kingdom of God on earth and developed an idea which came dangerously close to the doctrine of universal salvation.

After a further visit to Wittenberg and a meeting with Luther at which the reformer roundly condemned his chiliasm, Borrhaus went to Strasbourg. Despite initial hesitations, he soon met with the favour of the leading Protestants of the city, Martin Bucer and above all Wolfgang Capito. In the course of his residence he met most of the nonconformists who had sought refuge in Alsace—Schwenckfeld, Servetus, Hans Denck, Ludwig Hätzer and others. His friendship with Hätzer, however, was brief for, in 1527, Borrhaus defended the execution of Felix Manz in Zürich. He seems to have done so in order to prove his allegiance to Zwingli, but any sympathy the Swiss reformer may have had for him was dispelled by the publication in the same year of the *De operibus Dei*. The emphasis on the humanity of Christ, the continued opposition to baptism resulting from a highly spiritualised interpretation of the sacraments, the chiliasm and the views on predestination which again seemed to expand the kingdom of God way beyond anything acceptable to the more orthodox Protestants, led Zwingli to attack the work and dismiss Borrhaus as an Anabaptist.

Yet Borrhaus had his defenders. At first he was defended by Bucer, Oecolampadius and Capito. In due course he lost the support of Bucer and Oecolampadius, for the two men were alarmed by his influence on Capito. This became fully evident when Capito published his commentary on Hosea in 1528 and, in his turn, quarrelled with Bucer. Borrhaus’ influence, Lucia Felici argues, went further still. His ideas affected the Italian dissidents Celio Secondo Curione and Agostino Mainardi. They seem to have impressed Sébastien Castellion. And his work remained highly popular among the Antitrinitarians. The youthful Borrhaus, therefore, not only illustrates a remarkable curriculum, the study of which throws light on numerous lesser known aspects of Protestantism, but he also takes his place among the more important thinkers on the borders between “Reformation and heresy”.

A. Hamilton


The Italian Protestants have at last come into their own. Prompted by Delio Cantimori and encouraged by Antonio Rotondo, the editor of “Studi e testi per la storia religiosa del Cinquecento” who has himself made fundamental contributions to the subject, the study of religious dissent in sixteenth-century Italy is now thriving. Scholars tend to concentrate on individual cities, and Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi’s book on Lucca is a welcome addition to a growing body of works documenting the importance of the Reformation in the Italian peninsula.

In the sixteenth century Lucca differed from other cities in central Italy in various respects. As an imperial city it prided itself on its independence and managed to resist the imposition of the Roman Inquisition. It had a tradition of civic piety fostered by its merchant aristocracy which led to a deep hostility towards papal representatives and an equally deep anticlericalism. In the 1540s this tradition induced the rulers of Lucca to entrust the magistrates with the supervision of education. They thus excluded the
Church (which controlled most of the educational system elsewhere in the peninsula) and adopted a humanistic system in force in certain Protestant cities in Switzerland and Germany. A town famed for its merchants, Lucca had emigrant colonies throughout northern Europe which could act as a link with the Reformation and could later provide a haven for other dissidents. Independent and broad-minded, the magistrates were characterised by a remarkable toleration, and even when they were forced to proceed against nonconformity in the late 1550s, they preferred to allow the culprits to choose exile rather than to enforce any penalty within the city. In doing so, however, they often proved to be protecting members of their own families. If many of Lucca’s dissidents came from the middle and lower classes, a strikingly high proportion—some 20%—was from the patriciate. It was the greatest families of the town—the Burlamacchi, the Trenta, the Calandrini, the Arnolfini, the Balbani, the Turrettini, the Buonvisi—who produced influential converts to evangelism and Protestantism.

Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi shows how widely the city was affected by evangelism in the early years of the sixteenth century. The piety of Savonarola had had a strong influence—the great Hebrew scholar Sante Pagnini, one of his more illustrious followers, was from Lucca—and Savonarola’s spirituality is apparent in the works of the popular devotional writer Pietro da Lucca. Lucca also had numerous links with Erasmus. Various patricians were amongst his keenest admirers—Silvestro Gigli, bishop of Worcester, and his nephew Martino, the three Buonvisi brothers, Antonio, Vincenzo and Ludovico—as well as Andrea Della Rena (Ammonius), Pietro Vanni and others. Noted dissidents were invited to the city and expounded their views on grace and freedom of the will. Bernardino Ochino preached there in 1538. Aonio Paleario from Veroli near Rome, who was already under suspicion in the 1540s and was to be executed for heresy in 1570, was put in charge of reforming the educational system in Lucca in 1546. Relations were entertained with the main centres of Italian evangelism, with Ferrara and Modena, and with the circle of Cardinal Pole in Viterbo and the followers of Juan de Valdés in Naples.

The event which seems to have been decisive in tipping sympathies in Lucca from evangelism to Protestantism was the nomination of the Florentine Pietro Martire Vermigli in 1541 as prior of the Augustinian convent of San Frediano. Vermigli, in turn, appointed Paolo Lazise from Verona to teach Latin, the converted Jew Emmanuel Tremellius to teach Hebrew, and Celso Martinengo from Brescia to teach Greek. Within a short time the entire convent seems to have been infected, and the infection spread further, particularly after 1549 when Martinengo himself was made prior. By the time this Protestantism became truly perceptible it was, Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi shows, far closer to Calvinism than to Lutheranism. When the converts emigrated, many proved their allegiance by choosing Geneva.

For most of the poorer citizens of Lucca Protestantism was a manifestly patrician movement. This was what ultimately undermined it and prepared the way for a triumphant Counter-Reformation. Dissatisfaction was provoked by the economic crisis which started in the 1550s. The victims of the crisis turned into willing allies of the papacy.

Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi’s study is admirably documented and fascinating to read. She goes well beyond an analysis of strictly religious views, examining the broader cultural and political situation. Her book is not only a major contribution to the study of Protestantism in Italy but it also provides a fascinating background to the descendants of Lucca’s dissidents, a number of