position, that not even the resurgence of interest at the close of the sixteenth century which continued into the seventeenth, was able to be long maintained. It was his biographer, Ferdinand Buisson, a liberal Protestant, who, approaching Castellio as an educator, discovered in him a gallant champion of tolerance and introduced him as it were to the twentieth century in his doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne in 1892. Pierre Bayle in his Dictionnaire Historique et Critique (1695-97) has devoted a detailed article to Castellio, and in a critical mood he observed:

"If he had stayed within the limits of his profession, he would have rendered greater services to the Republic of Letters and saved himself from a thousand sorrows. Instead of that he played the role of a spiritual and devout man and mingled in the most delicate and obscure questions of theology. He should have left them to those whose business they were, or if he wanted to thrust himself full force
into this business, he should have applied the advice of Aesop."

Late in the sixteenth century there was a resurgence of interest in Castellio as a theologian. An Italian at the court of the Medici, Faustus Socinus, obtained the Dialogi III: De Praedestinatione, De Electione, De Libero Arbitrio, De Fide plus four little works entitled De Obedientia, De Praedestinatione scriptum S. C. ad D. Mart. Borraum, Defensio in reply to Calvin's charges, and De Calumnia, all of which were still in manuscript form from the doctor Jean Bauhin to whom Castellio had entrusted them in his will, and published them at Basel in 1578, fifteen years after Castellio's decease. We have already seen the amazing success of the Sacred Dialogues which were the fruit of Castellio's pedagogy in Geneva and Basel and which saw one hundred thirty-three editions all together and which were used for two centuries to teach Latin to school children throughout Protestant Europe. Late in the seventeenth century a new edition of Castellio's Latin Bible was printed in Germany (1694) followed by several reprintings. Between 1728 and 1734 three German critics took up the task of making known the merits of Castellio's

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1 Pierre Bayle, Dictionnaire historique et critique, quatrième edition (Amsterdam, 1730), II, article Castalion, p. 87.
translations of the Bible: Christophe Walle, Mathias Belé and Jean Ludolphe Bünemann. Castellio had disciples also in the realm of tolerance. There was Jacobus Acontius, an Italian engineer at the Elizabethan court, who in 1565 published *Stratagemata Satanae*, which was a protest against capital punishment, an attempt to reduce dogma to a minimum and a defense of tolerance. There was Minus Celsus, an Italian exile, who in 1577 published *In haereticis coercendis quatenus progradi liceat*, which was a compilation of both Castellio and Acontius. There was Faustus Socinus who brought out the *Four Dialogues*, later migrated to Poland and like Servetus was a precursor of the Unitarian movement.

In England the work of Castellio was carried on by Acontius, who had lived in Basel and was undoubtedly familiar with the manifesto *De haereticis* and whose English translations of *Stratagemata Satanae* on tolerance influenced the latitudinarian movement, including such men as John Hales (1584 - 1656), Roger Williams (1607 - 1684), John Goodwin (1594 - 1665) and Jeremy Taylor (1613 - 1667). The *Sacred Dialogues* enjoyed an important role in the teaching of Latin and went through twenty editions in England between 1560 and 1781. An unknown translator in 1610, known only by the initials T. S., rendered as follows the account of the temptation in the Garden of Eden:
The Serpent - How now, woman; what is the cause that God hath forbidden you to eate of all the trees of the Garden?

Eve - We have liberties to eate at our pleasures of the fruits of the trees of the Garden, onely God hath forbidden us that tree which is in the middest of the orchard; that we may not eate of it, neyther touch it, except we will dye.

The Serpent - Tush, ye shall not dye for that: but God knoweth that if once ye eate of it, your eyes shall be opened and you shall be as Gods, knowing good and euill.

Eve - Indeed I thinke so: and the fruit it selfe is faire to sight. I know not whether it be sweet in taste: but I will try. O it is mervailous sweet: but I must also gue my husband some of it. Husband, if thou didst know what a smacke this apple hath, thou wouldest have eaten of it, long since. Take this peece at my hand and taste.  

In 1581 an attempt to publish in England the Four Dialogues failed through censorship because of an adverse attitude against the subversive doctrines of free will and perfectionism. In 1679 the translation of the following four works appeared: the Dialogue De Fide, Letters to Boniface Amerbach which had served as a preface to the Psalterium (1557), the treatise De Obedientia and the reply to Calvin's Adversus nebulonem, the Defensio.

Castellio's influence in the Netherlands during the

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sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the domain of
tolerance was a considerable one in the struggles between
the Catholics and Protestants and between the Remonstrants
and the Counter-Remonstrants. A series of polemics
consisting of the writings of Calvin and Beza, answered
by the writings of Castellio, had preceded the outbreak of
Arminianism. A Dutch translation by Regnerus Vitellius,
a Remonstrant sympathizer, of Conseil à la France désolée
(1578) known as The Lantern of the Lord was circulated and
enjoyed five editions. A preface stated that the reign of
tolerance had just triumphed in France, thanks to the reign
of Henry IV and to the Edict of Nantes, a solution which
Castellio had recommended in 1563. The Dialogi III
together with the tract De Obedientia were translated in
1581 by Dirck Goornhert, Secretary to the States-General
under William of Orange, a man dedicated to the cause of
intellectual and spiritual freedom. The Synod of Dort
(1619) deposed from his pastoral duties one Dirck Boom for
having dared to translate Castellio's Annotations on
Romans IX and thus having "disinterred his stinking bones."³
A former student of Beza, Jacobus Arminius (1560 - 1609),
Professor of Theology at Leiden, was chosen by the Consistory
of Amsterdam to study the heretical writings of Goornhert

³ Cited by Giran, Sébastien Castellion et la Réforme
calviniste, p. 536.
in order to refute them but became instead a convert to 
the notions of tolerance and other anti-Calvinistic views. 
In this unusual manner were the heresies of Castellio such 
as the moral liberty of man, the possibility of attaining 
the divine nature, free will and universalism introduced 
into the instruction of a Calvinistic seminary by the man 
from whom the Arminianism controversy takes its name. Hugo 
Grotius (1583 - 1645), a Dutch statesman, scholar and 
thecologian, wrote to a friend that Arminius might well 
suffer the fate of Castellio, who, "although a very learned 
and famous man, was reduced to such straits by the rage of 
his adversaries, that he was obliged to earn his living 
by sawing wood." Arminius, however, died prematurely 
in 1609. His disciples became known as Arminians, and in 
1610 drew up their famous articles of "Remonstrance" which 
formulated their departure from Calvinism. The 
"Remonstrance" contained five articles, four of which embody 
the conclusions of Castellio's Dialogi III:

"(1) that the divine decrees of predestination are 
conditioned and not absolute; (2) that the atonement 
is in intention universal; (3) that a man cannot of 
himself do anything good without regeneration; (4) 
that though the Grace of God is a necessary condition 
of human effort it does not act irresistibly in man;

4 Grotius to Reigersbergerus, cited by W. K. Jordan, 
The Development of Religious Toleration in England (Harvard 
Univ. Press, 1936), II, p. 331.
(5) that believers are able to resist sin, but are not beyond the possibility of falling from Grace.\(^5\)

The same Synod which had deposed Dirck Boom denounced Castellio as the real author responsible for Arminianism "for without him these errors would have remained buried in the earth instead of gaining a hold on the masses."\(^6\)

Thus was Castellio the real culprit accused by the Synod of Dort. The banished Remonstrants returned to Holland in 1632, the ministers took up their pulpits, a confession of faith was drawn up and a seminary was founded. These events marked the triumph of Bellianism in Holland.

In 1612 appeared for the first time the Contra Libellum Calvini in Latin as it had been prepared by Castellio fifty-eight years previously. A complete Dutch edition of Castellio's known works in Latin appeared in 1612 - 1613. In 1620 appeared a Dutch translation of De Haereticis followed by another in 1663. It was the Netherlands which preserved in manuscript form two works of Castellio which saw the light of day only in our time: De Arte Dubitandi (1937) and De l'Impunité des hérétiques (1939).

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By the eighteenth century oblivion and obscurity claimed the memory of Castellio. Save for a single reference to him on the part of Voltaire, and that only incidental to a section devoted to John Calvin, there seemed to be little preoccupation on the part of the great defender of tolerance in the eighteenth century to perpetuate the memory of the great sixteenth century defender of the rights of conscience. Rousseau, who lived in Geneva, does not betray any acquaintance with Castellio who came too soon into a world that was not ready for his humanitarian message; yet strangely enough, in a large measure, the Protestant churches of the twentieth century have rejected Calvin and profess the liberalism of Castellio. In Geneva there stands a massive monument to the Reformation. The four central figures were all persecutors: "Calvin was responsible for the execution of Servetus at the stake; Farel attended the execution; Beza justified the holocaust and John Knox applauded." In 1926 a monument was erected to Castellio's memory at his birthplace, Saint-Martin-du-Fresne, in recognition of the illustrious son which she gave to an unheeding generation. Upon the occasion of the three hundred fiftieth anniversary of Servetus' death (Oct. 27, 1903), sons of Calvin in both Europe and America

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erected an expiatory monument to Servetus' memory as close to the spot of his execution as could be determined. Three other monuments followed soon afterward: in 1908 at Annemosse in Savoy, in the Place de Montrouge, Paris, and in 1911 in the Jardin Publique at Vienne. There is a statue to him in front of the Anthropological Museum in Madrid, and streets in Madrid, Vienne and Geneva today bear his name. With these acts the rehabilitation of Servetus' memory was complete.

Lest the foregoing pages have seemed harsh to the memory of John Calvin, may we be permitted to observe with Hendrik Van Loon who remarked with perspicacity: "Personally, I am glad that I was not obliged to live in Geneva in the sixteenth century. At the same time I am profoundly grateful that the Geneva of the sixteenth century existed."

We believe there are many people who share his sentiments.

The task which remains before us is an attempt at analysis of Castellio's theory of religious liberty, which was his important contribution to his century. Before assuming this task, may we briefly summarize his argument. The basic thought which we have encountered in our study is a separation of the essentials from the non-essentials and a widening of the area of the adiaphora. Most of the theological controversies, according to his theory, are

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concerned with the non-essentials and therefore do not warrant strife or bitterness. Many areas of Christianity are obscure and therefore controversial; men are persecuted for not agreeing on the non-essentials. With perspicacity Castellio equates the desire to persecute and the desire to be supreme on the part of the various sects (Traité, pp. 3, 14). If carried to a logical conclusion only the strongest sect could survive complete extermination. As followers of Christ the various bodies must forgive and tolerate dissenting opinions (Ibid., p. 18). Furthermore, since heresy is spiritual in nature, it is difficult to determine. Christ himself was punished for heresy (Ibid., pp. 7 - 8). A man if accused of heresy may be punished more severely than Christian discipline requires or permits, which is excommunication from the Christian Church (Ibid., p. 4). Since heresy concerns a belief rather than an overt act, it is unbecoming for the body of Christ to exact the extreme penalty. The essential doctrine that Christ is the Son of God is common ground, but baptism, the Lord's Supper, the worship of saints, free will and the doctrines of the Trinity and predestination are controversial matters. Since the Christian religion is spiritual in character, it is the responsibility of Christians to live together in peace (Ibid., p. 30). Persecution hinders the proclamation of the Gospel (Ibid., pp. 30 - 31). The law of love and
charity should be fundamental to Christian living. Castellio admitted that heresy exists (Ibid., pp. 26 - 27), but he would limit its punishment to excommunication since religious opinions are judged with difficulty. His approach to the problem was ethical, rational and mystical. By possessing to a large degree these streams of influence, which acted as a check and balance to each other, Castellio effected a significant synthesis and basis for tolerance.

The moral or ethical emphasis is derived from the principle that right conduct is more important than right belief. In the preface to the Traité des hérétiques those who had been instructed to prepare white robes spent their days disputing about creeds. Or again:

"This man, you say, is a heretic, a putrid member to be cut off from the body of the Church lest he infect others. But what has he done? Oh, horrible things! Yes, but what? Is he a murderer? An adulterer? A thief? No. What then? Does he not believe in Christ and the Scriptures? Certainly he does and would rather die than not continue in his belief. But he does not understand them correctly; that is, he interprets them differently from our teachers.... This is a capital offense to be expiated in the flames."9

Furthermore, obscure theological matters can only be perceived by the pure in heart (Traité, p. 13) and learning may be a hindrance: "They love to be called Rabbi and

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arrogate to themselves the power of teaching. But if Christ himself came, they would not condescend to take a suggestion from him unless he were called by their order and knew the languages by which he was crucified, namely, Latin, Greek and Hebrew."10

The Golden Rule and the life of Christ are cited frequently. The former is "so true, so just, so natural, and so written by the finger of God in the hearts of all men, that there is not a man so depraved... who does not immediately confess that it is right and reasonable the moment it is proposed to him."11 Imagine Christ, who is the judge of all, being present, pronouncing the sentence and lighting the fire. Who would not consider Christ as a Satan?" (Traité, p. 31.) "You may repudiate the book of Wisdom, which no wise man will lightly do, but you cannot abolish the book of nature, for nature will always cry out that to create is a work of love, not of hate."12 Castellic's ethic is theological and God-centered. His God is a God of love, mercy and forgiveness. The God who showed compassion on Nineveh will surely show it on innocent

10 Ibid., cited by Bainton, p. 187.


babies. 13 God does not constrain men but attracts, invites and persuades. 14 Men are created free to the greater glory of God. In response to God, the Christian should love his enemies. 15 Castellio's view of man includes the capability of complete obedience to God. The new man in Christ strives to achieve perfection of character, but such a man is "generally obscure and unknown, but if I knew one, I would not point him out to them for I fear that they are of the same mind as Herod, who wished to be shown the new-born King of the Jews that he might also worship him." 16 In striving for perfection one is more prone to recognize imperfection. "When I examine my life, I see that my sins are so great and numerous that I do not think that I can ever obtain pardon from God, if I am ready thus to condemn others." (Traité, p. 18.) Therefore no man is good enough to persecute another. Since righteousness is inward, the criterion for morality becomes subjective and subject to conscience, which is thereby relativized. To Castellio's opponents the objective law of God was placed above the individual conscience. The ethical approach to the problem

13 Ibid., cited by Bainton, p. 194.


16 De Obedientia, cited by Bainton, p. 194.
of persecution is the most important one. However, the rational approach is likewise a valid one and stated simply, his case is that no man knows enough to persecute another.

"All sects hold their religion according to the Word of God and say that it is certain.... Calvin says that his is certain and they theirs. He says they are wrong and wishes to be the judge and so do they. Who shall be the judge? Who made Calvin the judge of all sects, that he alone should kill?... He has the Word of God and so have they. If the matter is certain, to whom is it certain? To Calvin? ... But why does Calvin write so many books about manifest truth?"17

Theological controversy only proves theological obscurity:

"Nobody ever defended homicide and murder, but as to religion, a knowledge of the holy Scripture is very different for the things contained therein are given obscurely and often in enigmas and inscrutable questions which have been in dispute for more than a thousand years without any agreement, nor can there be agreement without love which breaks and appeases all controversies and drives away ignorance." (Traité, p. 140.)

The human heart is inscrutable and known to God alone (Def. Trans., p. 210.) but persecutors judge the hearts of men with or without considering the overt actions.18 In view of uncertainty then, a heretic is one with whom we disagree (Traité, p. 24). If heretics are to be put to death, a war of extermination logically follows. All


18 Conseil, cited by Bainton, p. 196.
Christians will have to be put to death except the Calvinists, Turks and Jews.\(^{19}\) Castellio points out that there is no need even for individual extermination since "We should follow the example of Judas Maccabeus and his men, who, not knowing what they should do with the altar of sacrifice, laid aside the stones on the mount of the temple in a place apart until a prophet should come to tell them what to do with them."\(^{20}\) We must be careful lest we uproot the wheat with the tares (ibid., p. 136.) or kill our friends instead of our enemies:

"When night falls upon the battle, the combat ceases until day breaks lest in fighting at hazard, friends are killed instead of enemies.... Therefore it is better, while matters are doubtful or confused, to hold off firing until it is daylight and matters are clear, lest something take place in the darkness and confusion of which it must be said later, 'I didn't mean to do it.'\(^{21}\)

Castellio's last work, De Arte Dubitandi (De l'Art de douter), which remained in manuscript until 1937, is devoted to the problem of knowledge and to the role of reason in questions of faith. From the rationalistic approach Castellio deduces the principle of religious

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\(^{19}\) Contra Lib. Cal., Art. 1, 20, cited by Bainton, p. 196.

\(^{20}\) Traité, p. 137 from Biblia, Preface, addressed to Edward VI.

\(^{21}\) La Bible Fr., Preface, cited by Bainton, "Champion of Religious Liberty," Castellioniana, Quatre Études sur Sébastien Castellion et l'idée de la tolérance, pp. 41 - 42.
liberty. Reason teaches that the rules of Christian charity are obvious and universally known to man and that they take precedence over uncertain matters contained in Scripture. When Castellio pointed out contradictions in the Bible, his adversaries claimed that all authority of Scripture is thereby undermined. "I reply that even if this inference is correct, it does not remove any of the truth of the opinions which I have uttered." (De l'Art de douter, p. 69.) After subjecting the Christian faith to all rational criticisms, Castellio still found it true, right and rational (Ibid., p. 30). He believed reason to be a continuous revelation from the law of the Old Testament times to the teachings of Christ and the progressive revelations of the Holy Spirit.22 His emphasis upon reason as a proper means of arriving at truth entitles him to the honor of being named "one of the most eminent precursors of eighteenth century Rationalism."23 Castellio deserves also a place of honorable mention among the sixteenth century heralds of the doctrine of "good sense" which flourished later in the century in the essayist Montaigne and which continued throughout the seventeenth.

The mystic approach to tolerance is based upon the


notion that the way of salvation is the way of suffering. "To assert one's faith is not to burn a man but to be burned." 24 "The just have always been killed." (Traité, pp. 7 - 8.) Castellio notes that Christ, the apostles and martyrs met persecution and so have many simple and true Christians. 25 Castellio, who was a man of a deeply sensitive nature, was opposed to all forms of inhuman treatment and abuse. He considered that the maximum penalty for blasphemy should be a fine, banishment or imprisonment. (Traité, p. 5). In his last work, De l'Art de douter, Castellio brought Book I to a conclusion with the mystical emphasis that the way to truth is identical to the way to God. It is through the crucifixion of the self (De l'Art de douter, p. 124).

We have endeavored to show that the conception of tolerance, which in a measure is the hallmark of twentieth century liberal Protestantism, existed, not in germ, but in full bloom contemporaneous with the sixteenth century Reformation. It was proclaimed aloud with conviction by a man, now largely forgotten, who lived a life above reproach, by a scholar of sensitive disposition and intelligence, and


by a worthy individual who helped to frame human destiny by coming to grips with the problems of his age. Castellio wrote his page upon history and passed on, leaving his mission to others like Voltaire who took up the torch for tolerance. We offer this humble study in the sincere hope that a few friends may be made for the man Sebastian Castellio who raised the questions and provided solutions of which his generation, "seeing through a glass darkly," only faintly grasped the import.
APPENDIX I

SIXTEENTH CENTURY CHRONOLOGY

1509 - Calvin born at Noyon in Picardy, July 10.

1511 - Michael Servetus born at Villanueva in Aragon.

1515 - Castellio born at Saint-Martin-du-Fresne, Dauphiné.

1517 - Luther’s ninety-five theses against indulgences published at Wittenberg.

1519 - Beza born at Vézelay, June 24.

1520 - Excommunication of Luther.

1521 - Diet of Worms.

1531 - Servetus' De Trinitatis erroribus published at Hagenau.

1534 - Act of Supremacy whereby Henry VIII was appointed head of the English Church.

1536 - Calvin’s Institution chrétienne published in Basel.


Death of Erasmus at Basel, July 12.

Calvin comes to Geneva, July.

Calvin appointed "Reader of Holy Writ" in Geneva, September 5.

1538 - Calvin and Farel banished from Geneva, April 23.
Calvin settles in Strasbourg.

1540 - Three Lutherans burned at the stake in Lyons, January.

Castellio becomes overtly Protestant and joins Calvin in Strasbourg.

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Society of Jesus recognized by the Pope.

1541 - Calvin invited to return to Geneva, September 13.

1542 - Bernardino Ochino, denounced to the Inquisition, flees from Italy.

1542 - 1543 - Plague in Geneva.

1543 - Castellio's *Dialogi sacri* published in Geneva.


1546 - Death of Luther, February 18.
Servetus takes up correspondence with Calvin.

1547 - Accession of Edward VI of England.

1551 - Castellio's translation of the Bible in Latin.

1553 - Clandestine publication of Servetus' *Christianismi restitutio*. Guillaume Trie's letter of denunciation against Servetus to the Inquisition at Lyons, February.

Servetus escapes from prison, April.

Servetus burned in effigy at Lyons together with his books, June.

Death of Edward VI of England and accession of Mary, July.

Castellio appointed Professor of Greek at University of Basel.


Servetus' execution at Champel, near Geneva, October 27.
1554 - Calvin justifies his conduct regarding Servetus:
Defensio orthodoxae fidei de Sacra Trinitate, and in French, Déclaration contre les erreurs détestables de Michel Servet, February.

Castellio's De haereticis published in March.

Beza's Anti-Bellius published in September.

Castellio's Contra Libellum Calvini written for publication but not published until 1612 at Amsterdam.

1555 - Castellio's reply to Beza's Anti-Bellius written but not published: De l'Impunité des hérétiques.

Castellio's French translation of the Bible published.

1557 - Castellio's Defensio suarum translationum written but not published until 1562.

1558 - Castellio's Defensio in reply to Calvin written and circulated but not published until 1578.

1562 - Castellio's Conseil à la France désolée appeared in October.

1563 - Castellio's De Arte Dubitandi written but not published until 1937.

Publication of Ochino's Thirty Dialogues.

Complaint against Castellio lodged with the Basel authorities in November.

Castellio's final defense written, De Calumnii.

Castellio died at Basel, December 29.

1564 - Calvin died in Geneva, May 27.

Beza succeeded Calvin as pastor at Geneva.

1566 - Death of Bernardino Ochino.

1572 - Massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24.

1598 - Edict of Nantes, the charter of French Protestantism.
APPENDIX II

THE WORKS OF S. CASTELLIO

La Bible nouvellement translate. Avec la suite de l'histoire depuis le temps d'Esdras jusqu'aux Maccabees; et depuis les Maccabees jusqu'à Christ. Item avec des annotations sur les passaæs difficiles. Basel, 1555.

Biblia, interprete S. Castalione, una cum eiusdem annotationibus. Basel, 1551.

B. Ochini dialogi XXX de Messia de rebus variis et de Trinitate ex italica in latinam linguam translati a S. C. Basel, 1563.

Conseil à la France désolée, auquel est montré la cause de la guerre présente. 1562 sans lieu.

Contra Libellum Calvini, in quo ostendere conatur haereticas iure gladii coercendos esse. Amsterdam, 1612.


De Calumnia liber unus. Aresdorf, 1578.

Defensio ad authorem libri, cui titulus est, Calumniæ nebulonis. Aresdorf, 1578.


De haereticis sìnt persequendi et omnino quomodo sit cum eis agendum. Magdeburg, 1554.

De imitando Christo libellus, interprete S. C. Basel, 1563.


De Obedientia: An possit homo per spiritum sanctum perfecte obedire legi Dei. Aresdorf, 1578.
De Praedestinatione scriptum S. C. ad D. Mart.
Borrhaum. Aresdorf, 1578.

Dialogi III: De Praedestinatione, De Electione,
De Libero Arbitrio, De Fide. Aresdorf, 1578.

Dialogi sacri latino-gallici, ad lingus moresque
puerorum formandos. Liber primus, Geneva, 1543. Liber
secundus et tertius, Geneva, 1543. Liber quattuor,


Diodori Siculi bibliothecae historicae libri XV.
Basel, 1562.

Homeri opera graeco-latina, quae quidem nunc extant,
omnia. Basel, 1561.

Iohannes prophetae, heroico carmine latino descriptus.
Praecursor, id est Vita Joannis Baptistae graeco carmine

Moses latins ex hebraeo factus, et in eundem
praefatio, qua multiplex eius doctrina ostenditur.
Basel, 1566.

Mosis institutio Reipublicae graeco-latina, ex
Josepho in gratiam puerorum decreta per S. C. Basel, 1546.

Psalterium, reliquiae sacrarum literarum carmina
et preces. Basel, 1547.

Sibyllinorum oraculorum libri VIII. Basel, 1546.

Theologia germanica. Libellus aureus, hoc est
brevis et prenanis: quomodo sit cruendus vetus homo,
induendus novus. Ex germanico translatus, Ioanne

Le Théologie germanique. Anvers, 1558.

Thucydides, Laurentio Valla interprete, nunc
postremo correctus et in graecis innumeris locis

Traité démontrant que les hérétiques ne doivent pas
être punis par le magistrat civil, écrit par Basile
Montfort en faveur du "Mélange de pièces" de Martin Bellie
et contre le traité de Théodore de Beze. MS inédit,
écrit 1555.

Xenophontis philosophi ac historici excellentissimi opera. Basel, 1553.

THE WORKS OF M. SERVETUS

Apologetica disserptatio pro astrologia. Paris, 1538.

Bibilia sacra ex Santis Pagnini tractatione. Lyons, 1542.


Claudii Ptolomeei Alexandrini Geographiae enarrationis libri octo. Lyons, 1535.

De Trinitatis erroribus, libri septem. Haguenau, 1531.


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