

Apocalypticism, Millenarianism, and Prophecy: Eschatological Expectations between East-Central and Western Europe, 1560–1670

*International workshop of the project
Intellectual Networks in Central and Western Europe,
1560–1670*



15–16 January 2009, Institute of Philosophy,
Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic,
Jilská 1, Prague 1
1st floor, Conference room (No 124a)

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Thursday, 15 January

9:00–9:15 Introduction

9:15–12:30

Chair: Prof. Nicolette Mout

9:15–10:15 Prof. Howard HOTSON (Faculty of History, University of Oxford, Oxford):
Intellectual Networks, Universal Reformation, and Early Modern
Millenarianism: The *status quaestionis*

10:15–10:30 *Coffee break*

10:30–11:30 Dr. Pál ÁCS (Institute of Literary Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Budapest): Humanist Historical Research and Apocalypticism: Hungarian
Relations in Johannes Löwenklau's *Historia Musulmanae Turcorum* (1591)

11:30–12:30 PhDr. Lucie STORCHOVÁ (Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences,
Prague): Eschatological Discourses and Humanism at the University of Prague

The time devoted to each paper will include a half-hour presentation and a half-hour discussion.

12:30–14:00 *Lunch*

14:00–18:15

Chair: Dr. Pál Ács

14:00–15:00 Prof. Mihály BALÁZS (Department of Early Hungarian Literature, University of
Szeged, Szeged): Unitarian Millenarianism in Transylvania

15:00–16:00 Ms Pavlína CERMANOVÁ (Centre for Medieval Studies, Institute of Philosophy,
Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, and University of Konstanz, Konstanz):
"Un édifice déjà construit?": Medieval Prophecy in Reformed Apocalyptic
Discourse in the 17th Century

16:00–16:15 *Coffee break*

16:15–17:15 Dr. Peter FORSHAW (School of English and Humanities, Birkbeck College,
University of London, London): Paracelsian Apocalypse: Alchemy and
Prophecy in Early Modern Central Europe

17:15–18:15 Dr. Rafał PRINKE (Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego, Poznań): "Heliocantharus
Borealis": The Alchemist Michael Sendivogius and Fourth Monarchy
Millenarianism

The time devoted to each paper will include a half-hour presentation and a half-hour discussion.

Friday, 16 January

9:00–12:15

Chair: Dr. Vladimír Urbánek

- 9:00–10:00 Dr. Jana HUBKOVÁ (Municipal Museum, Ústí nad Labem): The Early Versions of Christoph Kotter's Prophecies: Their Sources, Symbols and Relationship to pro-Palatine Pamphlets
- 10:00–11:00 Mr Pavel HEŘMÁNEK (Evangelical Theological Faculty, Charles University, Prague): J. A. Comenius and Christina Poniatowska: Prophetic Revelations and Theology
- 11:00–11:15 *Coffee break*
- 11:15–12:15 Ms Martina LISÁ (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig): The Perception of Prophecies in Bohemian Emigré Circles: The Case of Pirna

The time devoted to each paper will include a half-hour presentation and a half-hour discussion.

Lunch 12:15–14:00

14:00–18:45

Chair: Prof. Howard Hotson

- 14:00–15:00 Dr. Vladimír URBÁNEK (Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague): The Reception of Alsted's Eschatology among Bohemian Exiles: Partlicius, Skála and Comenius
- 15:00–16:00 Dr. Noémi VISKOLCZ (University of Szeged, Szeged): Millenarianism in Theory and Practice in Mid-17th Century: Johann Permeier's Circle
- 16:00–16:15 *Coffee break*
- 16:15–17:15 Dr. Leigh PENMAN (University of Melbourne, Melbourne): *Schola Spiritus Sancti*: The Chiliastic Underground in the Holy Roman Empire, 1600–1630
- 17:15–18:15 Mr Brandon MARRIOTT (University of Oxford, Oxford): Jewish Mercantile Networks as Intermediaries in the Communication of Apocalyptic Expectations between England and the Levant
- 18:15–18:45 Prof. Nicolette MOUT (Research Institute for History, University of Leiden, Leiden): Closing remarks

The time devoted to each paper will include a half-hour presentation and a half-hour discussion.

ABSTRACTS

**Intellectual Networks, Universal Reformation, and Early Modern Millenarianism:
The *status quaestionis***

The paper is designed to provide a two-fold introduction, both to the topic of this workshop in particular and to the broader series which it inaugurates. Its point of departure will be the failure of past scholarship adequately to account for the universal reform movement of the mid-seventeenth century in narrowly national or confessional terms. The first part of the paper will indicate this failure with reference to two important components of that movement. First, the pansophic component of the universal reform programme will briefly be shown to originate, in large measure, in a repeatedly transplanted and disseminated tradition which derived crucial stimuli, at one period or other, from virtually every major Protestant community in Europe. Second, the current state of research on early modern apocalypticism and millenarianism will be explored in somewhat greater depth in a manner designed to show the failure to account for its significance and impact within narrowly British terms in particular. Neither pansophia nor millenarianism, it will then be argued, can be adequately accounted for in narrow national or confessional terms because both were generated by and developed within intellectual networks, centred in central Europe, which were international, multi-ethnic, and also often multi-confessional in scope. It follows from this, that the national orientation of scholarship on millenarianism in particular and the broader universal reform programme more generally needs to be supplemented by a new breed of scholarship more explicitly international in scope. The second and briefer part of the paper will be devoted to showing how the concrete conditions for such international coordination have steadily improved in the two decades since 1989 and how the structure of this current workshop and the series of which it is a part are designed to help advance this fresh wave of international scholarship on the universal reform agenda and the international networks which generated and sustained it.

**Humanist Historical Research and Apocalypticism:
Hungarian Relations in Johannes Löwenklau's *Historia Musulmanae Turcorum* (1591)**

The present paper is about the Turkish Histories (*Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* 1588; *Neuwer musulmanischer Histori türckischer Nation*, 1590; *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, 1591) written by Hans Löwenklau (Joannes Leunclavius). The German humanist was one of the best orientalists of the 16th century. Firstly he gave a good Ottoman History for the western audience on the basis of the original Turkish histories. He had a number of Hungarian relations. He took a part in the war against the Turks in Hungary in 1594. Then he died some weeks later in Vienna. He was a Calvinist (or Crypto-Calvinist) having good connections with the freethinkers of the contemporary Republic of Letters. All his writings were put on the Roman Index. He used for his works Hungarian sources: the so called codex Verantius and the codex Hanivaldanus. First of these manuscripts belonged to the famous Hungarian humanist Antal Verancsics (Antonius Verantius), the other one was more striking: it had been translated to Latin by Tarjuman Murad alias Balázs Somlyai, a Hungarian born chief interpreter at the Ottoman Porte. On one hand Löwenklau was a typical 16th century intellectual, on the other hand he was close to the scholarly and religious movements of the 17th century. His works are infiltrated by apocalyptic expectations, prophecies about the end of the Ottoman Empire, the reunion of the Roman Empire as well. At the same time Löwenklau had very deep and serious scholarly aims. The ordinary Hungarian audience had aversion against this combination of apocalypticism and scholarly research, so it is not amazing that Hungarian historiography is silent about this great historian of the time.

Eschatological Discourses and Humanism at the University of Prague

In my paper I focus on ways how one of the most important eschatological discourses (Melanchthon's concept of the so-called fatal periods, *anni fatales*) was modified by humanists at the University of Prague during the second half of the 16th century. While recent scholarly literature stresses a "pandemic character" of eschatological thought after the outbreak of the Reformation, I would like to analyse how the eschatological discourses were rewritten and how they functioned in individual texts produced within the school humanism that concentrated primarily on "writing in excerpts". Historical narratives on fatal periods were applied by the Prague university humanists mostly entirely without explicitly eschatological connotation; they became a part of a university curriculum and one of "rhetorical training" topics for students as well. Fatal periods can be thus interpreted as a tool of shaping scholarly community, which also should be understood in this sense as a textual effect. They further legitimized the scholarly institution and enabled to acquire a patronage in the literary field. In the concluding part of my paper I compare the university historical narratives on fatal periods with Czech vernacular humanism, where beside the vague transmission of the fatal period's concept also a rare apocalyptic vision could be thematised (in the texts by the so-called Veleslavín's circle).

Millenarianism in Transylvania

This study concentrates on treatises and commentaries on the Apocalypse from the end of the 16th century, written in Hungarian and spread in the form of manuscripts. These treasures of Transylvanian Unitarianism, still unpublished and only partially known even by Hungarian scholars, have the potential to substantially modify the understanding of the relationship between Antitrinitarianism and Millenarianism. Texts by Benedek Óvári, Pál Karádi, Miklós Bogáti Fazakas and György Enyedi attest to their multifaceted visions. Inspired by works of earlier representatives of European Antitrinitarianism (Servet, Palaeologus, Matthias Vehe-Glirius), they offered very different interpretations concerning essential points, as well as eloquent refutations of the concept that Sabbatarianism and Millenarianism were unavoidably intertwined in end-of-the-sixteenth-century Antitrinitarianism. (The author's position is that this concept basically reflected the simplistic view of that time which most markedly appeared in the obviously prejudiced Fausto Sozzini.) The analysis of Pál Karádi's commentary on the Apocalypse reveals moments of independent theological inquiry in greatest detail, and lessons of this work's survival are also pertinent. The author thinks that all these, once again, underline the exciting and unique moments of the Transylvanian evolution. The question of Millenarianism definitely is a reminder of how the slow and delayed confessionalization in Transylvania made it possible for Antitrinitarianism to remain an extraordinary phenomenon until the mid-17th century. The pursuit of explanations only reinforces that Polish models must not and cannot be applied in the understanding even of the period leading up to Ferenc Dávid's imprisonment.

“Un édifice déjà construit?": Medieval Prophecy in Reformed Apocalyptic Discourse in the 17th Century

The general crisis of society, wars, external menace, historical breaks, are all elements that have always been interpreted as a part of apocalyptic course of events. The prophecies were perceived as a medium of religious communication, which contributed to interpretation and understanding of events of the period as an unavoidable element of apocalyptic scenario, embodied in the predestinated intention of God.

One of the main characteristics of the medieval apocalypticism was the proclamation of general reform. Medieval apocalyptic prophecies included terrifying forecasts, but it also held out the promise of a great spiritual and moral renewal of the society. The concept of general reform was linked to many other ideological ideas, like the socioreligious construct of Antichrist, the Last Emperor myths, the changing paradigm of enemy or utopian vision of returning golden age. The concept of „apocalyptic-oriented“ reform was extended by the growing secularisation of medieval culture and society. While in the 12th century the prophets spoke first and foremost of the reform of the church or more specifically of monastic life, in the high middle ages the idea of reform was applied on all spheres of society (ex. Reformation Kaiser Siegmunds).

Medieval apocalypticism was the key source for a long tradition, it was exploited by the protestant but also catholic propaganda and ideology, which draw on the large stock of medieval apocalyptic lore. The early modern authors connected consciously their own reform concepts with the medieval prophecies. They quoted not only biblical books, but also medieval prophetic authors, whose prophecies should have been fulfilled at the time (prophecies by Sibylla Tiburtina, Hildegard of Bingen, Joachim of Fiore and his followers etc.).

Such elements of early-modern society, like the forms of self-consciousness and self-observing, religious or universal reform, political utopianism or conceptions of the figure of the eschatological ruler were themselves intimately related to the continuing evolution of medieval prophetic and apocalyptic visions. The ancient and medieval images of crisis, of an unavoidable suffering and of general reform were transformed, reshaped, refocused and reconceptualised in the social imagination and political concepts of early modern authors. The medieval prophecies were mediated to authors of 16th and 17th century among others by the popular collections of texts, i.e. of medieval prophecies. In my paper I would like to analyse these „mediatory“ collections or editions of medieval prophecies, which themselves were quoted by the authors of the 16th and 17th century. I focus my attention first and foremost on the *Lectio memoralium et reconditarum centenarii XVI* of Johann Wolf and *Prognostication* of Johann Lichtenberger. On the basis of these collections I would like to describe and analyse usage of traditional mediaeval apocalyptic prophecies in the reform and prophetic literature of the 16th and 17th centuries, to find changes in their form, content and applications. The main question to answer is which of the mediaeval prophecies were adopted by the early modern prophetic literature and in which manner they were then used and modified in the frame of the reform rhetorics. The idea of the reform in the 16th and 17th centuries was linked to mediaeval concepts of a general *renovatio mundi*, whereas religious and political themes were in this tradition thoroughly mixed. The varied strains of medieval apocalypticism entered a new phase of intensification, were filled with the new ideological and political contents, but the constitutive frame remained conserved.

“Heliocantharus Borealis”: The alchemist Michael Sendivogius and Fourth Monarchy millenarianism

Alchemy and prophecy were often closely related in both medieval and early modern periods. The status of an alchemical adept, believed to be the possessor of the Philosophers' Stone, included a better understanding of the created world and the ability to foresee its future development. Johannes de Rupescissa and Paracelsus are the best known examples of prophets-chemists, but many other texts, often pseudographic, ascribed to famous alchemists, also contain eschatological and millenarian theories or visions. This tendency found its apogee in the early 17th century and the Rosicrucian furore with its predictions of general reformation and strong alchemical overtones. At the same time (1616) the Polish alchemist Michael Sendivogius published his third work, *Tractatus de Sulphure*, in the preface to which he described briefly his own millenarian scheme based on the Biblical Prophecy of Daniel, reinterpreting the Four Monarchies as related to the points of the compass and predicting the imminent coming of the last of them, the Northern Monarchy or Monarchia Borealis. He promised to say more in the forthcoming work entitled *Harmonia* but unfortunately it never appeared nor is any manuscript of it known so the analysis of both the origins and influence of his millenarian ideas can only be based on that short section. The fact that Oswald Croll nicknamed Sendivogius “Heliocantharus Borealis” or Northern Scarab in his posthumously published *Basilica chemica* (1608) suggests that the Polish alchemist had already been viewed as the harbinger of Monarchia Borealis in the early years of the century or even in 1599 when his contacts with Croll are documented. An influence of John Dee on Sendivogius may be discerned, as well as that of the political situation of Poland with its crown prince Władysław Vasa being elected the tsar of Moscovy in 1610 (in addition to his hereditary rights to the throne of Sweden and Poland, he was also one of the pretenders to the title of the King of Jerusalem). Such notions of the unique role of Poland in the divine scheme began to appear in the 16th century and formed the “Sarmatian” ideology prevailing among Polish nobility from the 17th century well into the 20th century, and formed an interesting offshoot of Polish Messianism in the early 19th century. Its influence on Sendivogius may also be guessed from his choice of the anagrammatic pseudonym “Divi Leschi genus amo” and from the fact that Michael Maier in *Symbola aureae mensae* (1617) called him “Sarmata anonymus” and placed as the last of the twelve alchemical adepts of twelve nations (which can also be considered as another circle of unfolding history).

The Fourth Monarchy prophecy of Sendivogius was quoted and reprinted separately, outside of its alchemical context, in Germany and England, and was probably also used in Sweden in conjunction with the pseudo-Paracelsian prophecy of the Northern Lion for Gustav Adolf's political propaganda. Some of its influence flowed through the intermediary of Johann Heinrich Alsted, who adapted it for his own syncretic scheme of prophetic chronology and acknowledged his source. Alsted's importance for the early modern intellectual world has only been recognized in recent decades, especially through the meticulous research of Howard Hotson, so the place of Michael Sendivogius within that world needs to be reassessed. It can be shown that Alsted must have known Sendivogius personally in the early years of the century and knew more details about his chronological theories, as in his “*Circulus iudiciorum dei*” (1614) he openly identifies the Northern Monarchy with Poland.

The Earliest Versions of Christoph Kotter's Prophecies: Their Sources, Symbols and Relationship to Pro-Palatinate Pamphlets

In the early 17th century, the Lands of Bohemian Crown, consisting of five provinces (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Upper Lusatia and Lower Lusatia), were a specific area in Central Europe where a more varied spectrum of Protestant confessions and non-conformist currents lived alongside one another than in German imperial regions. Notably, a singular religious climate dominated the borderland between Lusatia and Silesia, where – particularly after the second expulsion of the so-called crypto-Calvinists from Lutheran Saxony (1591) – numerous non-conformist groups and individuals had found a haven. The singular religious climate was especially dominant in the royal town of Görlitz/Zgorzelec inhabited not only by the instructors of the local Melanchthonian-oriented *gymnasium*, but also by the distinctive Jakob Böhme, whose circle of friends included Christoph Kotter.

In the first part of the paper, the author concerns herself with the life story of the tanner Christoph Kotter from Sprottau (Polish: Szprotawa, Czech: Šprotava), who learned his trade in Görlitz and made his living travelling between Görlitz, Sagan, Liegnitz and Breslau (Polish: Wrocław, Czech: Vratislav). She examines the history of his revelations and their contents. In addition, she makes note of the earliest Czech, German and Latin manuscript and print versions of Kotter's prophecies. She pays special attention to the earliest extant printed text "Wunderbarliche Offenbahrungen..." (Breslau 1623), which she discovered at the Oberlausitzische Bibliothek der Wissenschaften in Görlitz in 2007. She also focuses on the Czech manuscript version, which is a part of the manuscript collection of prophecies completed around 1631, originally held in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, then lost and rediscovered recently in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow.

In the second part, the author deals with the relationship between Kotter's visions and prophetic political writings in broadsheet form in 1618–1632, devoted to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, as palgrave, king, antiking, exile and symbol of hope. She draws comparative material from the following printed sources, defined on the basis of a comprehensive catalogue of pamphlets and broadsheets on Frederick which was part of her dissertation:

1. Official estates and royal propaganda, printed in Prague (Petr Fradelius and the so-called Carolinum literary group)
2. Materials printed by Silesian printing presses on occasion of a royal progress to receive the homage from his subjects in the incorporated crown lands (Silesia, Lusatia)
3. Unofficial texts printed by both Czech and foreign authors (Habervešl, Felgenhauer, Plaustrarius).

The author devotes herself to the prophecy of the lion from the north and its two differing ramifications (the Paracelsian prophecy and the prophecy of the Schmalkaldic burgher Sigismund Gartamar). She also touches on the ties between Kotter's visions and an inventory of elements found on other items representing both the estates and Frederick V, particularly on coins, medals and the emblematic decoration of the arch erected in Frederick's honour in Breslau.

J. A. Comenius and Christina Poniatowska: Prophetic Revelations and Theology

First, basic features of religious imagination in the 16th and 17th centuries will be summarized briefly, according to the confessional situation in Central Europe. The prophetic revelations of many individuals from different social groups, of various professions and ages were widespread phenomena of Central European Protestantism throughout the 17th century and particularly in the long period of the Thirty Years' War and progressing Recatholicisation and persecution of the Protestants within the Habsburg monarchy. Jan Amos Comenius enumerated 16 prophets between 1616–1665 in his famous edition of prophecies *Lux e tenebris*. According to some sources, more than thirty men and women are known having so called revelations.

The major theologians of the period were sceptical about this phenomena, they saw it distrustfully or refused it. On the other hand, some of those who experienced prophetic revelations personally edited, commented and defended them – usually in controversies with the adherents of orthodoxy. Among these theologians sympathetic with the prophecies, Jakob Fabricius, superintendent of Pommerania and confessor of Gustavus Adolphus, and especially a famous Czech emigré, intellectual, humanist and reformer, Jan Amos Comenius, belonged to the most well known.

Comenius met a visionary Christina Poniatowska by coincidence in North Bohemia and he adopted her to his family very quickly. In 1628, they emigrated from Bohemia to Leszno in Poland - the centre of the Unity of Brethren in exile. Comenius recorded all details of many of Poniatowska's extatical visions and therefore dramatical destiny of this young girl can be analysed and also the structure of themes of her 85 prophetic revelations can be described. They also can be compared with revelations of two other girls from the lands of Bohemian Crown, edited by Jakob Fabricius in Stettin.

The main focus of this paper will be on theological reflections of Poniatowska's revelations presented in a small Latin tract written by Ponitowska's father Julian Poniatowski. Initially, he was an oposer of all new prophecies but having heard his daughter's arguments, he had believed them and wrote a comment of her prohecies. In the last part, the most important and the most systematical reflection of the phenomenon of prophecies will be discussed – Comenius's tract *De veris et falsis prophetis* written in 1629. Here, Comenius summarized his theological view in 63 points and for the first time, he formulated his eschatology influenced by prophetic revelations of Poniatowska.

The Perception of Prophecies in Bohemian Emigré Circles: The Case of Pirna

The emigration from the Bohemian Lands, which began as a result of the Battle of White Mountain and the consequential Recatholicisation actions, represents a complex phenomenon of the early modern history. For those emigrants the term “*Exulanten*” (in English religious exiles) was already in this time established. The exiles have chosen their places of refuge based upon the concrete confessional situation, but in general almost close to the Bohemian border. And so, particularly the so called New Utraquists and Lutherans went to Saxonia, where the majority of the exiles found their asylum. Places like Annaberg, Freiberg, Marienberg, but most of all Dresden, Zittau and Pirna were important host communities.

Václav Nosidlo of Geblice, a well standing burgher from the north Bohemian town Litoměřice, an intellectual and last but not least, an exile, had left his homeland for religious reasons in 1626 and lived in a Saxon exile for the rest of his life. He spent the first 13 years of his exile in the Saxonian town Pirna, which was one of the most important centres of the Bohemian exiles in the time of the Thirty Years’ War. He shared the fate of many, but as one of few, he had left an important, previously marginally used source: the chronicle surveying events from 1626 until 1639. In this work Nosidlo had recorded events from his time and areal horizon - i.e. particularly from Bohemia and Saxonia - which are heavily dictated by the strongly confessionalising cadence of a non-Catholic living in exile. For this reason this text provides interesting insight into the exile mentality and that not only through the way he described the events, but also by the way he chose his themes. The fixation of the prodigies and portents - of the belief in the “miracles”, including supernatural apparitions and prophetic visions - takes a very important and broad part of the chronicle.

This lecture would like to present this interesting source in addition to a cursory overview of the situation of the Bohemian Exiles in Pirna. As an introduction the exile community of Pirna as well as the author of the chronicle will be presented. The analysis of form and content of the chronicle will follow. The main part focuses on the prophets, who are mentioned in this source. The reception of the prophecies will be put in context of contemporary mentality while relating to pamphlets, broadsheets and other prints, which circulated in large dissemination in the circles of Bohemian exiles and which are mentioned in other ego documents of this period.

**The Reception of Alsted's Eschatology among Bohemian Exiles:
Partlicius, Skála and Comenius**

This paper focuses on reception of eschatological and millenarian schemes, especially of the scholarly provenance, within the circles of Bohemian and Moravian Protestant exiles at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

The first part will summarize the main theses of my recently published Czech monograph. Following the works of Nicolette Mout and especially Howard Hotson's book on Alsted's millenarianism, I have analyzed the works of several representatives of the Bohemian and Moravian emigrés and tried to show how they derived their concepts from three main traditions and discourses: that of Melancthonian eschatology, with its conception of fatal periods, secondly, that of astrological history with its theory of great conjunctions and, last but not least, that of the Rosicrucian manifestos with their prediction of general reformation. I have investigated how these works used eschatological and millenarian schemes within scholarly discourse and within the genre of political propaganda.

In the second part, I will discuss three peculiar cases of the exiles from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown whose works prove the shift from broadly eschatological concepts of history and chronology to the schemes derived from the learned millenarianism, most notably from the works of the leading Calvinist theologian Johann Heinrich Alsted, in the second half of the 1620s. The first one is a less known humanist, astronomer and physician Simeon Partlicius (ca 1590-after 1640) whose highly eclectic works combined several intellectual traditions mentioned above and earlier Bohemian schemes of eschatological chronology (derived, for example, from the work of Václav Budovec of Budov). In his *Metamorphosis mundi* (1626) Partlicius copied several important passages from Alsted's *Thesaurus chronologiae* (1624) including his famous calculation of the beginning of millennium. The second exiled intellectual is a well known historian Pavel Skála of Zhoř (ca 1583-ca 1640), one of canonical figures of standard Czech histories of literature and historiography, whose vernacular manuscript *Historie církevní* (Church History) belongs to the most important primary sources of the turbulent years of the early seventeenth century including the Bohemian Revolt and its aftermath. I show that the modern reading and selective editing of his *opus magnum* distorted to a certain extent our ability to understand its eschatological background. This eschatological framework will be documented mainly from another of Skála's unpublished manuscripts, *Chronologie církevní* (Church Chronology), the second example of highly derivative but important rewriting of Alsted's schemes. Finally, I will deal with Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670), one of the most prominent figures of Czech national canon, whose works received enormous attention, nevertheless, some aspects of his thought, especially his believe in modern prophecies and partly his millenarian thought are still inadequately interpreted. I will attempt to document the shift from the general eschatological motives in his works from the 1620s to more specific expression of the millenarian rhetoric which later became an integral part of his pansophic projects of universal reform.

**Millenarianism in Theory and in Practice in Mid 17th Century:
Johann Permeier's Circle**

In my paper I shall draw attention to a very special group from the middle of the 17th century, of which members lived in different regions of West and Central Europe, but their common religion and their German language united them, nevertheless. One finds in the centre of this group a man from Vienna/Austria, called Johann Permeier (1597-1644?). He was a talented organiser and propagandist of heretic ideas such as “Weigelianism”, millenarianism etc. He founded a virtual society (*Societas Regalis Jesu Christi*) with participants as Abraham von Franckenberg (Ludwigsdorf, Silesia), Lorenz Grammendorf (Berlin), Florian Crusius (Danzig) or Mechior Beringer von Königshofen (Pressburg, Hungary). In the first part of my talk I shall introduce Permeier and his circle, and the main sources and literature dedicated to this theme.

In the second part I shall take a look at those chiliastic books, pamphlets and manuscripts, which were read in this circle: first of all Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Diatribē* (1627), then Joseph Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627), a book from the unknown Heinrich Meerbotius (*Sententia definitiva*, 1633) and finally Permeier's interpretations to these works. Permeier himself also published a millenarian commentary on the Book of Daniel (*Unpartheyische Censur*) in 1644, in which he scrutinised the problem of millenarianism within Protestantism. According to his main idea the Reformed millenarians (Alsted, Mede, Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld) were coming before Lutherans.

Finally, I shall discuss the spread and influence of the Permeier-phenomenon that attracted truly considerable attention in contemporary Protestantism. Permeier's followers were rejected as marginal heretics and were formally condemned as new prophets, enthusiasts, outsiders by such mainstream theologians as Osiander, Nicolaus Hunnius or Nicolaus Baring.

**Schola Spiritus Sancti: The Chiliastic Underground
in the Holy Roman Empire, 1600-1630**

This paper introduces an almost entirely unknown network of chiliasts and religious dissidents which flourished in the Holy Roman Empire and beyond during the first three decades of the seventeenth century. Incorporating Rosicrucian, Schwenkfeldian and Behmenist factions and interest, this group was devoted to the propagation, or alternatively and introduction, of a future Golden Age for Europe and the world.

While this network did not possess a name, nor a single unified social, religious or political goal, nevertheless did most participants in its various machinations claim to have belonged to a „School of the Holy Spirit“: I have dubbed this largely inchoate network, which integrated active as well as passive elements the ‚Chiliastic Underground.‘

Through the prism of one participant, the Torgau astrologer and theosopher Paul Nagel (c. 1575-1624), I will impart something of the extent and nature of this affiliation of religious dissidents and reformers. Although cantankerous, disputative and disorganized, the chiliastic underground and the adepts of the School of the Holy Spirit ensured an enduring legacy through vigorous prophecy and a surprisingly effective and prolific publication schedule.

**Jewish Mercantile Networks as Intermediaries in the Communication of
Apocalyptic Expectations between England and the Levant**

The seventeenth century was ripe with millennial and messianic excitement throughout the Judeo-Christian world. This paper discusses my current doctoral project that explores millenarianism in a cross-religious and transnational manner and argues that this approach can add a fruitful avenue of enquiry to the field. In particular, I examine how population displacement created intersecting networks that were used to spread millennial and messianic information along a conduit from the Ottoman Empire through Italy and the Netherlands to England and beyond. After highlighting examples of the movement of this information, this paper discusses the theoretical and methodological framework that supports this approach in order to demonstrate how elements of world history and network analysis can add a new dimension to the study of early-modern millenarianism.