



# Locke and Religion

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# Introduction

Diego Lucci

John Locke is well known for his “way of ideas” and his political theory, both of which have an enduring legacy in western civilization. His epistemology had a significant impact on the development of modern empiricism, while his proto-liberal ideas played a foundational role in the making of the liberal political tradition. However, besides being an important philosopher and political thinker, Locke was also a talented theologian, and his religious views strongly influenced his philosophical, moral, and political thought. After settling at Oates Manor in Essex in 1691, he devoted most of his later years to theological writing, besides revising *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* multiple times. In the mid-1690s, he wrote and published his major book of theology, *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as Delivered in the Scriptures* (1695). He was subsequently involved in heated disputes about his heterodox religious views, particularly with the Calvinist divine John Edwards and with the Bishop of Worcester and famous scholar Edward Stillingfleet. In the 1690s and early 1700s, he also wrote numerous theological manuscripts and took plenty of handwritten notes about religious subjects such as biblical revelation, miracles, original sin, salvation, redemption, and resurrection. At the same time, he worked on the unfinished *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul*, which appeared posthumously in several volumes between 1705 and 1707. However, Locke’s interest in religious themes, although emerging prominently in his later years, permeated his thought since his youth, as his correspondence and private writings demonstrate. Between the 1660s and 1680s, he composed various manuscript essays concerning theological and religious issues, including, among others, the “Essays on the Laws of Nature” (1664) and “An Essay concerning Toleration” (1667). Moreover, his major philosophical and political works, all published in 1689-1690, denote his faith in scriptural revelation, in a Divine Creator and Legislator of the universal law of nature, and in an afterlife with rewards and punishments. *An Essay concerning Human*

*Understanding* provides a profoundly religious account of what it means to be human. Describing human life as a “pilgrimage [...] to a State of greater Perfection”<sup>1</sup> – that is, to another life beyond – Locke conceived of both the education of the mind and the endeavor to behave morally as duties towards the Divine Creator and Lawgiver. Thus, he wrote the *Essay* for a twofold purpose – that is, to explore the foundations of knowledge and to shed light on morality, which he defined as “*the proper Science, and Business of Mankind in general*”.<sup>2</sup> He argued that God’s existence falls within the scope of demonstrative knowledge, and he attempted to infer the existence of the Creator from a consideration of “all the Works of the Creation”<sup>3</sup> and of our own existence and constitution.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, he acknowledged the limits of human reason in theological matters, as well as the difficulty to demonstrate moral ideas (although he regarded morality as demonstrable in principle). Therefore, while maintaining that the “Candle-light” of natural reason “shines bright enough” for purposes relevant to human knowledge and conduct,<sup>5</sup> he regarded divine revelation as a necessary complement to reason, and he portrayed reason and revelation as sustaining one another:

*Reason* is natural *Revelation*, whereby the eternal Father of Light, and Fountain of all Knowledge communicates to Mankind that portion of Truth, which he has laid within the reach of their natural Faculties: *Revelation* is natural *Reason* enlarged by a new set of Discoveries communicated by God immediately, which *Reason* vouches the Truth of, by the Testimony and Proofs it gives, that they come from God.<sup>6</sup>

For Locke, it is only thanks to biblical revelation that human beings can be assured of the existence of things “above reason”, such as otherworldly rewards and punishments, which are the way in which God enforces His justice.<sup>7</sup> The divine moral law and divine justice also play an important role in Locke’s political theory. In *Two Treatises of Government*, he described the law of nature as a divinely given, inherently rational, eternally valid, and universally binding moral law, made by God for His rational creatures to follow. Accordingly, he

<sup>1</sup> Locke, *Essay*, IV.xiv.2, p. 652.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV.xii.11, p. 646.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I.iv.9, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IV.x.1-6, pp. 619-21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I.i.5, p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, IV.xix.4, p. 698.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV.xvii.23, p. 687, and IV.xviii.6-10, pp. 693-96.



regarded obedience to the God-given moral law, and particularly to the imperative to preserve the self and the rest of humankind, as a duty towards the Divine Creator and Legislator, whose workmanship, servants, and property all human beings are, having been “sent into the World by his order, and about his business”.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, he referred extensively to the Bible, and particularly to the Book of Genesis, to strengthen his views on liberty and equality and to reject the divine right theory of kingship, since he portrayed Adam as a representative of humankind (and not as a monarch, as Robert Filmer had done in *Patriarcha*) when commenting on God’s donation of the world to Adam.<sup>9</sup> He referred to the Christian Scriptures in *A Letter concerning Toleration* (1689), too, particularly when advocating the separation between the state and churches, as he maintained that the Gospel does not commit the care of souls to the civil magistrate, whose purpose and duty is only to procure, preserve, and advance the civil interests of the members of the commonwealth. Moreover, *A Letter concerning Toleration* and Locke’s other writings on this subject denote his theistic notion of life and morality, since he declared in the *Letter* that the “Business of True Religion” is morality.<sup>10</sup> He indeed thought that, since the universal law of nature is God-given, “the beleaf of a deitie” is “the foundation of all morality & that which influences the whole life & actions of men”, as he wrote in the manuscript “Essay concerning Toleration”.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, he maintained that atheists, being intrinsically immoral and antisocial, cannot be tolerated in the civil commonwealth.<sup>12</sup>

Whereas Locke’s philosophical and political works denote a religious view of life and the world, he expounded his theological ideas in an explicit and thorough (albeit not systematic) way in *The Reasonableness of Christianity* and in the other writings on religion, public as well as private, that he composed in his later years. He wrote the *Reasonableness* to react, on the one hand, to the resurgence of antinomianism in the 1690s, especially among English Dissenters, and on the other to the spread of deistic ideas. Opposing antinomian notions of salvation, as well as the deists’ overreliance on natural reason, he formulated a soteriology in which repentance for sin, a sincere endeavor to obey the divine moral law, and faith in Jesus the Messiah play a crucial role. He thought that these “Truths delivered in Holy Writ”, being essential to salvation,

<sup>8</sup> Locke, *Two Treatises*, p. 271.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156-71, 285-87.

<sup>10</sup> Locke, *Letter*, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Locke, *Essay concerning Toleration*, p. 308.

<sup>12</sup> Locke, *Letter*, pp. 58-59.

“are very plain: ‘Tis impossible, I think, to mistake their Meaning; And those certainly are all necessary to be explicitly believ’d”.<sup>13</sup> Given the difficulty of demonstrating moral ideas, and given humanity’s generalized failure to make out “an entire body of the *Law of Nature*” through natural reason,<sup>14</sup> Locke relied on the Gospel to discover the divine moral law in its entirety and perfection, as he declared in a letter he sent to William Molyneux in April 1696, almost one year after the publication of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*: “The Gospel contains so perfect a body of ethics, that reason may be excused from that inquiry, since she may find man’s duty clearer and easier in revelation, than in herself”.<sup>15</sup> Locke indeed believed that Jesus had restored the God-given law of nature, thereby emphasizing the need to repent for sin and obey this law. This is why in the *Reasonableness*, instead of searching for the epistemological foundations of morality and consequently establishing a science of ethics on principles consistent with his way of ideas, Locke aimed to promote the practice of morality and the development of moral character based on a Scripture-grounded theological ethics.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, he argued that Jesus, besides restoring the rational law of nature, had revealed important things above reason, such as the existence of an afterlife with rewards and punishments, as well as God’s mercy of the faithful who, during their earthly life, repent for their sins and attempt to obey the divine moral law. Without God’s forgiveness, which Jesus promised to the repentant faithful, it would be impossible for anyone to be “justified” for their sins and consequently achieve salvation, since no one is infallible and, thus, exempt from sin. For all these reasons, Locke judged faith in Jesus the Messiah (and in his salvific message) to be the central article of Christianity.<sup>17</sup>

While Locke considered the fundamental tenets of the “Law of Faith”, established by God through Christ, to be unequivocally revealed in Scripture, he admitted that there are many non-fundamentals “a man may be ignorant of; nay, disbelieve, without danger to his Salvation”.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, in the *Reasonableness* he claimed to rely exclusively on Scripture and focused especially on the fundamentals of Christianity. On the other hand, he disregarded doctrines that he later defined as unscriptural and “disputed”, such as the satisfaction

<sup>13</sup> Locke, *Vindications*, II, p. 175.

<sup>14</sup> Locke, *Reasonableness*, pp. 148-50.

<sup>15</sup> Locke to William Molyneux, 5 April 1696, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 5, p. 595.

<sup>16</sup> Nuovo, *John Locke*, 215-18; Lucci, *John Locke’s Christianity*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>17</sup> Locke, *Reasonableness*, pp. 17-22, 120.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

theory of atonement.<sup>19</sup> He also held an obstinate public silence on the Trinity, even when Edwards and Stillingfleet asked him to clarify his position on the Trinitarian dogma. Though, an accurate analysis of some of his manuscripts of the 1690s, such as “Lemmata Ethica” and “Adversaria Theologica,” leads to the conclusion that his Christology and soteriology are non-Trinitarian in that, for Locke, belief in Christ’s divinity and in the Trinity plays no role in salvation.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, he openly and repeatedly rejected other doctrines, such as original sin, which he considered to be incompatible with God’s benevolence and wisdom and to contradict the principle of individual accountability – a principle implicating not only human justice but also the Last Judgment.<sup>21</sup> Concerning the afterlife, the resurrection of the dead, and Judgment Day, he held a heterodox position in that he expressed mortalist views. According to Locke, the soul dies with the body and will be resurrected by divine miracle for the Last Judgment, when the saved will be admitted to eternal life and will be provided with an immortal, incorruptible body to sustain their souls for eternity, while the unsaved will be annihilated as they will suffer a second and final death.<sup>22</sup> Briefly, while Locke’s approach to salvation was in line with the irenicist Protestant tradition of the “way of fundamentals”, since he highlighted only a few principles essential to salvation, and while his soteriology presents some points in common with the Socinian and Arminian theological traditions (which he knew well), he was an innovative and heterodox biblical theologian, whose religious ideas, besides influencing other areas of his thought, represent an original, Scripture-based, largely coherent version of Protestant Christianity.

In the 1950s, Leo Strauss, ignoring the large corpus of Lockean manuscripts on religion (most of which are in the Lovelace Collection at the Bodleian Library at Oxford) described Locke as a covert atheist and a Hobbesian political thinker.<sup>23</sup> However, starting in the 1960s, and thanks to Peter Laslett’s, Richard Ashcraft’s, and John Dunn’s seminal studies on the impact of Locke’s theological ideas on his political theory, a growing number of Locke specialists have called attention to what Professor Dunn defined as “the intimate dependence of an extremely high proportion of Locke’s arguments for their very intel-

<sup>19</sup> Locke, *Vindications*, II, p. 227.

<sup>20</sup> Lucci, *John Locke’s Christianity*, pp. 134-73.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-105.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106-33.

<sup>23</sup> Strauss, *Natural Rights*, pp. 209-51; Strauss, “Locke’s Doctrine”.

ligibility, let alone plausibility, on a series of theological commitments”.<sup>24</sup> In *The Political Thought of John Locke* (1969), Dunn examined, in particular, the role and impact of Locke’s religious views in his political theory.<sup>25</sup> Later, other scholars paid attention to the influence of Locke’s religion on other parts of his thought. For instance, John Colman, in *John Locke’s Moral Philosophy* (1983), reassessed the relation of Locke’s religious ideas to his moral philosophy, which Colman aptly described as a “consistent theological ethic” – that is, as a moral philosophy grounded in Locke’s consideration of humanity’s position and role in God’s Creation.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Nicholas Wolterstorff has observed that “a striking feature of Locke’s thought is that religious considerations enter into all parts of his thought”.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Victor Nuovo, calling attention to the religious character of Locke’s logic, physics, and ethics, has stated the following:

Locke’s philosophical work is clarified and explained when it is considered as the production of a Christian virtuoso, which is to say, of a seventeenth-century English experimental natural philosopher, an empiricist and naturalist, who also professed Christianity of a sort that was infused with moral seriousness and with Platonic otherworldliness overlaid with Christian supernaturalism.<sup>28</sup>

Besides Nuovo, in relatively recent years other Locke experts have attempted to provide a comprehensive reconsideration of Locke’s religious views. For instance, John Marshall’s two monographs on Locke present a thorough contextualist analysis of the development of Locke’s Christology and of his views on toleration, resistance, responsibility, heresy, and priestcraft.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, two recent volumes, *John Locke’s Theology* (2023) by Jonathan Marko, and *John Locke’s Christianity* (2021) by the author of this introduction and editor of this volume, shed new light on Locke’s soteriological ideas, as well as his position about subjects such as free will, things above reason, personal identity, the Last Judgment, the Trinity, and religious toleration.<sup>30</sup> Other studies – particularly Alan Sell’s book *John Locke and the Eighteenth-Century Divines*

<sup>24</sup> Dunn, *Political Thought*, p. xi. See, also, Laslett, “Introduction” (first edition published in 1960); Ashcraft, “Faith and Knowledge”.

<sup>25</sup> Dunn, *Political Thought*.

<sup>26</sup> Colman, *John Locke’s Moral Philosophy*, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> Wolterstorff, “Locke’s Philosophy of Religion”, p. 174.

<sup>28</sup> Nuovo, *John Locke*, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance*; Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration*.

<sup>30</sup> Lucci, *John Locke’s Christianity*; Marko, *John Locke’s Theology*.

(1997) – have explored Locke’s legacy as a theologian.<sup>31</sup> Although the early reception of Locke’s religious writings was mixed, and attracted harsh criticism from renowned divines such as John Edwards, Edward Stillingfleet, and John Milner, his theological ideas had a significant impact not only on freethinkers such as John Toland and Anthony Collins, but also on various Protestant authors and currents in the eighteenth century. While the authorities of the University of Oxford proscribed the reading of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* in 1703, at Cambridge Locke’s writings, as well as the works of Isaac Newton and Samuel Clarke, were standard books for students and scholars for most of the eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, Locke’s hermeneutics influenced anti-Trinitarian theologians such as William Whiston and Joseph Priestley, who spoke favorably of his biblical exegesis, and Dissenting ministers such as James Peirce, Joseph Hallett, and George Benson, who drew on Locke’s methodology in paraphrasing various New Testament epistles.<sup>33</sup> Last but not least, Locke’s insistence on *sola Scriptura* contributed, albeit indirectly, to the growth of Methodism, of several Baptist churches, and of various evangelical groups.<sup>34</sup> Briefly, Locke’s theological legacy was remarkable and extended to several Protestant traditions and theologians. In this regard, Stephen Snobelen has noted that, “considering Locke’s status as an icon and herald of the Enlightenment, this particular legacy of Locke is more than a little ironic.”<sup>35</sup> Starting in the eighteenth century, Locke’s intellectual legacy was indeed reshaped to suit a narrative of the Enlightenment as an essentially secular phenomenon, since Lockean epistemology and Newtonian natural philosophy were deprived of their religious motivations, elements, and implications, and were depicted as paving the way to a “high Enlightenment.”<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the inclusion of Locke in the canon of early modern philosophy went hand-in-hand with the neglect of his biblical theology, so that Locke’s philosophy could fit the grand narrative of the existence and development of two great philosophical traditions – namely, rationalism and empiricism, which eventually converged in Kant’s final synthesis. Thus, teleological views of the Age of Enlightenment and of the history of modern philosophy contributed to the making of a distorted but widespread interpretation of Locke’s mind and work as fundamentally secular

<sup>31</sup> Sell, *John Locke*.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106; Wainwright, “Locke’s Influence”.

<sup>34</sup> Sell, *John Locke*, pp. 62-108.

<sup>35</sup> Snobelen, “Socinianism, Heresy”, p. 97.

<sup>36</sup> Young, *Religion and Enlightenment*, pp. 113-19.

and even atheistic – an interpretation that found its best expression in Leo Strauss's essays on this thinker. However, a thorough analysis of Locke's oeuvre shows that he had a markedly religious conception of life. Locke actually regarded reason and revelation as two divinely given, mutually sustaining, and complementary sources of knowledge; he consistently employed both natural and biblical theology in his political writings; and he held a theistic notion of morality – one in which the relation between humanity and the Divine Creator and Legislator plays a fundamental role. Therefore, it is plausible to consider John Locke to be a “Christian virtuoso”, as Victor Nuovo has suggested.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Locke can also be regarded as what David Sorkin has termed a “religious Enlightener”, in that he endorsed reasonable belief as “the coordination of reason and revelation [which] did not contradict because by definition, as the two God-given ‘lights,’ they could not”.<sup>38</sup> Locke's philosophical, political, and theological writings indeed denote a thought-provoking way of thinking which is theological in nature – a way of thinking that led his friend Anthony Collins to define him as the “Great Lay Priest” of the age.<sup>39</sup>

Building on existing scholarship on Locke and religion, this volume of *Studi Lockiani* presents nine essays and a note that provide “fresh food for thought” on different but largely interconnected issues in Locke's theology, biblical hermeneutics, soteriology, ethics, Christology, theory of toleration, and his context. The nine essays in this volume can be divided into three thematic sections. The first three essays cover subjects relevant to Locke's biblical hermeneutics, with a focus on his views on faith, salvation, and resurrection. The first article, “Locke on the Saving Faith”, by the editor of this volume, illustrates Locke's soteriology, with particular regard to his concept of faith as “assent”, his notion of the “Law of Faith”, and his views of the afterlife and the Last Judgment. Considering Locke's emphasis on the role of both moral works and faith in salvation, this article contends that Locke held a moralist soteriology compatible with his emphasis on free will and individual accountability. Accordingly, the article argues that, far from extending salvation to virtually all Christians, Locke's soteriology limits salvation to those who repent for sin, endeavor to obey the divine moral law, have faith in Jesus the Messiah, and read Scripture to live a Christian life. In the process, this essay highlights several similarities between Locke's views on salvation and Socinian and Arminian

<sup>37</sup> Nuovo, *John Locke*, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Sorkin, *Religious Enlightenment*, p. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Anthony Collins to Locke, 27 May 1704, in Locke, *Correspondence*, vol. 8, p. 304.

moralist and anti-Calvinist soteriologies, while contending that Locke's religion is ultimately grounded in his own reading of Scripture. The second article, "Locke on Reason, Revelation, and Spiritual Illumination", by Shelley Weinberg, presents an original reassessment of Locke's consideration of traditional revelation. Disagreeing with interpretations of Locke's use of the term "faith" in his analysis of judgments of faith as reducible to probable judgments, this essay argues that there is a difference in kind between natural belief and belief in articles of faith. According to Weinberg, Locke regards traditional revelation as a form of justification for original revelation, and his account of how we come to understand the meaning of traditional revelation mirrors his natural epistemology. Thus, the more we come to understand revealed truths found in traditional revelation, the closer we get to a full knowledge of all of revelation. In the third essay, "Locke on the Resurrection of Persons: Taxonomy and the Biblical Texts", Nicholas Jolley argues that Locke's theory of personal identity is intended to make sense of the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. Jolley observes that Locke's theory raises two kinds of difficulty. In Book III of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Locke contends that classification is the workmanship of the understanding. This thesis, however, seems to threaten the distinction between the concepts of human being and person on which his account of the resurrection depends. Drawing on Locke's neglected discussion of "changelings", Jolley's essay explains how Locke should have dealt with objections arising from his thesis that God operates with his own taxonomy. Moreover, according to Jolley, Locke cannot wholly dispel the suspicion that he reads his own philosophy into the text of St Paul's epistles.

The next three articles in this volume comprise a second thematic section, concentrating on the connection between morality and religion in Locke's thought. The essay titled "Locke on Morality and Religion", by Samuel Rickless, reconsiders Locke's claim that morality is demonstrable, as well as the widespread belief that Locke worried that it might not be possible for morality to be demonstrated. Concerning whether Locke thinks that it is possible, in principle as well as in practice, for morality to be demonstrated, Rickless argues that, for Locke, morality is definitely demonstrable in principle, and that there are no insuperable practical obstacles to moral demonstration in practice. Furthermore, when considering the question whether the demonstration of morality, according to Locke, requires the demonstration of God's existence and depends, at least in part, on revealed propositions, Rickless contends that Locke's demonstrations of substantive moral truths depend on his proof of God's existence, but not in any way on revelation. In the



fifth article, “Man’s Propriety in the Creatures’: Locke, Divine Ownership, and the Right to Exclude”, Daniel Layman observes that Locke maintains that everyone “has a *Property* in his own *Person*”<sup>40</sup> while contending, on the other hand, that God owns each human being: “They are his Property, whose Workmanship they are, made to last during his, not one another’s Pleasure.”<sup>41</sup> In an attempt to solve this “ownership puzzle”, Layman argues that Lockean property is a four-place relation, in that an owner may exclude some agent or agents from some object, under some conditions. Thus, distinct owners can hold a property right in the same thing at the same time, if they hold that right against different agents. In the next essay, “Locke’s Critique of Moral Enthusiasm”, Mark Boespflug explains that, according to Locke, enthusiasts commit an epistemic violation due to their lack of grounds for regarding their inspirations as coming from God. Accordingly, Locke judged moral enthusiasm, in particular, to be extremely problematic, in that it pertains to moral judgments formed on the basis of such inspirations. As Boespflug observes, Locke actually viewed this specific aspect of enthusiasm as most dangerous and in pressing need of censure. Given that Locke, when talking of enthusiasm, meant especially the Quaker practice of immediate divine inspiration, Boespflug’s essay concentrates on the practices of George Fox – the founder of Quakerism – as an illustrative example of moral enthusiasm, while also considering three difficulties with Locke’s critique of moral enthusiasm as it applies to Quakerism: Fox’s purported miracles; the moral innovations enacted by the Quakers; and complications with Locke’s physiological criticism of altered states of mind.

The last three essays in this volume focus on issues relevant to religious toleration in that they deal, respectively, with the previously unexplored connection between Locke’s Christology and his views on human nature and toleration; with his consideration of non-Christian believers, particularly of Muslims; and with the intellectual context in which Locke’s and other English and European thinkers’ interest in Islam, and thus in questions such as the oneness of God and the humanity of Christ, originated and developed. Elisabeth Thorson’s paper, “Locke against Extremism: Christ, Epistemic Humility, and Toleration”, brings together Locke’s theology, epistemology, and political theory in order to present a more holistic understanding of his thought. Thorson argues that these central aspects of Locke’s philosophy denote his Christian individualism, namely, his view of human nature as created in the image of God and, thus, as

<sup>40</sup> Locke, *Two Treatises*, p. 287.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271.



having reason and immortality. She contends that, according to Locke, Christ's mission was to promulgate the Law of Faith and to restore human nature to immortality, which had been lost after the Fall. In doing so, Thorson points out several similarities between Locke's thought and Cambridge Platonism, thereby contending that Locke inhabits a middle ground between empiricism and Platonism, and that his endorsement and exercise of "epistemic humility" played a role in his approach to the theme of toleration. Raffaele Russo's article, "'Our Good Ottoman Writer': Locke, Islam, and Other Non-Christian Religions", argues that Locke's interest in the grounds, scope, and limits of religious freedom was grounded in universalist and methodological considerations, which went beyond the circumstances of his time and his country, as is shown by his advocacy of toleration of not only Christian churches but also non-Christian religions. In formulating his theory of toleration, Locke emphasized the religious foundation of moral and social duties. Accordingly, although he thought that only one religion led to salvation, he stressed the social utility of theistic belief and of religion in general, which he considered beneficial to social peace. Luisa Simonutti's essay, "Entangled Worlds: Unitarians and Muslims in the Century of John Locke", reassesses the way in which European intellectuals addressed the challenges provoked by the political and cultural interaction between Europe and the Muslim world in the early modern period. In her article, Simonutti focuses particularly on anti-Trinitarian authors, such as Servetus, the Polish Brethren, John Biddle, and the English Unitarians of the late seventeenth century, and on Locke, who was certainly interested in, and influenced by, the then ongoing debate on the connection between Islam and Unitarianism. Simonutti's study shows that the circulation of Islamic texts, as well as curiosity about Islamic culture stimulated the interest of European readers in issues such as the oneness of God and the humanity of Christ, and also in the feasibility of extensive religious toleration.

Finally, in the note titled "John Locke, the *Paraphrase* and Adam Kadmon", Giuliana Di Biase explores Locke's interest in the *Adumbratio Kabbalae Christianae* – a text attributed by some to Francis Mercury van Helmont, and by others, including Locke himself, to Christian Knorr von Rosenroth. Di Biase examines the impact that Locke's reading of the *Adumbratio* had on his considerations about Christ's pre-existence in *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul*, particularly in his note on Ephesians 1:10. In doing so, she discusses the existing historiography on the Arian notion of the Godhead that emerges from Locke's comments on Ephesians 1:10. Her conclusion is that, although a comparison between Locke's note on Ephesians 1:10 and the

*Adumbratio* indicates the latter text as the possible source of Locke's Arianism, other elements suggest that his opinions in this note were a late and incidental element of his Christology.

Needless to say, this volume of *Studi Lockiani* is not meant to provide a comprehensive reassessment of Locke's theological ideas and of his relation to religion in all its aspects and implications. However, it is hoped that the papers comprising this volume will enable a deeper understanding of the fundamental elements of Locke's religious thought, and will also shed light on some of the crucial philosophical, theological, moral, and political issues that Locke explored in his public and private writings, thereby contributing to the ongoing historiographical debate on Locke and religion.

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