

Not a festschrift, but a “streitschrift” for Calvin: Jerome Bolsec’s *Histoire*

Lutherans will not be surprised to read that the earliest biographical portraits of Calvin reflected the polemical agendas of that highly contentious era, since sixteenth-century biographers of all confessions were all drawing from rhetorical traditions concerned with praise, blame, and persuasion.¹ The "Lives" of Calvin produced by Calvin's fictive sons Theodore Beza (1519-1605) and Nicolas Colladon (1530-1586) in three redactions (1564, 1565, and 1575) defended their "Pater" against a wide array of critics. Their efforts provoked several responses, notably from Jerome Bolsec (1520?-1584), whose *Histoire de la Vie, Moeurs, Actes, Doctrine, Constance et Mort de Jean Caluin* (1577) was a not a festschrift, but more a “streitschrift” of the Genevan reformer and his colleague Theodore Beza, published with other anti-protestant biographies.² As Beza and Colladon’s stolid hagiographic portrait of Calvin informed the Protestant traditions, so Bolsec's defamatory portrait set the tone and terms for much subsequent anti-Calvin polemic.³ Bolsec’s life and work still stands in the shadow cast by his dispute with the Genevans. The intensity of the rhetoric has obscured the substantial areas of *agreement*, since Bolsec’s theological commitments long remained Reformed in spite of his break with Calvin, and he participated in Reformed theological communities until his final (re)turn to Catholic sponsors.⁴

The Life and Works of Jerome Bolsec

Bolsec was a Parisian, born in the 1520s, but perhaps earlier. He came of age when the French reform was undergoing dramatic changes with the passing of a generation of leaders: Briçonnet, Lefevre, and the great exemplar, Erasmus. In these same years the alliance of the Paris Parlement, authorities of the Sorbonne, and a broad spectrum of nationalists, traditionalists, royalists, papalists, and reformist monastics collaborated to control the books, ideas, and bodies linked to the French humanists, “Lutherans,” and a growing circle of lawyers and humanists devoted to Reformed theology. Many individuals and families were driven into exile: Roussel, Lefevre, and Viret in the 1520s, Cop and Calvin in the 1530s, and waves of promising lawyers, clerics, and teachers in the 1540s.

In 1545 or 1546 Bolsec joined these exiles in leaving France for safety in Ferrara at the court of Renee of France.⁵ Between 1546 and 1550 he was connected with the court of Renee, perhaps among the almoners – a broad category that might have combined duties as chaplain, advisor, and courtier. The turmoil of that royal family encouraged subterfuge and indirection, leaving many questions concerning Bolsec and others hosted/protected by Renee. Bolsec is not mentioned by name in records of the court. It may be during this time that Bolsec trained to be a physician, since when he established himself near Geneva in 1550/51, Bolsec served as private physician to the family of Jacques de Bourgogne, Seigneur de Falais et de Breda (d.1556). It is unknown how or where Bolsec met de Falais, but the later efforts of de Falais on Bolsec’s behalf indicate a strong and abiding affinity.⁶

There is no reason to consider Bolsec's theology remarkable, except that his emphases differed from Calvin. Indeed, the Bolsec conflict was *not* unusual in its origins or its substance – since Paris, Bourges, Lyons, Geneva, Basle, Bern, Strasbourg, were all centers of theological debate and conflict – each town filled with past and potential converts, with alliances shifting year by year.

Bolsec, like many of his generation in an age of reform, blended scholastic training, a particular readiness to debate, and a profound unwillingness to defer on doctrinal points.

The conflict in Geneva 1551

Bolsec's public conflict with Calvin began when he offered his opinions on predestination at one of the “Congregations” in March of 1551 in Geneva. “Congregations” were clergy-led discussion groups, providing some opportunities for interaction among clergy and laity on theological topics. Holtrop notes Bolsec's statement that he had spoken at two of these meetings.

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The pastors in attendance admonished Bolsec in private conversation, perhaps at Calvin's house.

Whether Bolsec continued to attend the Congregations during the spring and summer is unknown.

He attended the Congregation of October 16, 1551, and spoke again on the issue of predestination. This time he offered a pointed critique of Zwingli, and, by implication, of Calvin. Since the resolution of theological disagreements usually became a referendum on Calvin's leadership in the city, the result was rapid and certain. Bolsec was arrested and made the center of a criminal trial. Throughout the trial, issues of authority, freedom of expression, and

doctrinal specificity combined with the complex situation of the political relationship of Geneva to other cities, especially Bern. Trial documents show Bolsec's various strategies to find support and obtain release. He was required to respond to questions posed to him by the Genevan authorities, but Bolsec responded in questions, answering by accusing his accusers. Bolsec also sought to gather help from friends in order to sow discord among his opponents. By appealing beyond Geneva, Bolsec drew attention to the points of tension on some doctrinal perspectives within the Reformed alliance, thereby exposing the Genevans to criticism by their own allies. Advice was solicited from some, with silence expected from others. For example, Bullinger's response strained his relationship with Calvin. By December 23, 1551 the case had been settled, the sentence pronounced: Bolsec was banned from Genevan territories.

Especially damaging to Bolsec was the release (through Philibert Bonna and/or de Falais) during the trial, of a ten-stanza meditative poem he had composed during his imprisonment. This *Lamentation* was not the reason for his trial, but it became a factor in his conviction and expulsion from Geneva. Bolsec's complaint that Calvin and his allies were agents of injustice spoke as loudly (if not louder) as his own theological arguments:

Stanza 1 Mon Dieu, mon roy, ma force et ma fiance
 Mon seul appuy et ma seule esperance
 Vers moy ton serf qui reclame ta grace
 Tourne tes yeulz: et monstre moy ta face.
 Charité dort et cruauté m'assiege
 Pour me tirer en ses filletz et piege.

Stanza 5 Chrestiens sont ilz devenuz tyranniques?
 Chrestins ont-ilz zeles pharisaïques?
 Chrestiens ont-ilz perdu leurs meurs si belles?
 Brebiz de christ sont elles si cruelles?
 O durs assaulx, o mortelles allarmes
 Qui font mon cueur tout consumer en larmes.⁸

Bolsec's strategies escalated the conflict by exposing the Genevans to critique by Reformed allies in other cities. Bolsec also personalized the conflict through his *Lamentation*, presenting the Genevans as tyrants. Predictably, the Genevan authorities closed ranks, rejecting both Bolsec and the implied argument that the Genevans should accept dissent or diversity on points of doctrine.⁹

After his expulsion from Geneva, Bolsec moved to Thonon, within Bernese territories, in January of 1552. Though banned from Geneva, Bolsec was free to continue his critique of Calvin, reaching out to potential Bernese allies while maintaining contact with some Genevans. Holtrop reports Bolsec offered to write a treatise against Calvin in 1552, and that he petitioned (unsuccessfully) the Genevan authorities to be allowed to return to Geneva in 1552 and 1553. In 1554 Bolsec joined with two allies, Andrew Zebedee, and John Lange, to publicly denounce Calvin and the Genevan teachings on predestination. In response to repeated Genevan prompting, this broadside was met by a general Bernese reprimand of Bolsec, followed by an ineffective prohibition of discussion of the topic of predestination in Bernese territories. Throughout the first months of 1555 the Genevans repeatedly complained to the Bernese, seeking to prompt the Bernese to deal with Bolsec's continuing campaign against Calvin. Though Bernese pastors and magistrates found little merit in Bolsec, they did not all agree with Calvin, and, because of political considerations, Bern would not quickly accede to Genevan requests. Finally the Bernese did agree to banish Bolsec on March 31, but allowed him a generous three months to leave Bernese

territories.

Bolsec's exact whereabouts in the next six years are not known. In the fall of 1561 Bolsec was in Bern, requesting permission to pursue some form of ministry. While it is known Bolsec lived in Bern throughout 1562, and into 1563, it is uncertain whether he attended the national Synod of the Reformed churches in Orleans in April of 1562, though he apparently submitted a request for a ministerial appointment. In that year Bolsec published his *Mirouer envoyé de vérité au roy Charles neuvieme* (Paris, 1562), dedicated to Charles IX, appealing for reform in France, just after the Colloquy of Poissy and the Edict of 17 January.¹⁰ This treatise was presented as a message from the goddess Veritie, presented as having appeared to Bolsec in the similitude of a dream at Christmastide, 1561. In spite of its unusual form, and in spite of Bolsec's break with Calvin, his message to the young king presented a recognizably Reformed line of argument, requesting freedom from idolatry and reporting on the recent troubles in Paris.

From Bern, Bolsec moved to Lausanne in April of 1563, but his Genevan opponents had not forgotten him. In August he was among a group deposed at the national Synod of the Reformed churches, meeting in Lyons. Bolsec was denounced as an infamous liar and apostate, though it remains unclear whether and from what status or office he was deposed. Bayle suggested his deposition indicates Bolsec had earlier obtained an appointment in some ministry, while others are less sure, suggesting that the persistent opposition of the Genevans was enough to secure his deposition. In Lausanne Beza prompted another trial to test Bolsec's conformity to the city confession, leading to another banishment in December 1563. His whereabouts in the next years are difficult to trace, though Beza's later writings indicate that the Genevans watched

him in these years, perhaps because of other publications.¹¹ With the death of Calvin in May 1564, the conflict between Bolsec and the Genevans entered a new phase, a phase now completely directed by Beza.

The "Lives" of Calvin

Three months after Calvin's death in May 1564, Theodore Beza published a brief *Vie De Calvin* as a preface to the Calvin's *Commentary on Joshua*. Written as part lamentation, part defense, and part consolation for all who had lost a father in Calvin, Beza's *Vie* opened with a brief prologue in which Beza blended the personal with the polemical. Beza then placed the outlines of Calvin's life and death as a summary and continuation of the broader work of Reformation. Beza sounded the themes of Calvin's honorable fidelity to the work of God, and claimed that Calvin's fidelity to the gospel had somehow protected him from personal animosity and anger, even when confronted with many opponents. Furthermore, Beza's recounting of the many intense controversies and the problems stirred up by vociferous opponents were cited as indications that Calvin played a particular role as God's champion.

Glossing his own devoted friendship with Calvin, Beza appealed for a broadly public reading of Calvin's life, and claimed that all who knew Calvin would testify to Calvin's ability to focus only on the central issues concerning the enemies of God, rather than upon personal sleights or affronts. Shedding this line of argument in the last portion of the work, Beza changed tactics and defended Calvin's anger as righteous, rather than as something base and personal. Beza also defended Calvin against charges of cruelty, avarice, and excessive control. Bolsec was

brought into this narrative after Beza mentioned Anabaptists, Caroli, and Servetus. Briefly listing the main outlines of Bolsec's career before moving on to the next opponents, Beza then listed a group of anti-Trinitarians, political opponents, and others, before invoking the formulaic opening words, "He was born in..." A second edition of the *Vie de Calvin* appeared in 1565. Debate continues as to the relative roles of Beza and Nicholas Colladon in the composition of this work. This second redaction expanded the 1564 work, adding details, names and dates to the text, continuing the character defense of Calvin by stressing the equanimity with which Calvin dealt with those with whom he disagreed. Where the 1564 account had dealt briefly with accusations of a controlling nature in Calvin, the 1565 redaction took a longer line of defense by offering damaging details about several of Calvin's opponents. This tactic acknowledged that Calvin was sometimes a man of anger and occasional intemperance, but implied that his (righteous) anger was directed against their (unrighteous) attacks. In this expanding defense of Calvin, this redaction provided examples from Calvin's life to counter the charges listed briefly in the earlier redaction. This 1565 redaction described Calvin's youth, education, and early ministry, his years in Strasbourg, and then considered his publications down to the year 1551. Bolsec is the first mentioned (CO 21:72-75) in the long section (CO 21:72-93) on Calvin's opponents. Beza/Colladon expanded the treatment of Bolsec, drawing upon the 1551 trial record, and referring to Bolsec as "Mr. Monk" (Monseur le moine), or as exhibiting "monkish" foolishness (impudence Monachle).

Beza published a third redaction of the life of Calvin with his edited selection of Calvin's letters in 1575. This Latin text, the *Vita Calvinii*, revised the 1564 and 1565 editions with a new

preface and incorporated materials from the earlier redactions to provide a picture of the early life of Calvin, including his acquaintances in Noyon, Paris, Strasbourg, and Geneva. This *Vita* presented episodes of Calvin's life as illustrations of virtue, his calm responses to opponents, his nobility in suffering, and his good death. This redaction became the standard biography of Calvin, building on the previous redactions, trimming some sections, expanding others, rearranging the narrative and emphasis. Beza's preface acknowledged, then dismissed, accusations that Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were regarded as gods among the reformers, and worshipped as if gods. Beza artfully described his own work as an artless and simple narrative. Beza's 1575 treatment of Bolsec (CO 21:143-145) is both briefer and more cutting than the earlier redactions. Beza drew upon events from 1551 through the date of composition to complete his effort to present Bolsec as a man without standing or scruple. Beza listed two banishments from Bernese territories, Bolsec's presence at the Synod of Orleans, and added a gratuitous swipe that Bolsec had allowed his own wife to be a prostitute.

For polemical and rhetorical purposes, the personality of Calvin receded in the narrative of his work and words in these three successive redactions by Beza and Colladon. The rhetorical strategy which heightened the central issues/ideas of Calvin's life, likewise flattened the presentation of Calvin's personality. The resulting portrait was of a reformer in little need of change or emendation of his theological position or language.¹ Beza's *Vita Calviniana* presented an active life without much of an actor. As William Bouwsma has observed:

The canonization of Calvin began as early as Beza's *Life*, a work that, from an author who had known Calvin so long and so closely, is curiously lifeless and lacking in human insight. Beza was sensitive to the charge that, after accusing

Catholics of idolatry, he had made Calvin into a 'god.' But his response seems rather to support than to refute this charge.¹²

Bolsec's Response

Bolsec is not known to have published any works between 1562 and 1577. The occasion for his re-entry into the public arena was Beza's 1575 provocations in published correspondence and the *Vita Calvini*. Bolsec's issues with the Genevans were longstanding: mistreatment he suffered during the original trial; the subsequent hounding by Beza and a network of Genevan allies, including involvement at Lusanne and possible involvement in the national Synods of Orleans at Lyons; the insult to his wife; the publication of Calvin's letters in 1575; and finally, the defamatory portrait in the *Vita*.

Bolsec published his *Histoire de la Vie, Moeurs, Actes, Doctrine, Constance et Mort de Iean Calvin* in 1577, a response to twenty-five years of contention and provocation. Holtrop notes Bolsec followed the basic order of the 1564 *Vie de Calvin*, rather than the *Vita Calvini* of 1575, and this may indicate Bolsec may have had his manuscript in preparation for some time.¹³

The 1577

Histoire brought Bolsec back into print with a very public confirmation of Genevan fears. Drawing upon his direct experiences with Calvin, sources from Beza and others, and his own imaginings,

Bolsec offered a portrait of Calvin as the ambitious, cruel, arrogant, and vindictive chief of sinners.

Bolsec pursued at least four goals in his work: to portray Calvin as a heretic; to destroy Beza's reputation and his (Beza's) authority as Calvin's interpreter; to present a counter narrative

“streitschrift;” and to defend Bolsec’s own reputation and theological views.

To portray Calvin as heretic, Bolsec followed a long literary/theological tradition that painted only in negative tones. Pfeilschifter notes the medieval genre of the “Ketzerschema,” the scheme of the heretic, by which *all* the errors of the past and present are projected onto the targeted person. Bolsec agreed with Beza’s claim that Calvin's character was steady and stable, but Bolsec claimed that character was fixed in the form of a heretic, as dangerous to the current Church as were the heretics of the early centuries of Christianity. In keeping with the genre, Bolsec labled

Calvin’s illnesses as the outward manifestation in inward error. Next, Bolsec turned Beza’s own words against him, indicting him as a willing liar in service to his unworthy master, Calvin.

Playing upon Beza's reverence of Calvin as his "master, teacher, and friend" Bolsec posed a series of difficult questions related to Calvin’s politics, personal ethics, and doctrine, in order to undermine Beza’s authority as interpreter and biographer. Thirdly, Bolsec neatly inverted the Genevan narrative of the events of Calvin’s life. Where Beza/Colladon had presented Calvin as a stalwart, stable in his pursuit of God’s purposes, Bolsec claimed that Calvin been a deceiver since his youth. For example, according to Bolsec Calvin had resigned his posts at Noyon in the 1530s not because of scruples, but because he had been "outed" by his enemies, exposed as a philandering sodomite and a fraud (chapter 5). In Bolsec’s telling, Calvin was nearly executed because of his crimes, but was allowed to flee Noyon after receiving a brand on his shoulder.¹⁴

Leaving France for Ferrara,

Bolsec's Calvin changed his name to cover his past. Bolsec claimed that because Calvin had been willing to deceive the gullible through elaborate lies and fabricated miracles, and because Beza was all too willing to trumpet falsehood as truth, the Church was now troubled by a Calvinian sect. Finally, Bolsec presented a running defense of his own theological perspectives throughout the

Histoire, beginning first by aligning himself with the broader Church against the Genevans (chapters 1-2), then presenting a defamatory portrait of Calvin as person and theologian, and finally by invoking God as the Judge of history (chapter 26). For Bolsec, the St. Bartholomew's Day

Massacre (1572) was a lamentable but just consequence of the provocative heresies of Geneva. Bolsec's *Histoire* presented Calvin's heresy, Beza's perfidy, and Reformed credulity. Bolsec's slander was a direct answer to the slanders of the Genevans, like some defamatory call and response.

History and Biography

Biographies, histories, and martyrologies reinforced the confessional lines that separated increasingly self-contained Reformation communities, whose members freed themselves from the burden of reading opposing viewpoints, except for purposes of denunciation. The polemical *Vita Calvini* traditions served these purposes after Calvin's death. Beza's 1575 *Vita Calvini* became the ¹⁵standard within the Protestant camp, and Bolsec's *Histoire* served as the standard source for

many subsequent writers among non-Protestants. Writers professed their preferences, and readers confirmed their prejudices, through selective but reinforcing presentations of the "other." As Mario Turchetti has shown, description often yielded to polemical need in these texts, as "personality" supplanted the actual persons involved. These competing interpretive traditions continued in Beza's and Bolsec's successors. Several defenses of Calvin appeared in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth-century that prompted and responded to attacks on Calvin. Bolsec's *Histoire* proved useful to the anti-Protestant traditions, joining Francois Baudouin's disciple Papire Masson (1544-1611), Florimond de Raemon (1540-1601) and other champions of resurgent Catholicism.

Raemon could easily disown Bolsec's details while retaining the basic portrait of Calvin as heretic. Charles Drelincourt's *La Defense de Calvin* (1667) relied on Beza, but knew enough of Bolsec to dispute his sources and interpretations. Pierre Bayle's summary judgments of the Reformers and the conflicts of the sixteenth century challenged dogmatic excess, but his critical essays gave no comfort to anti-Protestant groups or individuals.¹⁶

Conclusion

Jerome Bolsec was one of many whose conflict(s) with Calvin and his allies drove him into exile and opposition. The intense rhetoric and the substantive disagreements between Bolsec and the Genevans have tempted most to accept the Beza/Colladon picture of Bolsec as a troubled and troubling outsider, rather than as a legitimate dissenting voice within the Reformed tradition.

The conflict between Bolsec and the Genevans began in disagreement, moved through denunciation, and culminated in defamatory biography.

The Beza/Colladon portraits presented a reformer with few flaws, while the Bolsec portrait presented a Calvin with no virtues. Because these interpretations were interactive, taking place within a lively and intense polemical context, contemporary students do well to gain a familiarity with both traditions, and to subject both traditions to scrutiny. The Beza/Colladon and Bolsec portraits are neither equal, nor interchangeable. Nevertheless, consideration of either requires recognition of both. Beza/Colladon's three lives of Calvin and Bolsec's *streitschrift* present the false choice between *either* a sanitized *or* a demonized portrait in biography. Instead we must recognize the inevitable place of polemic within religious biography, even in the best biographies of our most cherished reformers.

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¹For a recent summary of classical models of biography, see Richard A. Burrige, "Biography," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C. – A.D. 400* edited by Stanley E. Porter (New York: Brill Academic, 1997), pp. 371-191. See also Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008). See also Olivier Millet, *Calvin et la dynamique de la parole* (Geneva 1992). See also, *Histoire de la rhétorique dans l'Europe moderne 1450-1950*, edited by Marc Fumaroli (Paris 1999), including an overview by Olivier Millet, "La Réforme protestante et la rhétorique (circa 1520-1550)," *Ibid.*, pp. 259-312. Of course, the category "confessionalism" is problematic, with the definition changing from decade to decade.

²See Irena Backus, "Roman Catholic Lives of Calvin from Bolsec to Richelieu: Why the Interest?" in *John Calvin and Roman Catholicism: Critique and Engagement, Then and Now*, edited by Randall Zachman (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), p. 25-58. See also *Calvin and His Influence, 1509-2009*, edited by Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³See Jean-Robert Armogathe, "Les Vies de Calvin au XVIe and XVIIe siècles," in *Historiographie de la Réforme*, edited by Philippe Joutard (Paris 1977), pp. 45-59. See also Daniel Ménanger, "Théodore de Bèze, Biographe de Calvin," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance* 45, no. 2 (1983), pp. 231-255. See also Backus, "Roman Catholic Lives of Calvin . . .," pp. 25-58. For details of the three redactions of the *Life* of Calvin, see Frédéric Gardy, *Bibliographie des Œuvres Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva: Droz, 1960), items 172-221.

⁴See Frank Pfeilschifter, *Das Calvinbild bei Bolsec und sein Fortwirken im französischen Katholizismus bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Augsburg: FDL-Verlag, 1983), which includes a critical bibliography of the editions of Bolsec's main text, pp. 375-397. See also Philip Holthrop, *The Bolsec Controversy on Predestination, from 1551 to 1555: the Statements of Jerome Bolsec, and the Responses of John Calvin, Theodore Beza, and Other*

Reformed Theologians 2 vols. (Lewiston, New York: E. Mellen Press, 1993). See also responses to Holtrop, including Brian Armstrong's review in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 3 (1994), pp. 747-750, and Richard Muller's review in *Calvin Theological Journal* 29 (1994), pp. 581-589.⁵ How far up the academic ladder Bolsec climbed remains an open question. The *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* refers to Bolsec as "Sacrae Theologiae Doctor," but his name is not found among the theology faculty of the University of Paris.

⁶See Mirjam van Veen, "'In excelsis honoris gradu': Johannes Calvin und Jacques de Falais," *Zwingliana* 32 (2005), pp. 5-22.

⁷Holtrop, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 54, quoting CO 8, pp. 154ff.

⁸The text of the *Lamentation* is found in CO 8:226-227. See Holtrop's English translation and discussion of the text and its variations, *The Bolsec Controversy* vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 544-561.

⁹See Henri Fazy, editor, *Proces de Jerome Bolsec* (Geneva, 1865). The case texts are printed in the *Corpus Reformatorum* 36 (Calvin, vol. 8), col. 145-248, and have been minutely reviewed by Holtrop, Pfeilschifter, and Fazy. I follow their exposition of the trial and the movements of Bolsec in the 1550s and early 1560s.¹⁰See Chiara Lastraioli, "Bruits d'armes contre bruits de papier: un rare opuscule de Bolsec adressé à Charles IX," in *Le bruits des armes: mise en forme et désinformations pendant les guerres de religion (1560-1610)* (Tours: Champion, 2012), pp. 39-57.

¹¹See Lastraioli's assertion that Bolsec authored *Le double des lettres envoyées à Passevent Parisien, par le Noble et excellent Pasquin Romain, contenant en vérité la vie de Jehan Calvin* (Paris: Pierre Gaultier, 1556). See Chiara Lastraioli, "D' un texte inconnu de Jerome Bolsec contre Calvin," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 10, no. 2 (2008), pp. 157-174.

¹²William Bouwsma, *John Calvin: a Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 236, note 8.

¹³Holtrop, *The Bolsec Controversy*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 785-800.

¹⁴See Pfeilschifter, *Das Calvinbild*... See also Christopher Elwood, "A Singular Example of the Wrath of God: The Use of Sodom in Sixteenth-Century Exegesis," *Harvard Theological Review* 98, no. 1 (2005), pp. 67-93.

¹⁵See Mario Turchetti, *Concordia o Tolleranza?: François Bauduin (1520-1573) E I "Moyenneurs"* (Geneva: Droz, 1984).

¹⁶See Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Pierre Bayle's Reformation: Conscience and Criticism on the Eve of the Enlightenment* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2001).