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Cover Page

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Conclusion

In 1612, a group of scholars from the Florentine *Accademia della Crusca* published the first Italian language dictionary, the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*. The fruit of many years of collective work, this *Vocabolario* was groundbreaking in that it organised its entries alphabetically rather than by subject as had previously been customary. According to the *Accademici*, the language of fourteenth-century Florence was the most beautiful and appropriate on the Italian peninsula. To inspire contemporary authors, the lemmas of the *Vocabolario* therefore included quotations from the three canonical writers of the Florentine 'Golden Age': Dante, Petrarch, and Bocaccio, and from other fourteenth-century Florentine authors. These quotations illustrated the correct meaning and use of each word. The dictionary became well-known and was used widely throughout the Italian peninsula and beyond.[1]

The concept that has been central to this study, that of trust, appears in the dictionary under the term *fidanza* (as well as under *fiducia*).[2] To convey its meaning, the *Accademici* adopted a citation from the third part of Dante Alighieri's masterpiece the *Divine Comedy*. In this third part, called *Paradise*, the protagonist, who is Dante himself, is guided upwards through the heavens by Beatrice; this journey is an allegory for the soul's ascent towards the vision of God. On his way through the nine celestial spheres, Dante meets Saint Benedict among other souls in heaven (in canto 22) and desires to see his face, as all bodies of the souls in celestial spheres were veiled by a warm light that hid their bodily appearance. Dante, initially, is too overwhelmed by everything that is happening to ask for this favour. Despite his initial

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[1] For the history of the Vocabolario, see for instance: Luca Serianni, *La lingua nella storia d'Italia*, 2nd ed. (Rome; Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 2001), 122–33; Claudio Marazzini and Ludovica Maconi, *La lingua italiana. Storia, testi, strumenti* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010), 159–1; Claudio Marazzini, *Breve storia della lingua italiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004), 137–40.

[2] *Vocabolario dell'Accademia della Crusca*, first edition (Venice, 1612), 345. Online at: http://www.lessicografia.it/pagina.jsp?ediz=1&vol=0&pag=345&tipo=1 (consulted on 27-06-2019).

fear, some way into the conversation with Benedict who speaks to him from inside the light, Dante explains how *trust* made him find the courage to ask anyway:

> The affection you show in / speaking with me and the good appearance that / I see and note in all your fires [in the lights of the blessed souls in heaven whose bodily appearance Dante cannot see] / have made my *fidanza* blossom, as the / sun does a rose when it unfolds as much on / its stem as it has power to do.[3]

In reply, Benedict explains that Dante's request to see his human appearance can only be answered in the Empyrean, the highest of heavens, where all desires are fulfilled.

This passage from Dante's *Paradise*, cited in the *Vocabolario*, gives an interesting insight into what, in the early years of the period I have examined, the *Accademici* thought that trust entailed. The trust that Dante articulates involves an *expectation* of something good, namely the vision of Saint Benedict's face, which he hopes to see realised in the future. This expectation is expressed in the analogy of the rose that is still closed but waits to be brought to blossom. Dante's *fidanza* is based on the concrete, positive experiences that he has while speaking with Benedict, or, in his own words, on things he sees and notes (here, seeing is a faculty of the eye and noting is an act of the intellect). Experiences that foster Dante's trust in his interlocutor are the willingness he sees in Benedict and the other souls to work for his good. At this point in the journey, Dante has already noticed "the affection" that is shared by the souls of heaven ("la carità che tra noi arde") especially in Benedict's readiness to reveal to him who he is. Moreover, Dante's trust is founded in the conviction that Benedict is really able to help him, as expressed in the metaphor of the sun that is able to make a rose blossom to its full potential. Last, in these few lines on *fidanza*

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[3] "L'affetto che dimostri / meco parlando, e la buona sembianza / ch'io veggio e noto in tutti li ardor vostri, / così m'ha dilatata mia fidanza, /come 'l sol fa la rosa quando aperta / tanto divien quant'ell'ha di possanza" Canto 22, verses 52-57, Dante Alighieri, *Commedia. Paradiso*, ed. A. M. Chiavacci Leonardi (Bologna: Zanichelli, 2000), 400. English translation from: Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Volume 3: Paradiso*, ed. Ronald L. Martinez, Reprint edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 439. I adapted the final last sentence of Durling's translation, that read "when it becomes as open on / its stem as it has power to do". For purposes of clarity, I also replaced "confidence" with the Italian original *fidanza*.

the experience of trust is closely linked to "good appearance": though Dante has been unable to see the true human nature of those he has encountered in heaven, he has already perceived many clues that they are positively disposed towards him. One can say that the souls that Dante encountered have built a good reputation in his eyes. As we have seen, one's reputation, matured over time, was closely linked to the experience of trust.

All facets of trust mentioned in the 1612 lemma on *fidanza* may be found in my research on the importance of trust in the Catholic Reformation. Though often not expressed in such exact words, the trust of the seventeenth-century people whom we have encountered seems to have been the expectation of something good based on the experience of the willingness and abilities of others. The result of our experiment of looking at trust and its importance in seventeenth-century religious reform is not a complete overview of the Church in Genoa in the seventeenth century; that was not its purpose. Important aspects of the early modern Genoese Church have been omitted: I did not delve into the many lay religious institutions such as confraternities and hospitals that operated on the border between the ecclesiastical and the secular spheres, nor did I extensively study the numerous lay devotions that were prevalent in the day-to-day life of the early modern Genoese people. Apart from the Lazarists and the Jesuits, other religious orders and congregations that played a key role in the local ecclesiastical landscape have received but little attention. Neither did this thesis place particular emphasis on the political aspects of early modern Catholicism. The conflicts about jurisdiction and precedence between the local Church and the Republic, the relationship between Genoa and the papal court, the influence on the local Church of family networks that were so prevalent in the city, and the role of the Inquisition, all deserve more attention. This dissertation is as much an attempt to contribute to what other historians have already revealed of the complicated reality of the early modern Church in Genoa, as it is an invitation to further explore the trust mechanisms at play in its different ambits, including those I did not touch upon.

The trust perspective used in my analysis did bring to light dynamics within the Catholic Reformation that would have otherwise remained out of sight. Recently, scholars have pointed to the fact that various pivotal aspects of the Catholic

Reformation such as the new efforts towards education and persuasion, disciplinary reform and the forging of confessional identity 'from below', all required a certain level of conscious cooperation between common people and the elite, as well as between laymen and clergy, and within the Church at large. Making explicit the ways in which trust relationships were at the heart of this cooperation and were consciously sought after or eschewed, depending on precise priorities, has helped us to go beyond mere power structures. Using trust and distrust as a lens to look at the Catholic Reformation also allowed us to consider two developments that occurred simultaneously and in equal measure: the changes and reforms that were imposed from above without the consent of subordinates, and those that involved the freedom and choice of people within and outside the Church hierarchy, whose support and cooperation was asked for. It furthermore helped explain why contemporaries, even though they were more or less conscious of the benefits of a trust approach, at times preferred tactics of distrust: in some cases, they followed priorities that left no room for the freedom of those involved (for instance, in the case of female cloistered convents).

Scholars of the early modern Church in Genoa will have encountered in this study situations and events that are familiar to them. In fact, without the many local studies on the religious landscape of the Republic, it would have been impossible to delve deeper in the manner that I have done. Yet the trust perspective, besides bringing to light lesser-known facets of the early modern Genoese Church, has sharpened our view on why the reform of the clergy was such a slow and troublesome endeavour in the Republic. The studies on criminal clergy and the image of the "good priest" that have recently dominated the historiography on the Church in seventeenth-century Genoa convey the impression of a priesthood that hardly changed, and whose exponents often prioritised worldly values like family honour and vengeance over Tridentine dictates. My research went a step further and has shed light on the reasons behind this slow transition: the secular clergy could only be reformed effectively via a trust approach, i.e. by trying to create a distinct ideal that people and other clergy trusted and would want to imitate. This approach, however, brought with it new trust-related problems. Two examples used in this thesis are the outrage among the laity at the sight of priestly garments – now worn more visibly –

being abused; and the scandal among the clergy of seeing certain groups of priests being favoured by the archbishop. Both developments, though intended to foster the reputation of the clergy, paradoxically also provoked distrust.[4]

The particular geopolitical situation of Genoa in the seventeenth century has helped us to appreciate even more clearly the importance of trust relationships for effective reform. Political power in the Republic was shared among elites who were internally divided. One might say that cooperation and a certain level of mutual trust were forced upon the Republic's citizens because they felt besieged by the powers that surrounded them and threatened Genoa's independence. The crises that struck the city in the 1620s (famine, war, financial setbacks) and the plague epidemic of 1657-8 brought the city even more instability and thus fostered the need for some level of cooperation. On an economic level, too, at least some mutual trust was expedient for the elites in order to agree on what direction the city should take to safeguard its position in a world of changing possibilities. Finally, we have seen that the Republic stood out for its particular relationship between the city and its hinterlands, on which the mere imposition of rules from above had little effect. This tactic had to be substituted – in both the ecclesiastical and secular sphere – with an attempt to win trust in order to effect durable change.[5]

Taking Genoa as a fruitful case study, we have seen that early modern trust can be studied not only in the field of politics, science, news and long-distance networks as previous historians of trust have done, but also in the context of institutional changes. A trust perspective offers the possibility of examining major institutions like the Church without overlooking the role of individuals within and outside, at the top or at the bottom. Our study also taught us more about early modern trust. It demonstrated that, contrary to what Frevert argued, trust could be a thoroughly positive experience even prior to the Enlightenment.[6] It showed, at the same time, that the reasons to trust can change through time. For many early modern people, trust was central to their religious experience. This implies that if we want to

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[4] See chapters two and three.
[5] See chapter two.
[6] See pages 37-8.

understand early modern religion better, we have to study trust. The opposite is also true. If scholars want to deepen their understanding of how early modern people experienced trust, they are helped by studying religious values that contemporaries saw as essential (most importantly, obedience, but also freedom, vocation, indifference, etc.).[7] We have furthermore learned that seventeenth-century clergy themselves were aware of the pivotal role that trust played in their lives and in their religious experience.

Chapters two and three examined why the Catholic Reformation was such an ambiguous, multilayered process. They have revealed that precisely because reforms needed trust to become successful, the road to this success was not without obstacles and setbacks. The second chapter has shown that advocates of reform often adopted forms of trust management in order to reach their aim. Though reformers might not have thought about their approach in terms of trust, in all three examples that the chapter presented – that of the *missionari urbani* and their fellow clergy, the Lazarists and their popular missions, and the Jesuits and their families – trust management was the strategy employed because it was deemed more efficient than other methods. Durazzo adopted it to reform the clergy in his diocese: he created a trustworthy elite group in the hope that other priests would follow their example or else risk losing the trust of the lay people. The laity indeed started to trust and support the *missionari urbani* and similar groups more than the old clergy. A side effect of this policy, however, was that its success caused resentment among the priests who felt disadvantaged. Some give-and-take was inherent to trust management strategies. Preaching missions as a means to win trust and convert the people toward the Tridentine ideals always left room for individuals to return to their old habits. Still, the Lazarists' ability to win the trust of the rural population were seen by secular and ecclesiastical authorities as a convenient way to strengthen their grip on the countryside and to further reform. Finally, the Jesuits relied on forms of trust management because they needed important families as their allies in order to maintain their strong position in the urban landscape. However, at times this strategy entailed sacrificing the wishes of individual Jesuits for this aim. The three examples

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[7] See chapter seven.

thus demonastrate that the reform process involved much give and take, and that a trust perspective helps us understand better why this was the case. Also, they show that trust management strategies, even though they could make reform more complicated, were often deemed more efficient than the mere imposition of rules.

The third chapter showed that reforms intended to improve the trustworthiness of the clergy caused new trust-related problems. One central question that historians have recently dealt with regards the professionalisation of the secular clergy and why it was such a troublesome and ambivalent process. The example of the clothing regulations, aimed to foster the trustworthiness of the secular clergy, has given some insight into the following paradox: while the separation between clergy and laity slowly became clearer in the seventeenth century, as the Council of Trent had intended, abuse of the clerical status also became easier. Those who did not aspire to become priests but wanted to profit from the benefits of the ecclesiastical state by entering the minor orders blemished the cassock with their questionable behaviour. Moreover, the clearer the separation between the clergy and the laity, the more apparent dissimulation and other transgressions of the physical borders between the two spheres, which unsettled the laity and caused scandal and distrust. During the seventeenth century, which can be characterised as a period of transition, several reforms that generated a clearer (physical) separation between the clergy and the laity and that were meant to foster trust created instead new situations for distrust.

Chapters four and five focused on a second contrast that puzzles present-day historians: that between the common repression by the urban elites of women's freedom of choice regarding their (religious) vocation, and the recurrent support of new types of female religious vocations by both the laity and the clergy. What partly explains the contrast is the presence or absence of trust in the women involved, which in turn hinged on whether they were afforded a certain measure of freedom. Contemporaries were aware of the fact that people rarely make the effort to change their behaviour when they are not trusted in the first place. Still, the reform of Genoa's cloistered convents relied on distrust – on regulations and an attempt to pre-empt damage – and not on the expectation that the women were able and willing to change autonomously. The reason behind this attitude was mostly the urban elite's

refusal to change a system in which many girls were forced to enter the convent for reasons of family strategy. Seventeenth-century people – that is, the Church hierarchy, the nuns themselves, and even the people who worked for the Magistrato delle Monache – knew that it was precisely this lack of freedom that was the main reason behind the troubles in some female convents, and yet these cloistered convents were too convenient for noble families at a time when dowries were very high: the convent was a prestigious, safe, and relatively cheap alternative to giving one's daughter in marriage. While aware that the main problem of these convents was that their inhabitants lacked the freedom to choose what kind of life to live, the dominant approach was not to tackle this problem, but to mitigate its consequences by regulating visits, spying and punishing male visitors and interfering in the internal affairs of the convents: all without much success.

Contemporaries knew that often the most effective way to change the situation of female religious life so that it would conform to Tridentine ideals was to start a completely new and independent initiative, as several elite women in Genoa did in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet all new initiatives required trust, and trust, in turn, required freedom, something which elite women were not easily granted. Different factors could create this freedom: a woman's social position, the economic circumstances that created a specific need for charitable action, and the support of important patrons with particular interests that matched those of the prospective founder. When a new initiative remained outside public display, a female founder could operate in relative freedom and required less trust than if she needed to operate very publicly. Contrary to what we might expect, to elicit trust for a new cloistered convent was as difficult as finding support for a new type of apostolic life, though the obstacles varied greatly.

The final part of this dissertation has shown how obedience, a central value in early modern Catholicism and often used to paint a rather monolithic picture of a Counter-Reformation imposed from above, actually hinged on trust. The presence in Genoa of two male religious congregations, the Lazarists and the Jesuits, sheds light on the relationship between the two concepts of obedience and trust. First, the correspondence between the Lazarists who came to Genoa and their Superior General Vincent De Paul revealed that a new religious congregation with the

intention to establish itself in a different city was presented with a dilemma that centred around trust and obedience. Arriving in a city that already brimmed with other orders and congregations, this new group had to win and maintain trust. To do so it usually helped to please and obey prospective patrons. At the same time, the Lazarists did not want to deviate from their original mission and their *modus operandi* since these had earned them the initial trust in Genoa and elsewhere that enabled them to start new foundations. Hence, the Lazarists were instructed not to blindly obey outsiders, not even their main patron Cardinal Durazzo. The Lazarists slowly won Durazzo's complete trust, not by pleasing him through obedience, but by managing his expectations all the while safeguarding their authentic mission. Internal obedience, based on trust and goodwill between all members of the congregation, fostered this process. Similarly, it was only in time that the Lazarists started to trust Durazzo without reserve and could consequently obey him in everything, because they saw that he shared their interests. It was in this eventual voluntary obedience that the initial trust dilemma was resolved.

The Jesuit correspondence with their Superiors General, in particular the *indipetae* letters, gave further insight into obedience, a core value of the Society of Jesus. The obedience that the Jesuits professed in their letters to the Superior General in Rome, and the indifference that they proclaimed to experience – values that enabled them to write and to persist in the desire for the mission - both clearly depended on trust: the trust, fostered through experience, that the Superior General and God worked for the good of the letter writer. Trust in the Society, the validity of one's missionary desire, and divine providence empowered the individual Jesuit to take up his pen and ask to be sent to a faraway country. Trust also played a decisive role on the other side of the correspondence: Superiors General based their selection of missionaries on signs of a special suitability for the mission and a persistent willingness to go, namely on trust. Initiatives 'from above', from Durazzo and from the Jesuit Superiors General, relied on obedience. Yet this obedience was only feasible in the context of a trust-relationship matured over time. This insight helps us to better understand something that has recently preoccupied historians: the fact that these pivotal values in early modern Catholicism – obedience and indifference

– were not monolithic categories.[8] Indeed, obedience and indifference varied because the trust relationships that supported these attitudes could change over time.

In answer to the question of this study – namely how practices of trust and distrust used in Catholic reform affected its success – we can conclude that the success of the Church's reform was often linked to strategies of winning trust even though this approach came with shortcomings; we can also say that Catholic reformers were conscious of the importance of trust. Key players in the reform, such as proponents of the new religious orders and congregations, but also someone like Vittoria Bracelli who initiated a new religiously inspired charitable initiative, needed a capital of trust from several parties in order to flourish in any given area: from the local bishop, to the urban authorities, as well as the local people whose support was vital.

Secondly, trust was of particular importance in the Church's reform endeavours because when aiming to elevate the trustworthiness of a group (i.e. when aiming for moral reform), this proved to be most effective when done on a voluntary basis. The reform of the secular clergy was difficult if the clergy were not convinced that living up to the Tridentine standards was for their own good, for example by seeing an alternative type of priest that attracted the laity and therefore resources and esteem. The same goes for the female cloistered convents and semi-religious initiatives: in those cases where the freedom of their members was safeguarded, the women were more capable and willing to live up to the Tridentine ideals and were creative in how they achieved this.

Third, our analysis has shown why practices of *distrust* used for reform were much less effective. Since distrust implies a negative expectation of the other's capabilities and willingness, an approach of distrust does not allow a person the freedom to act in a fruitful way: it is for this reason that people never enthusiastically followed a reform when it was a clear expression of distrust. But even though disciplining and punishment provoked far fewer long-term changes, if not outright resistance, they often seemed more attractive strategies than a trust approach because they could produce some immediate, albeit less profound, results (for instance

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[8] See chapters 2 and 3.

because some rigorous rules could persuade people that their behaviour would have negative consequences).

Finally, I have argued that many Catholic reformers were well aware of the importance of trust and consciously used tactics to obtain and maintain certain trust relationships. They knew, for instance, that a trust relationship provided a stable base of support which, in turn, secured the financial means that were key to success.

This study not only aimed to delve into the role of trust in the Catholic Reformation but also to answer Geoffrey Hosking's call to explore the history of trust itself. One important conclusion that can be drawn is that, in the seventeenth century, a particular type of trust existed that Hosking and other students of trust have chiefly attributed to the twentieth century: that of "strong thin" trust. Strong thin trust means that people have to rely for important things on other people whom they hardly know and who are distant from them. We have seen that, for something so fundamental as the salvation of their souls, people in seventeenth-century Genoa, especially those from the countryside, had to trust an institution that went much beyond the local circle of trusted people. This trust was definitely thin and fragile, as the success of the Reformation in other parts of Europe has shown.

What also became apparent is that, at the Council of Trent and during the century that followed, many leaders of the Church were conscious of how "thin" – in Hosking's sense of the word – the trust of their faithful was. Many reformers therefore consciously attempted to turn it into strong *thick* trust: i.e., they tried to ensure that the confidence of the faithful in the universal Church became ever more grounded in a solid trust towards local Church exponents that were part of each adherent's small circle of people they knew well. These local exponents of the post-Tridentine Church – the secular clergy, religious men, cloistered nuns and semi-religious women – were to progressively embody the ideals that the higher echelons of the Church had envisioned at the Council of Trent. More than rules from above, it was this dynamic of trust that, where it functioned well, can explain the success of the Catholic Reformation. Yet, as reform relied on trust, it was a rather complex process that involved the free will of many people – within and outside the Church hierarchy – whose interests did not always coincide.

More research on how various types of trust were manifested in different periods of history is necessary: what my research on the Church in Genoa shows is that the idea of a linear development from a medieval prevalence of strong thick trust to our modern era with much reliance on strong thin trust can be nuanced. Moreover, a quick glance at the recent history of Catholicism tells us that the relationship of the individual faithful with the Church continues to rely on a delicate combination of strong thin- and strong thick trust. The occasion for crises of trust remains at hand precisely because the faithful rely on the Church for matters of great importance to them, which therefore involve "thick trust".[9]

While I was working on this dissertation, several historians published studies that approach early modern Catholicism in a new way, via phenomena that have an intangible yet very real and personal dimension to them. In 2016, an edited volume appeared that centred on the concept of doubt in relationship to the Church(es) in different historical epochs: *Doubting Christianity: The Church and Doubt*.[10] It included several contributions on the early modern period from different confessional viewpoints.[11] The work that Silvia Mostaccio published that same year (discussed in chapter seven) delved into the categories of obedience and conscience and their

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[9] John W. O'Malley, 'The Council of Trent and Vatican II', in François and Soen, *The Council of Trent*, 402–3.

[10] Frances Andrews, Charlotte Methuen, and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Doubting Christianity: The Church and Doubt*, Studies in Church History 52 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[11] While entering the discussion about the possible coexistence of doubt and faith in the sixteenth century, Alexandra Walsham's main argument in her contribution is "that the conflicts and schisms engendered by the Reformation served simultaneously to exacerbate and complicate the uncertainties people experienced as internal struggles converged with the formation of confessional identities." Ian Forrest's chapter expounded the similarities and differences in the ways that late medieval bishops, lay people and theologians trusted or doubted their knowledge of the material world and knowledge of God, while Patrick S. McGhee explored the role of doubt, unbelief and spiritual uncertainty in the writings of English post-Reformation theologians. Of particular interest is also Lucy Busfield's contribution that sheds light on the fact that, also within puritan spirituality, ministers were considered to be trustworthy and indipensable "pastoral specialists" in cases of spiritual distress or religious doubt. Alexandra Walsham, '"Dowting of Ye Cupp": Disbelief about the Eucharist and a Catholic Miracle in Reformation England', *Studies in Church History* 52 (2016): 232–49; Ian Forrest, 'Trust and Doubt: The Late Medieval Bishop and Local Knowledge', *Studies in Church History* 52 (2016): 164–85; Patrick S. McGhee, 'Unbelief, the Senses and the Body in Nicholas Bownde's The Vnbeleefe of S. Thomas (1608)', *Studies in Church History* 52 (2016): 266–82; Lucy Busfield, 'Doubt, Anxiety and Protestant Epistolary Counselling: The Letter-Book of Nehemiah Wallington', *Studies in Church History* 52 (2016): 298–314.

significance for Jesuits around 1600.[12] In 2017, Moshe Sluhovsky published his book *Becoming a new self*, in which he addressed "not only early modern Catholic notions of selfhood and subjecthood, but also subjugation and the place of agency and desire in early modern Catholic imaginations".[13] Stefania Tutino examined in her 2018 book, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism: A History of Probabilism*, how Church exponents during the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries dealt with uncertainty at a moral and epistemological level.[14] The state of the art therefore suggests that historians of early modern religion, and particularly of early modern Catholicism, are entering a new realm of research: from doubt to obedience and from selfhood to uncertainty, subjects are tackled that centre around the individual believer and his attempts to cope with the complicated and changing reality of the time within the framework of his beliefs. My research on the importance of trust and distrust in early modern Catholicism fits within this trend. While the project has confirmed the fruitfulness of working with a rather intangible category, it had to leave out many aspects of the seventeenth-century Church that could also be studied through the lens of trust and could further our understanding of the Catholic Reformation. I therefore hope that my research encourages others to deepen the study of the historical implications of the ineradicable need for trust relationships in the life of each individual, including those individuals who shaped the Church in the early modern period.

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[12] Mostaccio, *Early Modern Jesuits.*

[13] Moshe Sluhovsky, *Becoming a New Self. Practices of Belief in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 2. One of Sluhovsky's earlier books deals with themes such as the discernment of the spirits, the reliability of witnesses, and early modern methods to distinguish truth from falsehood; all subjects that are closely related to our concept of trust. Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2007).

[14] Stefania Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism: A History of Probabilism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); By the same author: *Shadows of Doubt: Language and Truth in Post-Reformation Catholic Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2007).