The History of Christianity in the Reformation Era
Part I
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Professor Gregory has received numerous awards and fellowships, including the Walter J. Gores Award, Stanford’s highest teaching honor, after just his second year of university teaching (1998), and the Dean’s Award for Distinguished Teaching in the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford (2000). In 1999–2000, he was a faculty research fellow at the Stanford Humanities Center. The author of numerous scholarly articles, Professor Gregory’s first book, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, was published in 1999 by Harvard University Press, from which it received the Thomas J. Wilson Prize as the best first book published by the press during the calendar year. The book has also received the 2000 John Gilmary Shea Prize of the American Catholic Historical Association, the 2000 Phi Alpha Theta Book Award, the 2000 California Book Award silver medal for nonfiction, and second place in the 2000 Catholic Press Association Book Awards.

This is Professor Gregory’s first course for The Teaching Company.
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The History of Christianity in the Reformation Era

Scope:

The century and a half from about 1500 to about 1650 is among the most tumultuous and consequential periods in all of European history. At the center of the upheaval stands religion, particularly the disagreements and divisions in Western Christianity. This course presents an analytical narrative of the religious developments of the Reformation era in their political, cultural, and social contexts, emphasizing the embeddedness of Christian beliefs and practices in the institutional and intellectual life of the period. It treats not only the Protestant Reformation and state-supported Protestantism but also the radical Reformation and varieties of Anabaptism, as well as the persistence and transformation of Roman Catholicism. The overall goal will be to understand historically the theological and devotional aspects of each of these three broad traditions on its own terms and to grasp the overall ramifications of religious conflict for the subsequent course of modern Western history. Geographically, the course ranges across Western Europe, with most attention devoted to England, France, Germany, the Low Countries, Italy, and Spain.

The first six lectures discuss the late Middle Ages and the late medieval Church as the matrix out of which Reformation-era Christianity emerged. After an introductory lecture that provides an overview of the entire course, a second lecture surveys some of the basic demographic, political, and social realities common in this distant, pre-industrial, hierarchical world. The third and fourth lectures discuss some of the most important, interwoven beliefs, practices, and institutions of Latin Christendom on the eve of the Reformation. The countervailing signs of corruption and vitality in the late medieval Church are addressed in Lecture Five, while Lecture Six explores an important strand of reform that would influence sixteenth-century developments in significant ways, namely Christian humanism, above all in the person of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

From here, in Lectures Seven through Twelve, we enter the world of the early Reformation in Germany and Switzerland. Two lectures are devoted to the most important of the Protestant reformers, Martin Luther. The first of these discusses his trajectory from an obscure Augustinian monk and university professor in 1517 to an international figure who defied pope and emperor by 1521. The next lecture addresses the meaning and implications of his basic theological convictions. Lecture Nine looks at Huldrych Zwingli, the Protestant preacher and leader of the Reformation in Zurich, in the broader context of the Swiss Confederation. The spread of the early evangelical movement in the towns of Germany during the early 1520s is the subject of Lecture Ten. Lectures Eleven and Twelve are the first devoted to the Radical Reformation, considering, in turn, the “social Gospel” and revolutionary demands of the “Common Man” during the Peasants’ War of 1524–1525 and the emergence of early Anabaptist separatist groups in Germanic lands after the suppression of the peasants.

Looking beyond central Europe, the next four lectures explore further key developments during the crucial decades of the 1520s and 1530s among Protestants, Catholics, and Anabaptists. Lecture Thirteen discusses the similarities and differences in the spread of early Protestantism to England, France, and the Low Countries. The fourteenth lecture considers Henry VIII’s Reformation in England, an ecclesio-political development that severed the country’s longstanding ecclesiastical ties to Rome. The theological and institutional Catholic reaction to the early Reformation is the subject of Lecture Fifteen; it treats the counter-arguments marshaled against Protestantism and radical Protestantism. Lecture Sixteen tells the remarkable story of early Dutch Anabaptism and the rise and fall of the Kingdom of Münster in 1534–1535; the practices of this group under the radical, violent Anabaptist leader Jan van Leiden reinforced authorities’ suspicion of all forms of religious radicalism.

In Lectures Seventeen through Twenty-Two, we move through the middle decades of the sixteenth century, again by looking at all three traditions but especially Protestantism and the emergence of Calvinism. Lecture Seventeen is devoted to John Calvin himself, including his life, some key emphases in his theology, and the chief Reformation institutions in his adopted city, Geneva. In the following lecture, we move south, to Italy, and discuss aspects of Catholic reform before the Council of Trent, including the founding of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola. Lecture Nineteen considers the growth and embattlement of Protestantism in Germany, France, England, and the Low Countries during the 1540s and the first part of the 1550s. This theme is pursued in more detail in Lecture Twenty, which considers the rapid growth of Calvinism in France and the Netherlands in the late 1550s and early 1560s, and in Lecture Twenty-One, devoted to John Knox and the adoption of Calvinism in Scotland in 1559–1560. Lecture Twenty-Two tells the story of Menno Simons and the difficulties faced by persecuted Mennonites in the Low Countries in the decades following the collapse of the Kingdom of Münster.
The next three lectures are devoted to fundamental developments in Roman Catholicism. The doctrinal and disciplinary aspects of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) are the subject of Lecture Twenty-Three, while Lecture Twenty-Four treats the efforts made to implement the council’s prescriptions among the Catholic clergy and laity. Lecture Twenty-Five discusses the vast missionary efforts that accompanied European trade and conquest both before and after the Council of Trent, in both Asia and the Americas, noting parallels to concurrent efforts made in Catholic Europe.

Lectures Twenty-Six through Twenty-Nine focus on the conflicts and coexistence of Catholics and Protestants in the later sixteenth century in four different countries or regions. The French Wars of Religion (1562–1598) from the Massacre of Vassy to the Edict of Nantes are treated in Lecture Twenty-Six. Next, we turn to the Low Countries and the Dutch Revolt against Spain, chronicling the emergence of an independent United Provinces of the Netherlands and the foundations of a Calvinist Netherlands and a Catholic Belgium in the modern era. Lecture Twenty-Eight examines the religious spectrum of Elizabethan England, including conformist Protestants of the Church of England, godly Puritans who wanted a Christianity more in the continental Calvinist mold, and dissenting Catholics who were loyal to Rome. Moving to central Europe after the Peace of Augsburg (1555), Lecture Twenty-Nine discusses confessionalization, the cooperative efforts between churches and states, whether Lutheran, Catholic, or Calvinist, in the territorial states of the Holy Roman Empire.

The next three lectures pursue these national narratives through the first half of the seventeenth century. Lecture Thirty contrasts the trend toward anti-Calvinist Catholic uniformity in France and the southern Netherlands with the religious pluralism and comparatively broad de facto religious toleration in the United Provinces, noting too the continuing theological debates about grace in Protestant Arminianism, as well as Catholic Jansenism. Lecture Thirty-One chronicles the bloodiest of all the era’s wars of religion, the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), which was fought largely in central Europe but involved nearly every European country at one point or another. The religious tensions in early seventeenth-century England, the English Revolution, and the Restoration of 1660 are treated in Lecture Thirty-Two.

The final four lectures address wide-ranging, comparative, analytical questions about the nature, influence, and legacy of Christianity during the era. The thirty-third lecture attempts to assess the impact of the religious transformations on different aspects of early modern society and culture, including the family and marriage, religious art, and literacy and education. Lecture Thirty-Four seeks to evaluate whether and in what senses the Reformations can be said to have been successful and whether certain traditions were more successful than others. The penultimate lecture offers reflections on large-scale changes in European Christianity, including the era’s volatile combination of shared and incompatible beliefs across distinct communities of faith. The final lecture notes the supreme irony by which the religious commitments and conflicts of the era helped contribute to the rise of secular institutions and ideas, to a world in which Christianity was eventually marginalized but not replaced.
Lecture One
Early Modern Christianity: A Larger View

Scope: In the period from c. 1500 to c. 1650, modern Christian pluralism took shape in Western Europe. Catholicism persisted and was renewed; various forms of Protestantism were born and institutionalized; and a wide range of radical forms of Protestantism emerged. This course seeks a contextual understanding of all three of these traditions on their own terms and in conflict with one another. Its overriding purpose is to provide an international perspective on early modern Protestantism, radical Protestantism, and Roman Catholicism in their complex social, political, and cultural contexts. We will then discern how their differences and conflicts contributed decisively to the emergence of modern ideas and institutions.

Outline

I. “The Protestant Reformation” is an insufficiently broad category to encompass early modern Christianity, which includes Protestantism, radical Protestantism, and Roman Catholicism in Western Europe from c. 1500 to c. 1650.
   A. “The Protestant Reformation” as a category reflects the legacy of Protestant confessional history. Implicitly or explicitly, it pays less attention to, and judges as inferior, the radical Protestant and Catholic traditions.
   B. The approach in this course will be comparative and cross-confessional; our main goal will be to understand Protestants, radical Protestants, and Catholics on their own terms, as well as in relationship with one another.

II. The attempt to understand historically these distinct and often mutually hostile Christian traditions presents at least four major challenges.
   A. Many of the beliefs and values of early modern Christians are alien or offensive to modern moral and political views, whether the latter are religious or secular.
   B. Religion was deeply embedded in human life in this era, which necessitates familiarity with other early modern institutions, assumptions, and customs.
   C. The political reception of a given form of Christianity varied dramatically in both national and local contexts and changed, sometimes drastically, over time.
      1. Our geographical focus must shift depending on the particular issue in hand.
      2. Rulers’ decisions enormously affected Christians’ experience.
   D. The ways in which people responded to the various traditions differed radically and were shaped by a host of social and cultural variables.
      1. Recent scholarship has greatly extended our knowledge of how religion was received, understood, and practiced.
      2. It is important to integrate new knowledge without losing sight of what we already know.

III. Three fundamental themes throughout the course include the character of religiosity, the relationship between ecclesiastical and political authorities, and the socially embedded spectrum of religious engagement.
   A. The course aims to provide a sympathetic presentation of Protestantism, radical Protestantism, and Catholicism in early modern Europe, exploring religious beliefs and behaviors, doctrines and devotion. This exploration includes the disagreements and conflicts of these traditions with one another.
   B. The course emphasizes the ever-present, extremely important relationship between ecclesiastical authorities and political authorities for the experience of early modern Christians.
   C. The course aims never to lose sight of the wide-ranging spectrum of religious commitment, from fervent devotion to indifference and hostility, set in the concreteness of early modern European life.

IV. The course is structured as an analytical narrative that starts around 1500 and ends around 1650.
   A. The presentation combines a largely chronological ordering with analysis and organization that shifts depending on the subject matter of each lecture.
   B. As a narrative, the course has a beginning and an end, each of which was deliberately chosen.
1. The course starts on the eve of the Reformation, because without some understanding of late medieval Christianity, it is impossible to grasp the nature or significance of what followed.
2. The course ends in the mid-seventeenth century, because that time marks a watershed in the relationship between religion and politics in European history.

Questions to Consider:
1. How do the choices of approach and subject matter that historians make influence the nature of the stories they tell and the analyses they provide?
2. What do we lose if we impose modern values and concepts on pre-modern people?
Lecture Two

The Landscape of Late Medieval Life

Scope: To understand Christianity in the era we are examining, one must have some sense of the broad demographic, material, social, and political contours of Europe at the time. High infant mortality and the constant threat of infectious disease contributed to lower life expectancy and general uncertainty about life. The large majority of the population worked the land directly in an agricultural capacity and was illiterate. From the family through larger institutions in both rural and town settings, hierarchy was a social reality, as well as a habit of thought. In the political sphere, local urban institutions included craft guilds and town councils, while rural lands were typically subject to the control of secular or ecclesiastical nobles and worked by peasants or small-scale farmers. Europe’s two basic patterns of large-scale political organization were monarchies and independent or semi-independent territories or city-states.

Outline

I. Demographically, early modern Europe was a fairly thinly populated, predominantly agricultural world, subject to high infant mortality, waves of epidemic disease, and agricultural subsistence crises.
   A. Seen broadly and in the long term, the demographic recovery from the Black Death started in the mid-fifteenth century and continued throughout the sixteenth century.
   B. The majority of the population worked the land in some agricultural capacity, although towns were disproportionately important politically, economically, and socially.
      1. Depending on the region, 65 to 90 percent of the people were peasants or small farmers.
      2. The most densely populated and urbanized areas of Europe were northern Italy, the southern Low Countries (modern-day Belgium), and southern Germany.
      3. Based on population, very few true cities existed in Europe.
   C. In concrete terms, physical suffering and death were pervasive elements of life from the cradle to the grave.
      1. Between 15 and 35 percent of infants died before their first birthday; another 10 to 20 percent of children died before they reached 10 years.
      2. Lacking effective medical care and exposed to famine, epidemic disease, the ravages of war, and more, the vast majority of the population found life hard.

II. Socially, in rural areas, as well as in towns and cities, in social units from the family through the nation or empire, early modern Europe was fundamentally a society of ranks and hierarchy with limited social mobility.
   A. Stratification and hierarchy were social realities, as well as ingrained habits of thought. Socially, most people would remain in the status to which they were born.
   B. In rural areas, the fundamental divide was between peasants and lords, although many variations existed, depending on the country and region.
      1. For those who survived the plague, the century after the Black Death (1350–1450) was probably the best of times in material terms for medieval peasants.
      2. The Black Death had made agricultural labor scarcer, resulting in opportunities for higher wages and more work for surviving peasants.
      3. Landlords commuted traditional feudal dues to rents, which afforded them more liquid capital, because they were paid rents in coin, rather than traditional payments in kind.
   C. After about 1450, with population growth and other pressures, relationships between peasants and lords grew more strained, especially in central Europe.
   D. Towns were socially stratified by status and occupation linked to wealth.
      1. At the top of urban hierarchies stood wealthy patricians and merchants, followed by urban professionals, members of craft guilds, and domestic servants and wage laborers, with the indigent poor at the bottom.
      2. Towns were characterized by extreme disparities in the distribution of wealth.
      3. Towns were disproportionately important as centers of economic exchange, education, the circulation of ideas, and relative social mobility.
E. Throughout society, a mutually reinforcing relationship of paternalism and obedient deference, combined with appeal to the “common good,” helped maintain basic order.

III. Politically, structures varied in different regions and countries but always involved some sort of local institutions, relationships between local and central institutions, and some form of large-scale organization.

A. Local political institutions often included some form of city council, along with merchant and craft guilds, which frequently conflicted with one another.
   1. With rare exceptions, only male heads of households could participate in civic government.
   2. For the most part, clergy were exempt from civic obligations.
   3. In city councils, urban tensions came to the fore and political decisions were made.

B. In rural areas, peasants were politically dominated by the nobility and monasteries. In some areas, this domination was greater by 1500 than it had been in the previous century.

C. Relations between local and central political authorities were delicate and precarious, dependent on cooperation more than coercion.
   1. Towns fiercely guarded whatever independence and privileges they enjoyed. Dozens of “free imperial cities” in central Europe owed their allegiance directly to the emperor and were essentially self-governing.
   2. Central authorities sought to extend their authority and control at the expense of local urban privileges.

D. The largest political institutions were monarchies and territorial conglomerates.
   2. Italy, Switzerland, and the Holy Roman Empire (in central Europe) were the most important territorial conglomerates.

E. Internationally, the most important political rivalry in Europe in the early sixteenth century was between the Holy Roman Empire and France.

IV. The basic social and political realities of early modern Europe are profoundly important to the developments in Christianity during the period.

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. How might particular religious teachings strike different chords in a pre-modern society than in a modern one?
2. In what ways might religious changes upset the tenuous political relationships that existed locally, and between local and central authorities, in early modern Europe?
Lecture Three
Late Medieval Christendom:
Beliefs, Practices, Institutions I

Scope: To grasp the nature of the changes wrought during the sixteenth century, one must know something about the late medieval Christianity that preceded it. This understanding, in turn, requires a grasp of the complex interrelationships among basic Christian beliefs, institutions, and practices. Christian salvation history stretched from God’s creation through his incarnation in Jesus Christ to the Church as the instrument of his salvation for humanity. Human life was seen as a transitory period before the afterlife and judgment by God. Necessary for eternal salvation was faith and the practice of faith. Central to medieval Christianity was the notion of divine providence; trust in God’s abiding governance of the world; and sacramentality, the view of the spiritual manifest in and through the material, which included the Church’s seven sacraments as part of a much broader sensibility.

Outline

I. Late medieval Christianity was an institutionalized worldview, a variegated amalgam of beliefs, institutions, and practices that cannot be separated.
   A. For example, baptism was a practice that presupposed certain beliefs, referred to specific biblical texts, and was institutionally administered by a priest in accordance with a prescribed ritual.
   B. Late medieval Christianity was not a rigid set of doctrines enforced by a monolithic Church, but a core set of beliefs and practices surrounded by a wide variety of elaborations that evolved over time, exhibited great local variation, and found diverse institutional expressions.

II. The basic story of Christian salvation history begins with God’s creation and will eventually end with the apocalypse. Its authoritative source is the Bible, understood as God’s revealed Word.
   A. Adam and Eve’s original sin of disobedience against God made all human beings subject to pain, suffering, and death.
   B. In his mercy, God called a people to himself, the Israelites, and made a covenant with them, foretelling through their prophets a future messiah who would usher in a messianic age.
   C. Jesus of Nazareth was this messiah, the incarnation of God who preached the “good news” (Gospel). Through his obedient death, humanity was redeemed and the possibility of salvation renewed.
   D. After Jesus Christ’s resurrection from the dead, he commissioned his followers to preach the Gospel to all nations and to baptize. From this early movement, emerged the Church, the instrument of God’s salvation on earth, which derives its authority from Christ.

III. Human life was a transitory phase before judgment by God after death.
   A. Depending on how one was judged by God, death was a transition to eternal salvation in heaven, eternal damnation in hell, or hope of eventual salvation in purgatory.
   B. Right belief and right behavior were prerequisites for the possibility of eternal salvation; otherwise, one was not following Christ.

IV. Medieval Christianity taught that faith and the practice of the faith were essential for salvation.
   A. Medieval theologians distinguished the act of faith from the content of faith and explicit faith from implicit faith.
      1. The act of faith (fides qua) refers to trust in God, in Christ as Lord and savior; the content of faith (fides quae) refers to the specific content of faith as preserved and elaborated by the Church.
      2. Explicit faith refers to the ability to articulate what one believes and why; implicit faith refers to obedience to, and participation in, Church life without explicit awareness of the content of faith.
   B. Faith alone (“dead faith”) was not enough for salvation. Only through a “living faith” expressed in concrete actions might one be saved by God’s grace.
V. Medieval Christianity was pervaded by belief in divine providence and in sacramentality.
   A. Divine providence is the notion that God orders and governs all things in his creation, often despite appearances to the contrary.
   B. Sacramentality is the idea that transcendent spiritual reality manifests itself in and through created material reality. Its paradigm is God’s incarnation in Christ.

Essential Reading:
R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515*, ch. 2.

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. How would human life lived in the expectation of divine judgment likely differ from human life lived in the expectation that death is one’s end?
2. How do the various aspects of medieval Christian belief reinforce one another?
**Scope:** The fundamental institutions and practices of late medieval Christianity are inseparable from its beliefs. In its broadest terms, its basic institutional framework was partitioned in both space and time. Geographically, Christendom as a whole was overseen by the papacy, while bishops oversaw dioceses and secular priests and other lower clergy were responsible for laypeople in parishes. The members of religious orders, both male and female, coexisted with this geographical framework, and ecclesiastical institutions as a whole existed alongside secular authorities at every level of governance. The fundamental understanding of time was liturgical; Christian beliefs and worship structured the basic divisions of days, weeks, and the year as a whole.

The minimal practice of the faith expected (but not always enacted) of all baptized Christians included attendance at Mass, participation in the sacraments, and observance of basic ecclesiastical prescriptions. Common collective devotional practices included prayer, processions, pilgrimages, the making of endowments, and shared acts of Christian charity. At the committed end of voluntary devotion, practices included the extensive use of Books of Hours, the affective identification with Christ’s Passion, and the pursuit of holiness—the exemplary practice of the faith—as one’s highest priority.

**Outline**

I. Some ecclesiastical institutions were linked to the geographical organization of medieval Christendom, whereas others were not. Together, they provided a framework for the transmission of Christian faith.
   A. The Church was a hierarchical institution composed of all orthodox, baptized Christians, present and past, a community of the living and the dead.
      1. The basic locus of authority in the Church lay with the clergy, who were distinguished from the laity by special vows and privileges.
      2. Ecclesiastical institutions existed alongside secular institutions and frequently conflicted with them.
   B. Some medieval institutions corresponded to Christendom’s geographical organization.
      1. The pope, Christ’s vicar, oversaw Christendom as a whole.
      2. Bishops, successors to Christ’s apostles, were responsible for their dioceses.
      3. Parish priests (also known as “secular” clergy), deputies to the bishops, served the laity directly in their parishes.
   C. Religious orders, both male and female, were overlaid on the geographically based institutions of Christendom and frequently coexisted uneasily with them.
      1. The male members of these orders were known as the regular clergy, because they followed a *regula* (rule).
      2. Contemplative religious orders (e.g., Benedictines, Cistercians, Carthusians, Brigittines) were devoted to cloistered lives of prayer and devotion.
      3. Mendicant religious orders (e.g., Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites) were dedicated to serving the laity through preaching, teaching, missionizing, and hearing confessions.
   D. The most important lay religious institutions were confraternities, diversely constituted mutual aid organizations that were plentiful in both large and small towns.

II. In the Middle Ages, time was conceived and divided in liturgical terms based on Christian worship and beliefs. The basic idea was that no time stood apart from God.
   A. In monasteries, the day was divided into the seven times of prayer that together comprised the “divine office.”
   B. The week was geared toward Sunday as a day dedicated to God and to rest.
   C. The year was organized around Christ’s life, from the preparation for his birth during Advent before Christmas, through the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, six weeks after Easter. Other major holy days were devoted to important events in the life of Mary.
D. Every “ordinary” day was named in honor of one or more saints, Christ’s special friends and Christians’ intercessors with God.

III. Every Christian was expected to meet minimal requirements in practicing the faith.
   A. Every Christian was expected to be present each week at Mass, the priest’s ritual reenactment of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross.
      1. In this sacrament, God, through the priest’s words of consecration over the bread and wine, makes present Christ’s body and blood.
      2. This process was known as transubstantiation.
   B. Every Christian was expected to participate in the sacraments, the most important channels of God’s grace, mediated through the priesthood.
      1. Building on inherited tradition, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) established seven sacraments: baptism, penance, communion (Eucharist), confirmation, matrimony, extreme unction, and holy orders.
      2. The two most important and the only repeated sacraments were penance and communion.
   C. Every Christian was expected to observe basic religious and moral prescriptions and to avoid sins. Normally once a year, before receiving communion at Easter, Christians would confess their sins to a priest as part of the sacrament of penance.

IV. A wide range of collective religious practices was common in late medieval Christianity.
   A. Processions were ritualized local walks for various religious purposes; pilgrimages were journeys to specific sites distinguished in some way for their holiness.
   B. Large numbers of Christians, clergy and laity alike, invested money in practicing their faith, through the endowment of Masses or churches or through the purchase of indulgences or religious art.
   C. Christians practiced their faith through the seven corporal acts of mercy and the seven works of spiritual comfort, which benefited both the practitioner and the recipient. Six of the seven corporal acts of mercy were drawn from the gospel of St. Matthew. These were:
      1. Feeding the hungry;
      2. Giving drink to the thirsty;
      3. Visiting the sick;
      4. Clothing the naked;
      5. Visiting the imprisoned;
      6. Accommodating the homeless.
      7. The seventh act was drawn from the apocryphal Book of Tobit regarding burial of the dead.
   D. The seven acts of spiritual comfort were:
      1. Counsel;
      2. Correction;
      3. Comfort;
      4. Forgiveness;
      5. Endurance;
      6. Prayer;
      7. Instruction.

V. From the twelfth century on, more and more lay Christians adopted devotional practices that previously had been the preserve of the cloistered religious.
   A. Books of Hours were prayer books that adapted monastic prayers for lay use. They were the most common type of printed book in Europe in the half century before the Reformation (1470–1520).
   B. A wide range of practices centered on affective identification with Christ’s passion.
   C. Devout men and women made faith their highest priority, engaging in frequent prayer, ascetic routines, acts of Christian charity, and other practices.
Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways do the institutions and practices of late medieval Christianity imply basic Christian beliefs?
2. What sorts of tensions might have arisen between deeply devout Christians and those who sought to skirt even the minimal expectations of the faith?
Lecture Five
Vigorous or Corrupt?
Christianity on the Eve of the Reformation

Scope: The Church on the eve of the Reformation exhibits the seemingly contradictory features of widespread problems and pervasive vitality. Resentments, abuses, and vulnerabilities are apparent, including anticlericalism, structural problems derived in part from sheer institutional longevity, and the legacy of late medieval schism and conciliarism. At the same time, we see indisputable signs of vigor and renewal, including massive lay support of the Church, the proliferation of lay piety in a wide variety of forms, and widespread efforts at reform. The two broad aspects, perceived corruption and calls for reform, fit together logically. The Reformation emerged in a milieu not of religious decadence and indifference but of widespread concern and intense religiosity.

Outline

I. How we view the state of Christianity on the eve of the Protestant Reformation is important in shaping how we view the Protestant Reformation itself. We must be able to account both for the break from the Roman Church and for continued allegiance to it.

II. Difficulties afflicting the late medieval Church included anticlericalism, structural problems, and the legacy of schism and conciliarism.
   A. Anticlericalism is best understood as a general tone of resentment and complaints about the clergy. Its forms and prevalence varied greatly by region and specific locale.
      1. Some anticlericalism took the form of complaints about the existence of clerical privileges as such.
      2. These privileges included exemption from trial for civil offenses according to the secular law of cities and territories or kingdoms. Clergy could be tried only in ecclesiastical courts.
      3. Like the nobility, the clergy was exempt from paying most royal or civic taxes. The resentment that this situation produced was coupled with resentment over the obligatory taxation that the laity owed to the local church in the form of the tithe. The ill will was exacerbated when economic conditions deteriorated, as, for example, during a crop failure.
      4. Some resentment existed over clerical fees.
      5. Some resentment was also felt over the fact that the clergy were exempt from certain civic duties, such as standing watch at night or fire fighting.
      6. Other anticlericalism focused on the abuse of clerical authority in the form of greed, the holding of multiple church offices, the buying and selling of church offices, and the clergy’s educational and moral shortcomings.
   B. The late medieval Church faced several different types of structural problems.
      1. Centuries of accumulated ecclesiastical institutions, theological traditions, and religious practices often caused friction. For example, a great Benedictine monastery might resent the encroachment of local parishes on its privileges to collect tithes.
      2. In a society of low literacy, secular authorities called on the clergy, especially from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on, to perform all kinds of tasks as administrators and lawyers. This increased the occasions for conflicts between ecclesiastical and secular employers and took the clergy away from their spiritual responsibilities.
      3. Secular authorities at all levels exerted increasing control over aspects of the late medieval Church.
   C. The “constitutional crisis” of the Western schism (1378–1415) raised questions about whether popes or church councils were the ultimate locus of authority in the Church.

III. Unmistakable signs of vitality make it impossible to characterize the late medieval Church as moribund or decadent.
   A. The late medieval laity invested massively in religion by paying for churches and their upkeep, endowing Masses, and financing urban preachers.
   B. Aided by the invention of printing, the fifteenth century saw an unprecedented proliferation of lay piety.
C. Impassioned, repeated calls for and movements of reform are themselves a sign of vitality, not decadence. 
   1. Calls to improve the clergy’s education and moral behavior were constant from the fourteenth century on. 
   2. Many of the religious orders reformed themselves from within beginning in the late fourteenth century. This project is known as the Observantine movement. 
   3. Individual Christians were urged to repent their sins and reform their lives by charismatic preachers, such as John Hus in Prague or Girolamo Savonarola in Florence.

IV. The perception of abuses and the calls for reform fit together, because people generally bother to complain only about things that matter to them. The devotional pitch of Western Europe was arguably higher on the eve of the Reformation than ever before.

Essential Reading:
Euan Cameron, The European Reformation, chs. 1–6.

Supplementary Reading:
Francis Oakley, The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages.

Questions to Consider:
1. What difference does it make for our perspective on the Protestant Reformation if we understand late medieval Christianity as vibrant rather than decadent?
2. Is it more difficult to reform a highly centralized, monolithic institution or a heterogeneous, labyrinthine one?
Lecture Six
Christian Humanism: Erudition, Education, Reform

Scope: One of the most important strands of reform in the early decades of the sixteenth century was Christian humanism, especially important in northern Europe. It emerged out of the broader movement of Renaissance humanism, an attempt to recover the classical Greek and Latin rhetorical and literary tradition and apply it to contemporary morals and politics. The humanists’ general admonition to “return to the sources” meant a return to the text of the Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek, plus a return to the writings of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers, to reform Christianity through philological erudition and moral education. Christian humanism offered a notion for Christian renewal that differed from and antedated those of the Protestant Reformation and Counter-Reformation Catholicism, both of which appropriated certain of its emphases in their own ways.

Outline

I. Renaissance humanism was an intellectual movement devoted to the recovery and advocacy of the humanistic disciplines as embodied in their ancient Greek and Latin expressions.
   A. Renaissance humanists sought to learn and teach authentic Greek and Latin based on original, ancient works of rhetoric, literature, oratory, history, poetry, and moral philosophy.
   B. They sought above all to cultivate many of the values and ideals of the ancient world and to integrate them into their own times.
   C. On the whole, Renaissance humanism was not a program that sought knowledge for its own sake but rather knowledge that produced virtue, enabling man to engage in useful moral and political activity.
   D. The humanists were concerned about the degenerate state of Latin as taught at that time and about scholasticism as an overly intellectualized and rationalistic method that failed to effect moral change.

II. For Christianity, going “back to the sources” meant above all returning to the Bible (in the original Hebrew and Greek), and to the writings of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers, with a practical aim.
   A. Christian humanists saw “sacred philology” as key to establishing the best texts and editions of scripture and the Church Fathers.
   B. Consistent with the humanists’ general practical aim, sacred philology sought not to attack the Church or Christianity per se, but to provide solid foundations for genuine reform. This project had both critical and constructive aspects.
      1. The Bible and Fathers provided criteria for criticizing practices deemed superstitious or harmful, for deploring the ignorance of many Christians, and for criticizing sub-par clergy.
      2. Christian humanists envisioned a purified Christianity based on norms derived from scripture and the Fathers, combined with a relatively optimistic view of human nature that was partly the product of their immersion in other classical sources.

III. The most important Christian humanist was Erasmus (1466–1536) whose “philosophy of Christ” sought the gradual moral improvement of Christendom through scholarly erudition and education.
   A. By the 1510s, Erasmus’s education, travels, and writings led to his wide acknowledgment as the “prince of the humanists.”
   B. Erasmus viewed the central problems plaguing Christendom as ignorance and immorality, to be addressed through the scholarship and education of the “philosophy of Christ,” the inculcation of Christian virtue based on the Bible and the Church Fathers.
      1. As a straightforward, moralizing reformer, Erasmus wrote his Handbook of the Christian Soldier (1503), which confidently urged individual Christians to moral self-mastery of their passions and temptations in a neo-Platonic view of the human being.
      2. As a satirist and critic with a moral purpose, Erasmus wrote his Praise of Folly (1511), which included some of the most common devotional practices on the eve of the Reformation.
      3. As a philologist and translator, Erasmus published a Greek edition of the New Testament with his own Latin translation (1516).
Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
James McConica, *Erasmus*.
Charles Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, ch. 4.
Hilmar Pabel, ed., *Erasmus’ Vision of the Church*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What sorts of potential threats did the program of Christian humanism represent to late medieval Christianity?
2. What values and assumptions are presupposed in the humanists’ disdain for “the Middle Ages”? In what ways has this legacy persisted to the present, at least in the popular imagination?
Lecture Seven
Martin Luther's Road to Reformation

Scope: Martin Luther is one of the most remarkable and influential figures in all of European history. In 1517, he was an obscure Augustinian monk and university professor; by the spring of 1521, he had defied both Pope Leo X and Emperor Charles V on behalf of his understanding of Christian faith and life. After his early life and university education, he joined the Observant Augustinians in 1505. In October 1517, he objected to abuses regarding indulgences in his Ninety-five Theses, which appealed to Christian humanists. At the Leipzig Disputation of June 1519, he asserted that scripture alone, not popes or councils, possesses ultimate authority for Christians. In the latter half of 1520, he published three important treatises after the pope threatened him with excommunication: Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, Babylonian Captivity of the Church, and The Freedom of a Christian. After his excommunication, Luther refused to recant his views at the Diet of Worms (April 1521) and was condemned as a heretical outlaw by Charles V. Four factors crucial to Luther's success from 1517–1521 included the protection of his territorial prince, Frederick of Saxony; anti-Roman sentiment in Germany; support from humanists, including Erasmus; and the widespread, rapid diffusion of his writings via print.

Outline

I. After his early life and university education, Luther joined the Observant Augustinians in Erfurt, the strictest monastic order accessible to him, in 1505.
   A. Luther was born in Eisleben in central Germany in 1483. He attended school in Mansfeld and Eisenach before studying in the arts faculty at the University of Erfurt.
      1. At Erfurt, Luther was trained philosophically as a nominalist, an influence that would remain with him.
      2. Though he developed a love of Latin literature in Erfurt and had a high regard for the fruits of humanist learning, Luther was not deeply influenced by humanism.
   B. After a traumatic experience in 1505 (he was thrown to the ground by a bolt of lightening), Luther made the decision to enter the Observant Augustinian order as a monk. This religious order was the strictest, and the monastery would be the matrix for his Reformation.
      1. Luther’s “revolt” against the Church came from a consummate “insider,” one who had sought for years the path of Christian perfection through the rigors of monastic life.
      2. As a monk, Luther was deeply stricken with anxiety about his own sinfulness and inability to live up to God’s commandments.

II. In late 1517, Luther’s Ninety-five Theses first brought him to public attention.
   A. Luther objected to the campaign of papal indulgences being promoted by the Dominican Johann Tetzel under the authority of the Archbishop of Mainz. At this stage, he was concerned that the laity was getting a distorted understanding of good works.
   B. Luther sent his objections to the Archbishop of Mainz and posted them on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg on October 31. He gained his first public notoriety when humanists immediately translated the objections into German and had them printed in multiple editions.

III. At the Leipzig Disputation in June 1519, Luther stated that scripture alone, not popes or councils, is the locus of ultimate authority for Christians.
   A. Luther’s skilled Catholic opponent in the disputation, Johannes Eck, pushed Luther to claim that neither popes nor councils can interpret scripture infallibly. This unsettled those humanist supporters who had seen him as an anti-papal conciliarist in his views on ecclesiastical authority.
   B. The Latin phrase describing Luther’s view that the Bible alone is authoritative for Christian faith and life is “sola scriptura.”
IV. In response to the threat of excommunication, Luther wrote three important treatises in late 1520. He was excommunicated, then condemned by Emperor Charles V after the Diet of Worms in April 1521.

A. After the theologians of Louvain and Cologne condemned propositions from his works, Luther was threatened with excommunication in June 1520 by Pope Leo X in the papal bull Exsurge domine.

B. Between August and November 1520, Luther wrote three treatises that addressed different audiences and issues and were widely read in Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries.
   1. In August 1520, Luther published the Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, urging the nobility to reform the Church in Germany, because the papacy had made reform impossible through its tyrannical monopoly of power.
   2. In October 1520, Luther published The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, a manifesto for the reform of the Church’s worship, with considerable attention devoted to the sacraments. This work was written in Latin and intended for an educated audience.
   3. In November 1520, Luther published The Freedom of a Christian, his early programmatic statement of his theology of justification, which reconfigured the relationship between faith and works in the Christian process of salvation: Humans are saved by faith alone. Faith is a free gift from God.

C. After his excommunication in January 1521 by Pope Leo X, Luther refused in April to recant his views before Charles V at the Diet of Worms, whence he was secretly taken into protective custody and translated the New Testament into German. In May 1521, the Edict of Worms condemned him as a heretical outlaw.

V. At least four major factors contributed to Luther’s success between 1517 and 1521.

A. Frederick of Saxony, Luther’s powerful territorial prince, protected him politically.

B. German anti-Roman sentiment benefited Luther.

C. Humanists esteemed Luther for his emphasis on scripture and hostility to scholastic theology.

D. Luther’s many early writings were widely and rapidly diffused through print.

Essential Reading:
Euan Cameron, The European Reformation, ch. 7.

Supplementary Reading:
Heiko A. Oberman, Luther: Man between God and the Devil.
Roland Bainton, Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther.

Questions to Consider:
1. How did the course of events intersect with the development and expression of Luther’s own views between 1517 and 1521?
2. How would Luther’s experience as a monk have helped him in the trajectory of events that led to his excommunication and imperial condemnation in 1521?
Lecture Eight
The Theology of Martin Luther

Scope: Three core ideas of Luther’s theology include his “Reformation discovery” of justification by faith alone, his insistence on scripture as the sole normative authority for Christian doctrine and life, and his idea of the “priesthood of all believers.” Common popular misconceptions about his theology and intentions include the idea that he championed a subjective “right” of individuals to interpret the Bible as they pleased, that he was primarily motivated by the desire to correct abuses and corruptions in the Church, and that he sought to establish his own church. Luther’s theology was deeply subversive of numerous late medieval Christian beliefs, practices, and institutions. The gulf between Erasmus’s and Luther’s views of Christianity and reform came to a head in 1524–1525 in their debate over the place of free will in Christian life.

Outline

I. Luther’s forceful expression and apocalyptic expectations are constant features of his theology.
   A. Luther’s gritty, and sometimes vulgar language is more than merely an expression of his personality. It is an attempt to move people.
   B. Like many of his contemporaries, Luther thought he was living in the Last Days, which lent urgency to his theology.
   C. Luther was not a systematic, academic theologian, but rather primarily a preacher, biblical interpreter, and pastor who expressed his theology in a wide variety of genres: sermons, treatises written for specific occasions, biblical commentaries, letters, hymns, and in conversation.

II. At the heart of Luther’s theology are the notions of justification by faith alone, the Bible as the sole and final authority for Christian doctrine and life, and the “priesthood of all believers.” His theology emerged gradually between about 1513 and 1519.
   A. Luther’s “Reformation discovery” was a new idea about, and experience of, the way in which Christians are saved: not by contributing in any way to their own salvation but by faith alone in Jesus Christ as savior.
      1. Before his breakthrough, spiritually anxious and convinced that absolute sinfulness was the universal human condition, Luther thought that a just God could not but condemn everyone to damnation.
      2. By seizing on Paul’s dictum that “The just will live by faith,” Luther understood that salvation is something passively received. Only by trusting in Christ’s redemptive sacrifice are sinners justified in God’s sight.
   B. According to Luther, scripture alone possesses an authority independent of, and higher than, the authority of both popes and church councils, neither of which is infallible in interpreting scripture.
   C. Luther’s “priesthood of all believers” is directed against the idea that the clergy is intrinsically holier or closer to God than the laity.
      1. All legitimate callings in the world are equally good and holy insofar as they are pursued out of obedience to God.
      2. The primary purpose of the clergy is not to mediate grace through the sacraments but simply to proclaim God’s word and to teach.
   D. Luther distinguished sharply between the domains of faith and secular authority. His social and political views remained profoundly conservative.

III. Three popular misconceptions of Luther’s theology and purpose include the idea that he supported a subjective “right” of individuals to interpret the Bible as they desired, that he sought primarily to correct abuses in the Church, and that he sought to establish his own church.
   A. Far from offering an “alternative” Christianity or proclaiming the right of each individual to understand the Bible as he or she wished, Luther thought he had properly understood the one and only Christianity that existed, rescuing it from medieval distortions.
B. According to Luther, abuses and corruptions in the Church were symptoms of deeper, doctrinal errors. Even at its best, medieval Catholicism was inherently perverted insofar as it taught that human beings contribute to their own salvation.

C. Luther did not seek to establish his own church but rather to call the one and only Catholic Church back to what he regarded as true doctrine, worship, and practice.

IV. The implications of Luther’s theology and his principle of *sola scriptura* were subversive of numerous late medieval Christian beliefs, practices, and institutions.

A. Luther rejected many important traditional Catholic beliefs.
   1. With his principle of *sola scriptura*, Luther rejected the medieval view that scripture must be understood in the tradition of the Roman Church and its authority.
   2. According to Luther, good works are important as an expression of Christian love, not as attempts to please God. Liberated by faith, Christians are free to love others.
   3. Luther rejected the notion that the Mass was a reenactment of Christ’s sacrifice, as well as the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

B. Luther condemned many late medieval Catholic practices as illegitimate or harmful.
   1. He repudiated four of the sacraments as being unbiblical, retaining only baptism, communion, and confession (all of which he reinterpreted).
   2. He rejected any and all practices inconsistent with justification by faith alone, including prayers to saints, the purchase of indulgences, participation in pilgrimages, and bodily asceticism.

C. Luther’s theology ran deeply counter to many traditional Catholic institutions.
   1. Luther’s reconception of the clergy robbed monasticism of its rationale and subverted clerical vows of celibacy.
   2. Because he claimed that they fostered harmful particularisms and factions, Luther rejected confraternities.

V. Erasmus and Luther disagreed fundamentally on the nature of Christian faith, Christian life, and reform. Their differences came to a head in 1524–1525 in their debate over the role played by free will in Christian salvation.

A. Luther thought Erasmus grossly misconceived Christian life as a process of gradual moral reform based on education, as opposed to the liberating power of faith radically to transform the depraved sinner. Luther’s view of human nature was much less optimistic than that of Erasmus.

B. In 1524, Erasmus wrote *On the Freedom of the Will*, which argued against Luther that human beings must play some role in responding freely to God’s commandments. Luther responded in 1525 with *On the Bondage of the Will*, which ridiculed Erasmus and argued that salvation was entirely God’s initiative.

**Essential Reading:**
Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, chs. 8–11.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Desiderius Erasmus and Martin Luther, *Discourse on Free Will*.
Martin Luther, *Martin Luther’s Basic Theological Writings*.
Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. How might Luther’s impact have been different if he had presented his theology in a milder, less combative manner?
2. What might have been especially appealing in Luther’s message to ordinary lay Christians in Germany in the early sixteenth century?
Lecture Nine
Huldrych Zwingli:
The Early Reformation in Switzerland

Scope: Deeply influenced by Christian humanism and Swiss urban values, Huldrych Zwingli was the leader of the early Reformation in the Swiss city of Zurich during the 1520s. Hired as a preacher in 1519, Zwingli was instrumental in the elimination of Catholicism and implementation of a Reformed Protestant regime in Zurich between 1522 and 1525. Unlike Luther, Zwingli conceived civic government and the church as two aspects of one and the same Christian community and thought that scripture should be the foundation for its every aspect. The intersection of religious disagreements between Catholic and Protestant with the political independence of the Swiss cantons provoked tension and finally war, in which Zwingli himself was killed in 1531. Zwingli’s longstanding dispute with Luther over the Lord’s Supper, dramatically epitomized in the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, was the beginning of a divisive doctrinal difference between Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism.

Outline

I. After his early education, a strong influence of Christian humanism, and more than a decade as a priest elsewhere, Zwingli was hired as a priest in Zurich.
   A. Zwingli was born in 1484 in the small Swiss canton of St. Gall, part of the Swiss Confederation. His early education took place in the Swiss cities of Basel and Bern, then at the universities of Vienna and Basel.
      1. Zwingli was intimately familiar with the life and institutions of the towns in which he lived, which would be crucial to his reforming career in Zurich.
      2. Zwingli’s outlook was shaped by the politically independent Swiss Confederation and its individual cantons.
   B. Much more so than Luther, Zwingli was deeply influenced by the emphasis on scripture and reform in Christian humanism.
      1. After an initial acquaintance with humanism as a student, Zwingli immersed himself in Greek, scripture, and the Church Fathers after becoming a priest in 1506.
      2. Zwingli met Erasmus in Basel in the mid-1510s and was close to him for several years.
   C. Zwingli held several positions as a priest before coming to Zurich at the beginning of 1519, where he preached directly from scripture in a humanist vein.
      1. From 1506–1516, Zwingli was a priest in Glarus, then went to the pilgrimage town of Einsiedeln from 1516–1518. Like Luther, he was intimately acquainted with Catholic belief and practice.
      2. In 1519, Zwingli began preaching regularly in Zurich, garnering support and provoking resistance.
      3. In 1521, Zwingli became a member of the Zurich city council.

II. Between 1522 and 1525, the Zurich city council and Zwingli’s leadership combined to eliminate Catholicism and to introduce Protestant worship and institutions in the city.
   A. In 1522, Zwingli preached against traditional Catholic practices, defended the actions of those who had eaten meat during Lent, and appealed to the Bishop of Constance in favor of clerical marriage.
   B. In January 1523, at the First Zurich Disputation, the Zurich city council decided in Zwingli’s favor that all disputed religious issues were to be decided on the basis of scripture.
      1. Zwingli was content to have the city council, whose members he had influenced, make decisions and policies regarding religion.
      2. The city council’s decision implicitly repudiated Catholic claims of authority in religious matters.
   C. In October 1523, at the Second Zurich Disputation, the Zurich city council concurred with Zwingli that the Mass should be abolished and images removed from churches in due course.
      1. Zwingli deferred to the magistrates as to the timing of the changes.
      2. Those critical of Zwingli’s capitulation included future Anabaptists (see Lecture Twelve), who were not content to let the city council determine the pace of reform.
D. In 1525, the Zurich city council mandated infant baptism, established an evangelical communion service, created a marriage tribunal, and institutionalized biblical study (the “prophecy”), for the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin.

E. Throughout his reforming efforts, Zwingli wanted every aspect of life in Zurich to be guided by biblical teaching.
   1. According to Zwingli, civic government and the church were but two aspects of the same Christian community.
   2. The close cooperation of civil and ecclesiastical institutions striving to create a godly polity would be characteristic of the Reformed Protestant tradition (later exemplified in Calvinism).

III. In the later 1520s, some Swiss cities and cantons accepted Zwingli’s reforms, but others remained Catholic, resulting in opposition and war.
   A. The political autonomy of the Swiss cantons enabled them to accept or reject Zwingli’s changes. The most important to accept them were Bern (1528) and Basel (1529), which together with Zurich, headed a Protestant alliance.
   B. As early as 1524, five rural Swiss cantons rejected Zwingli’s changes and defended the traditional faith, banding together in a Catholic alliance.
   C. An economic blockade of the Catholic cantons by the Protestant cantons led to war in 1531. Zwingli himself was killed at the battle of Kappel on November 11, 1531.
   D. Switzerland’s early division into Protestant and Catholic states prefigured on a small scale the religious divisions of Europe in general in the Reformation era.

IV. Zwingli’s theological differences with Luther, especially over the Lord’s Supper, were highly influential in the subsequent history of Protestantism.
   A. At the Marburg Colloquy in 1529, Luther and Zwingli sharply disagreed and refused to compromise their respective views of the Lord’s Supper.
      1. Zwingli taught that Christ’s presence in the Eucharist was only spiritual, whereas Luther affirmed the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.
      2. The failure of Luther and Zwingli to agree on this doctrine prevented the formation of a political alliance between Zwinglian and Lutheran cities and territories.
   B. The disagreement between Luther and Zwingli is the fountainhead of the distinction in Protestantism of the Lutheran and Reformed Protestant traditions.

Essential Reading:
Bernard M. G. Reardon, _Religious Thought in the Reformation_, 2nd ed., ch. 5.

Supplementary Reading:
G. R. Potter, _Zwingli._
W. P. Stephens, _Zwingli: An Introduction to His Thought._

Questions to Consider:
1. How does the urban and communal emphasis of Zwingli’s thought differ from the thrust of Luther’s thought?
2. In what ways did Switzerland’s political configuration affect the course of the Reformation and resistance to it?
Lecture Ten
Profile of a Protest Movement:
The Early Reformation in Germany

Scope: In the early 1520s, the evangelical movement became a major social and political force in the towns and cities of southwest Germany. Outstripping the control of such individual reformers as Luther or Zwingli, this was an impatient, zealous urban protest movement directed against many traditional Catholic practices, with more critical than constructive components. It was transmitted and spread through a profusion of printed pamphlets, through satirical and instructional woodcut images, through preaching, and by informal word-of-mouth communication, as well as by forms of hybrid media. Socially and politically, the movement exhibited considerable local variety from town to town. It is still possible, however, to form a general picture of the process by which Reformation changes were introduced in urban settings, from humanists’ initial enthusiasm for Luther, through popular agitation by “middling sorts” in the towns, to action by civic magistrates charged with preserving peace and order.

Outline

I. In the early 1520s, the early evangelical movement spread throughout dozens of towns in central Europe, especially in southwest Germany.
   A. Drawing on apocalypticism and anticlericalism, the early Reformation was an impatient, even militant, protest movement with a strongly bipolar, “for or against,” character.
   B. Most leaders of the movement were members of the clergy, often former mendicant friars, fed up with the Church’s inertia regarding reform.
   C. Already from the early 1520s, the movement’s leaders were unified neither in their beliefs nor prescriptions, but at this stage, their similarities were more important than their differences.
   D. The movement’s critical aspects included the voicing of anticlerical views, attacks on ecclesiastical practices and regulations, hostile actions against clergy, and iconoclasm.
   E. The movement’s constructive aspects were less important than its critical aspects. The former centered on calls to preach “the freedom of the Gospel” and “the pure word of God” to the “common man.”

II. The early Reformation movement spread by a variety of means that mutually reinforced one another, including printed pamphlets, woodcut images, preaching, and word-of-mouth communication.
   A. The early years of the Reformation in Germany saw Western history’s first massive propaganda campaign in print.
      1. More than 3,100 pamphlets appeared from 1517–1522, with over 1,000 more in 1524 alone, most of them in German, covering a wide range of interrelated religious, social, and political issues.
      2. The pamphlets’ direct appeal to the laity in religious matters was a sharp break with tradition.
      3. The nature of printing itself, combined with the political configuration of the territories and cities in the Holy Roman Empire, made effective censorship almost impossible.
      4. Although the majority of the population was illiterate, pamphlets were often read aloud to those who could not read for themselves.
   B. A wide range of satirical and instructional woodcuts helped spread evangelical themes to an audience that was deeply familiar with religious imagery. To mix metaphors, these might be viewed as the “sound bites of the Reformation.”
      1. The woodcut of “Christ and the Sheepfold” draws on John 10 to contrast traditional Catholics who seek to circumvent Christ and a humble peasant whom the Lord beckons to enter.
      2. The woodcut entitled “The Distinction between True and False Religion” is an elaborate, mirror-image contrast between evangelical truth and “the idolatrous teaching of the Antichrist.”
      3. Satirical woodcuts could be extremely coarse, as in one depicting an early Catholic opponent of Luther, “Johann Cochlaeus, the holy apostle, prophet, murderer, and virgin, born from a papist bowel movement.”
C. In a largely pre-literate society, the importance of both formal and informal means of oral/aural communication in spreading Reformation ideas can hardly be underestimated.
   1. Preaching by clergy sympathetic to the Reformation was crucial to the spread of the movement.
   2. Informal, word-of-mouth communication was central to the way in which news and ideas spread in early modern Europe.
D. Hybrid forms of communication also helped the spread of the early evangelical movement.

III. Only by attracting sufficient social and political support did the early evangelical movement become institutionally efficacious.
   A. A typological distinction between a grassroots “Reformation from below” and a political “Reformation from above” does not do justice to the incremental and dialectical way in which German and Swiss towns typically accepted the Reformation.
   B. Individuals’ support for the Reformation cannot be deduced from social standing or political views, but the Reformation clearly appealed to many citizens from the “middling ranks” of the towns.
   C. Generally speaking, towns received and implemented the Reformation as part of a four-stage process.
      1. First, circles of humanists in touch with one another often expressed enthusiasm for Luther as early as late 1517.
      2. Second, evangelical preachers began proclaiming “the Gospel” in the towns as they denounced Catholic practices, while pamphlets in favor of the new ideas circulated, neither of which were suppressed by civic magistrates.
      3. Third, significant numbers of the urban “middling sorts” agitated for changes in preaching and worship, threatening and sometimes causing serious social and political unrest in the city.
      4. Finally, civic magistrates, faced with losing order, began the process of instituting changes that were being called for, in a dialectical process of negotiation with popular pressure.

Essential Reading:
Berndt Hamm, “The Urban Reformation in the Holy Roman Empire,” in Handbook of European History, 1400–1600, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., et al., vol. 2.

Supplementary Reading:
Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1550.
Euan Cameron, The European Reformation, ch. 15.
Bernd Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation.
Robert W. Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation.

Questions to Consider:
1. How was the early Reformation able to spread so rapidly in the towns of Germany and Switzerland?
2. Besides matters of doctrinal conviction, what else would civic authorities have had to take into account in their stance toward the early Reformation?
Lecture Eleven  
The Peasants’ War of 1524–1525

Scope: The rapid growth of the early evangelical movement fused with longstanding religious, political, and social grievances in the so-called Peasants’ War of 1524–1525, the largest mass movement in European history before the French Revolution. In both rural villages and towns, appeals to “the Gospel” were widely understood to imply an end to feudal hierarchy and a call for fraternal equality, as the Reformation message was appropriated in ways sharply at odds with the social and political conservatism of Luther and Zwingli. The radical apocalyptic preacher Thomas Müntzer, from Thuringia in central Germany, was one of the most important leaders of the “Common Man,” championing a violent overthrow of the oppressive alliance between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The suppression of the revolts ended the Reformation as a genuinely mass social movement, stigmatizing anything that seemed like religious radicalism during the rest of the century. Consequently, wherever it was accepted after 1525, the Reformation was always introduced by political authorities in a controlled and domesticated manner.

Outline

I. The Peasants’ War of 1524–1525 was a series of regional uprisings that combined longstanding views of village self-determination and late medieval grievances with the extension of a view of reform closer to Zwingli than to Luther.
   A. Central Europe had a long tradition of peasant grievances and revolts, stretching back to the mid-fifteenth century, as peasants resisted efforts of feudal lords to tighten control amidst population growth and economic recovery.
      1. These grievances and revolts centered on the redress of injustices and the preservation of traditional privileges.
      2. The series of Bundschuh rebellions between 1493 and 1513 shows that peasants combined grievances with action in the years just before the Reformation.
   B. In a certain sense, the Peasants’ War radicalized Zwingli’s view of reform, contending that society as a whole should be restructured according to God’s will to serve the common good.
      1. The Peasants’ War went beyond traditional grievances and revolts, because “the Gospel” gave it a stronger, revolutionary imperative.
      2. The Peasants’ War went beyond the early Reformation in urban settings, because it involved many more people, entailed greater unrest, extended the meaning of the “Common Man,” and called for fundamental social and political restructuring.

II. On the basis of “the Gospel,” the Communal Reformation and Peasants’ War sought an end to injustices, the restoration of traditional privileges, and the abolition of traditional feudal and ecclesiastical hierarchies.
   A. Common folk from different regions articulated dozens of different complaints and demands in 1524–1525, but the most influential were the Twelve Articles of the Upper Swabian Peasants (February 1525).
      1. The Twelve Articles were widely distributed in southern and central Germany; more than twenty editions were published within two months.
      2. The Twelve Articles moved beyond traditional grievances; they called for an abolition of all feudal obligations and the dismantling of all Church property and organization.
   B. Had the Communal Reformation succeeded in its aims, it would have constituted a true revolution, a radical remaking of the social and political order of society, not merely the restitution of traditional privileges or the redress of grievances.

III. During the Peasants’ War, Thomas Müntzer, a radical apocalyptic reformer, called for the violent overthrow of the established ecclesiastical and political order.
   A. Originally sympathetic to Luther, Müntzer broke with him from 1520 on, developing a socially and politically radical theology.
      1. Müntzer contrasted the “inner word” of genuine faith produced directly by God through suffering with the “outer word” of false faith based on comfortable privilege and mere scripture study.
2. Müntzer sharply divided the world into the godly, who would usher in God’s kingdom, and the godless, who upheld the corrupt social, political, and ecclesiastical order and would be exterminated.

B. Müntzer saw in the remarkable growth and increasing militancy of the Reformation movement after 1523 a sure sign that Christ’s Second Coming was imminent.
   1. Unlike Luther’s passive apocalypticism, Müntzer’s active apocalypticism urged peasants to use violent means to help usher in the triumph over the anti-Christian union of ecclesiastical and secular authorities.
   2. In his “Sermon to the Princes” (July 1524), Müntzer urged the princes of Saxony to help usher in the new kingdom of righteousness, lest they be overwhelmed and destroyed.

C. In Thuringia, Müntzer urged thousands of underarmed peasants to violent insurrection at the battle of Frankenhausen, promising them that God would protect them.
   1. More than 5,000 peasants were killed, with virtually no casualties on the side of the mercenary armies of the combined Catholic and evangelical forces.
   2. Müntzer fled, was captured shortly thereafter, and was executed.

IV. The suppression of the “Common Man” in the Peasants’ War had profound implications for the future of the Protestant Reformation in central Europe.
   A. The suppression of the “Common Man” ended the Reformation as a mass social movement with a major impetus “from below.”
   B. The goals and violent actions of the “Common Man” made any sort of religious radicalism deeply suspect in the eyes of political authorities for the remainder of the sixteenth century and beyond.
   C. Political authorities’ suspicion of unrest associated with religious change ensured that the implementation of the Reformation, wherever it took place, would occur in a controlled, domesticated manner.

Essential Reading:
George H. Williams, The Radical Reformation, 3rd ed., ch. 4.

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. What continuities and discontinuities can be seen between the ideas of Luther and Zwingli on the one hand and the aims and actions of the “Common Man” in the Peasants’ War on the other?
2. Why would the failure of the “Common Man” in the Peasants’ War have been such a watershed in the social and political history of the Reformation?
Lecture Twelve
The Emergence of Early Anabaptism

Scope: “Anabaptism” is an umbrella designation for the groups in the radical Reformation that rejected infant baptism in favor of adult commitment as the basis for becoming a Christian and forming a Christian community. Anabaptism first emerged out of disputes about the tithe, religious images, and baptism in Zurich between 1523 and 1525. In the area around Zurich and beyond, early Anabaptism overlapped with the unrest of the Peasants’ War, and several Anabaptist leaders briefly introduced Anabaptism as the official religion of a few small towns. The suppression of the peasants influenced Anabaptists to become more self-consciously separatist, continuing some of the aims of the “Common Man” in a much more circumscribed form. The most important early Anabaptist groups were the Swiss Brethren, the South German/Austrian Anabaptists, and the Hutterites, all of whom were severely persecuted in the wake of the Peasants’ War.

Outline

I. Anabaptism, the most important strand in the radical Reformation, was based on the view that only a self-conscious, informed commitment to Christ could be the foundation for becoming a Christian.
   A. Anabaptism (specifically the Swiss Brethren) first emerged in Zurich in 1523–1525 out of disputes between Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, and others with Zwingli concerning the tithe, images in churches, and finally, the nature of baptism and its relationship to faith.
      1. The earliest Anabaptists argued from the principle of justification by faith alone that infants should not be baptized, because they did not have faith. The Bible contains no explicit mandate for infant baptism.
      2. Grebel and others were disgusted by Zwingli’s willingness to let the city council dictate the pace of reform.
      3. The Zurich city council, working together with Zwingli, declared that all infants should be baptized (January 1525), after which the first adult baptisms took place in defiance of the law.
   B. The rejection of infant baptism repudiated the sacrament by which people were traditionally understood to become Christians and to be initiated into their local communities.
   C. From the outset, Grebel’s and Mantz’s Anabaptism was radically pacifist and insisted on the direct, explicit following of Christ in discipleship.
      1. Anabaptist discipleship might be seen as one outgrowth of the emphasis on the imitation of Christ in late medieval Christianity.
      2. Early Anabaptist leaders in general were critical of Luther, Zwingli, and other reformers for emphasizing justification by faith alone at the expense of transforming the actual behavior of Christians.

II. Early Anabaptism overlapped chronologically and geographically with the unrest of the Peasants’ War, in which some Anabaptists and future Anabaptists were involved.
   A. Traditionally, scholars understood the violence of the Peasants’ War and Anabaptist pacifism as entirely distinct from each other, but more recent scholarship has shown elements that they held in common.
      1. Grebel and Müntzer disagreed about armed resistance but shared a disdain for the traditional use of the ecclesiastical tithe.
      2. Many Anabaptists were sympathetic to the aims of the “Common Man” to drastically remake the social, political, and ecclesiastical order.
   B. As Anabaptism spread during the early months of 1525, it overlapped with the peasant revolts around Zurich and beyond.
      1. In several communities, Anabaptist leaders, among them Balthasar Hubmaier, led short-lived attempts at “civic Anabaptism” and endorsed civic alliances with the peasants.
      2. Numerous people who later became Anabaptists were participants in the Peasants’ War. Not all early Swiss Anabaptists held the pacifistic views of Grebel and Mantz.
III. The suppression of the “Common Man” in the Peasants’ War influenced Anabaptism, leaving separatism as the only means to preserve certain of its goals in a restricted form.

A. When the Peasants’ War ended in defeat, Anabaptists concluded that if the world rejects truth, then truth must reject the world.

B. If society as a whole could not be remade according to Christian principles of fraternal love, equality, and justice, then separatist communities of committed Christians could endeavor to do so on a small scale.

IV. The most important early Anabaptist groups were the Swiss Brethren, the South German/Austrian Anabaptists, and the Hutterites, all of whom were severely persecuted and imbued with a mentality of suffering and martyrdom in the years after the Peasants’ War.

A. Michael Sattler’s seven Schleitheim Articles (February 1527) articulated the strongly separatist pacifism that would mold the Swiss Brethren in subsequent decades.
   1. The separatist rejection of the larger society alarmed political authorities, whether Catholic or Protestant, in the wake of the Peasants’ War.
   2. The separatism of the Swiss Brethren persists today in North America among the Amish, who are historical descendants of the Swiss Brethren.

B. The South German/Austrian Anabaptists were part of a short-lived movement indebted to the apocalyptic legacy of Thomas Müntzer and the Peasants’ War.
   1. South German Anabaptist leaders, such as Hans Hut, dropped Müntzer’s revolutionary violence but retained his apocalyptic expectations.
   2. After Hut’s death in 1528, a relative lack of leadership, combined with severe persecution, largely undermined this branch of Anabaptism by the early 1530s.

C. Jacob Hutter, an Austrian by birth and upbringing, established an important Anabaptist community in the early 1530s in Moravia, before his own execution in 1536.
   1. Most of the Hutterites were Austrian Anabaptists seeking refuge in Moravia from persecution under Ferdinand I.

Essential Reading:
C. Arnold Snyder, Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction, chs. 4–6, 8.
James M. Stayer, The German Peasants’ War and Anabaptist Community of Goods, ch. 3.
George H. Williams, The Radical Reformation, chs. 6–8, 16.

Supplementary Reading:
Werner O. Packull, Hutterite Beginnings: Communitarian Experiments during the Reformation.
C. Arnold Snyder, The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler.
James M. Stayer, Anabaptists and the Sword.

Questions to Consider:
1. How do Anabaptist views about Christian life and reform differ from those of Luther, Zwingli, and Erasmus?
2. In what ways do the aims of the Communal Reformation and early Anabaptism prefigure modern concerns for social justice?
Maps

Cities of Europe During the Reformation Era
Europe During the Reformation Era
Timeline

1497................................................ The Oratory of Divine Love is founded in Genoa.
1503................................................ Erasmus’s *Handbook of a Christian Soldier* is published.
1505................................................ Martin Luther joins Observant Augustinians in Erfurt and is ordained a priest two years later.
1511................................................ Luther moves to Wittenberg University.
1513................................................ One in a series of German peasant revolts before the Peasants’ War of 1524–1525.
1516................................................ Erasmus’s *New Testament* published.
1517................................................ In Wittenberg, Luther posts his *Ninety-five Theses*, which are immediately published.
1519................................................ Huldrych Zwingli begins preaching in Zurich (January). Johann Eck pushes Luther toward *sola scriptura* at the Leipzig Disputation (June–July). Charles V is elected Holy Roman Emperor (June).
1520................................................ Leo X’s bull *Exsurge domine* threatens Luther with excommunication (June). Luther publishes his three important early treatises (August, October, November).
1521................................................ Leo X excommunicates Luther (January) who refuses to recant at the Diet of Worms (April); Charles V condemns him in the Edict of Worms (May). Henry VIII publishes his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* against Luther; Leo X grants Henry VIII the title “Defender of the Faith.”
1522................................................ The Augustinian monastery in Antwerp is suppressed for Lutheran heresy. Luther completes his German translation of the *New Testament* and returns to Wittenberg after his period of hiding in the Wartburg castle.
1523................................................ The First (January) and Second (October) Zurich Disputations begin the formal acceptance of Zwingli’s Protestantism and dismantling of Catholicism by the Zurich city council. Two of the Antwerp Augustinians refuse to recant and become the first of Luther’s followers to be executed for heresy, in Brussels (July). Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet presides over reforming initiatives in his diocese of Meaux, in northern France. Clement VII becomes pope after the brief pontificate of Adrian VI.
1524................................................ The Peasants’ War begins in Germany. Erasmus publishes his *Freedom of the Will*. Five Swiss cantons reject Zwingli’s reforms and affirm Catholicism. Over 1,000 German Reformation pamphlets are published during the year, the high tide of printed propaganda for the early Reformation.
1525................................................ The first adult baptisms in Zurich defy city law and mark the beginning of the Swiss Brethren (January). The Peasants’ War continues and by the fall, is largely defeated. Thomas Müntzer is executed for his role in the Peasants’ War. In Switzerland, the first Anabaptists are executed. Luther publishes his *Bondage of the Will* in response to Erasmus’s *Freedom of the Will*. In France, the Meaux circle is broken up in the absence of Francis I.
1526................................................ The publication of William Tyndale’s English translation of the *New Testament* is completed at Worms in Germany and soon begins to be smuggled into England.
1527................................................ Imperial troops sack Rome. Michael Sattler’s *Schleitheim Articles* articulate the emergent separatist pacifism of the Swiss Brethren.
1528................................................ Matteo da Bascio founds the Capuchin order, a reform of the Franciscans, in Italy. The Swiss city of Bern accepts Zwinglian reforms.

1529................................................ Luther and Zwingli disagree on the correct understanding of the Lord’s Supper at the Marburg Colloquy. Protestant princes and cities protest imperial constraints at the second Diet of Speyer. The city of Basel accepts Zwinglian reforms.

1530................................................ Articulation of the Lutheran Augsburg Confession after the imperial Diet of Augsburg. Melchior Hoffman brings Anabaptism to the Low Countries via Emden.

1531................................................ Zwingli is killed on the battlefield at Kappel. The Schmalkaldic League is formed as a defensive Protestant political and military alliance in Germany. The first Dutch Anabaptists are executed; Melchior Hoffman declares a moratorium on adult baptisms.

1532................................................ The submission of the English clergy to Henry VIII, which prompts Thomas More’s resignation as Lord Chancellor.

1533................................................ In England, all ecclesiastical appeals to Rome are outlawed, Thomas Cranmer is appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry VIII secretly marries Anne Boleyn. Adult baptisms resume and their number proliferates rapidly in the Netherlands.

1534................................................ The Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster is established. The Act of Supremacy declares that the king is supreme head of the Church in England. Ignatius Loyola gathers his first followers in Paris. The Affair of the Placards leads to intensified measures against heresy in France. Paul III becomes pope.

1535................................................ The Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster is crushed. Thomas More, John Fisher, and several Roman Catholic priests and monks are executed for refusing the English oath of supremacy. The Ursulines, a female Catholic religious order, is established by Angela Merici.

1536................................................ Calvin publishes the first edition (in Latin) of his *Institutes*, and he arrives in Geneva for the first time. The suppression and dissolution of the English monasteries begins. Menno Simons is baptized. Erasmus dies.

1537................................................ The papally commissioned *Concilium de emendanda ecclesia* denounces ecclesiastical abuses and urges reforms in the Catholic Church.

1538................................................ Calvin is exiled from Geneva and moves to Strasbourg. The shrine of Thomas (Becket) of Canterbury is destroyed in England.

1539................................................ *The Act of the Six Articles* in England sharply reiterates Henry VIII’s hostility to Protestantism.

1540................................................ The Jesuits receive formal papal approval by Paul III in Rome.

1541................................................ Lutheran and Catholic theologians agree on a formula of justification at the Diet of Regensburg but remain divided on other doctrines. Calvin returns to Geneva after three years in Strasbourg, first publishes his *Institutes* in French, and Geneva accepts his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*.

1542................................................ The Roman Inquisition is established in response to concern about the spread of heresy in Italy.

1544................................................ The Peace of Crépy between Charles V and Francis I enables both rulers to devote attention to the suppression of heresy. The Ursulines receive formal papal approval from Paul III. The Jesuits establish their first college in Germany.
1545................................................ The Council of Trent opens late in the year.

1546................................................ Charles V reorganizes the Inquisition in the Low Countries. Luther dies.

1547................................................ Charles V defeats Protestant forces in Germany’s Schmalkaldic War. After the death of Henry VIII, a Protestant regime begins in England under the boy-king Edward VI, while English Catholic exiles flee to the Continent. After the death of Francis I, Henry II establishes the *chambre ardente* in France. The Council of Trent is suspended.

1548................................................ Charles V imposes the Augsburg Interim on German Lutherans, which helps precipitate a split between Philippist and “Genuine” (Gnesio-) Lutherans.

1549................................................ Reforming measures with a more clearly Reformed Protestant character begin in England. The Jesuit Francis Xavier becomes the first Catholic missionary to Japan.

1550................................................ Charles V issues the “Bloody Placard,” the century’s most comprehensive anti-heresy legislation, in the Netherlands.

1551................................................ The Council of Trent reconvenes in March and meets until April 1552. Henry II issues the Edict of Chateaubriand, France’s most extensive anti-heresy edict.

1552................................................ Thomas Cranmer’s *Book of Common Prayer* is published in England. The German College, under Jesuit control, is established in Rome to train parish priests for Germany.

1553................................................ After the death of Edward VI, Mary Tudor becomes queen of England and restores Roman Catholicism.

1554................................................ Mary Tudor weds Philip II of Spain and Reginald Pole returns from Italy to become Archbishop of Canterbury; Protestant exiles flee England for the Continent.

1555................................................ The Peace of Augsburg establishes that territorial princes shall choose whether Catholicism or Lutheranism shall prevail in their territories. The first organized Calvinist churches are established in France (Paris) and the Low Countries (Antwerp). The execution of unrepentant Protestants begins in England. Mennonites and Waterlanders begin their split over banning and shunning. Paul IV becomes pope.

1556................................................ Charles V abdicates as Holy Roman Emperor and retires to a Spanish monastery. Ignatius Loyola dies.

1558................................................ In Geneva, John Knox publishes his *First Blast*, along with other treatises. Mary Tudor dies and Elizabeth I becomes queen of England.

1559................................................ Under Elizabeth, Protestantism is reintroduced to England. John Knox returns to Scotland, where he leads a Protestant rebellion. Henry II of France dies and is succeeded by Francis II. The first national synod of French Huguenots is held in Paris. Pius IV becomes pope.

1560................................................ Francis II of France dies. English military intervention in Scotland against France enables Scotland’s adoption of Protestantism by the Reformation Parliament.

1561................................................ French Catholics and Huguenots fail to reach any settlement at the Colloquy of Poissy. Mary Stuart returns from France to Scotland. Frederick III of the Palatinate becomes the first German prince to convert from Lutheranism to Calvinism.

1562................................................ The Massacre of Vassy inaugurates the French Wars of Religion. The Council of Trent reconvenes to conclude its work.
1563................................................ The Council of Trent comes to a close. The *Heidelberg Catechism* is published.
1564................................................ The Tridentine canons and decrees receive formal papal approval. Calvin dies.
1565................................................ Carlo Borromeo begins his work as Archbishop of Milan.
1566................................................ In the Low Countries, collective pressure forces the Compromise of the Nobility, a mitigation of anti-heresy measures, which opens the way for the Iconoclastic Fury. Pius V becomes pope.
1567................................................ The Duke of Alva arrives in the Netherlands to punish the Dutch iconoclasts through the Council of Troubles. In Scotland, Mary Stuart abdicates the throne. The separation between Frisian and Flemish Mennonites is completed in the Netherlands.
1568................................................ The harsh measures of Alva’s Council of Troubles provoke the beginning of the Dutch Revolt against Spain, under the leadership of William of Orange. William Allen establishes the English seminary at Douai to train priests for work in England, in anticipation of the country’s eventual return to Catholicism.
1571................................................ Emden hosts an important synod of Dutch Calvinist refugees.
1572................................................ The Dutch Calvinist Sea Beggars lead an offensive that progressively takes Holland from Spanish control. Catholics kill several thousand Huguenots in France’s St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres. Gregory XIII becomes pope.
1574................................................ Henry III becomes king of France. The first English Catholic missionary priests arrive from the Continent.
1576................................................ Unpaid Spanish soldiers mutiny and wreak destruction in Antwerp.
1577................................................ The Formula of Concord reconciles most Philippist and “Genuine” Lutherans.
1578................................................ Gregory XIII reestablishes the English College in Rome for the purpose of training English missionary priests.
1579................................................ The Union of Utrecht establishes the northern provinces of the Low Countries as the Dutch Republic.
1581................................................ The Dutch Act of Abjuration formally repudiates the authority of Philip II in the Dutch Republic.
1584................................................ The death of the Duke of Anjou leaves the Huguenot Henry de Navarre as next in line to the French throne, which reinvigorates the Catholic League. William of Orange is assassinated in Delft.
1585................................................ Alessandro Farnese consolidates control of the southern Netherlands for Spain.
1588................................................ At Henry III’s behest, the French Guises are assassinated.
1589................................................ As a retaliation for the murder of the Guises, Henry III is assassinated in France, leaving Henry de Navarre as heir to the throne.
1593................................................ Henry de Navarre converts to Catholicism and assumes the French throne as Henry IV.
1598................................................ The Edict of Nantes concludes the French Wars of Religion and establishes restricted toleration of Huguenots in France.
1603................................................ With the death of Elizabeth I, the English crown passes from the Tudor to the Stuart line and James I (= James VI of Scotland).
1608................................. To counter aggressive Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire, the Protestant Union is formed under the leadership of Frederick IV of the Palatinate.

1609................................. In response to the establishment of the Protestant Union, the Catholic League takes shape under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. The first Jesuit Reductions are established in South America.

1618................................. The Defenestration of Prague initiates the Thirty Years’ War. In the Dutch Republic, the Synod of Dort resolves the dispute between Calvinism and Arminianism in favor of the former.

1620................................. Catholic forces win a decisive victory under Johann Tilly in the Battle of the White Mountain.

1622................................. Gregory XV endeavors to centralize Catholic missionary efforts by creating the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

1629................................. In France, the Huguenots lose La Rochelle, their final military stronghold. The Edict of Restitution signals the high water mark of the Counter-Reformation in the Thirty Years’ War. Charles I begins his eleven years of “personal rule” in England.

1631................................. Protestant forces win a major victory under Gustavus Adolhus at the Battle of Breitenfeld.

1632................................. Gustavus Adolhus dies.

1635................................. The Peace of Prague concludes the Swedish phase of the Thirty Years’ War.


1642................................. The first civil war, between royalists and parliamentarians, begins in England.

1646................................. A Presbyterian church order is established in England after the parliamentarian victory in the first civil war.

1648................................. The Peace of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years’ War and establishes the enduring religio-political divisions of Europe.

1649................................. Charles I is executed by order of the Rump Parliament; England is proclaimed a Republic.

1654................................. In his role as Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell establishes a tolerant and inclusive state church.

1660................................. The English monarchy and the Church of England are restored to their prerevolutionary forms.

1685................................. Louis XIV revokes the Edict of Nantes, ending toleration for Huguenots in France.
Glossary

**Anabaptism**: The general term used to designate those Christian groups in the radical Reformation who rejected infant baptism in favor of adult understanding and commitment as a prerequisite for becoming a Christian and for baptism. The most important Anabaptist groups were the Swiss Brethren, the South German/Austrian Anabaptists, the Hutterites, and the Mennonites.

**anticlericalism**: Critical or hostile attitudes or practices directed against members of the clergy, whether Catholic priests or, after the Protestant Reformation was established, Protestant ministers. Anticlericalism might be subdivided by the specific target of criticism (e.g., antipapalism, antimonasticism), and it was variously directed against clerical abuses, clerical privileges, or both.

**apocalypticism**: The term used to describe the anticipation of the imminent end of the world, which in Christian teaching, includes the second coming of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the Last Judgment by Christ.

**apostolic succession**: The Christian notion that Christ’s apostles, who received their authority from him, pass it in turn to their successors, thus preserving his authority in the Church. In Roman Catholicism, these successors are understood to be the Church’s bishops.

**banning and shunning**: The Anabaptist disciplinary practice of excluding a baptized member of the community from fellowship because of some moral or other infraction, followed by the group’s collective refusal to have any contact with the excluded member.

**baptism**: The sacrament of initiation into the Christian community practiced by Catholics, Protestants, and Anabaptists (although not by certain other radical Protestants). Magisterial Protestants, like Catholics, baptized infants, a practice Anabaptists rejected in favor of baptizing only adults who had self-consciously committed to becoming Christians.

**Calvinism**: The branch of Reformed Protestantism that takes its name from John Calvin, the French refugee reformer of Geneva, whence it spread to have a significant influence in France, England, Scotland, Germany, and the Low Countries. Calvinism, characterized by its theological rigor, liturgical austerity, and aspiration to create godly polities, was the most dynamic form of Protestantism in the second half of the sixteenth century.

**canonization**: In Roman Catholicism, the official papal recognition of a holy man or woman as a saint, that is, an advocate with God in heaven for the supplications and prayers of living Christians.

**Catholic reform**: The collective designation for those aspects of late medieval and early modern Catholicism primarily concerned with the internal self-renewal and reform of Catholic devotion, practice, and institutions, rather than with opposition to heresy or reaction to the Protestant Reformation.

**Church Fathers**: The leading Christian theologians of the second through the sixth centuries, the publication and study of whose Greek and Latin writings were central to the Christian humanists’ desire to reform the Church through erudition and education. The writings of the Church Fathers, above all Augustine, played an important role in early modern Christian theology; Protestant and Catholic theologians disputed the correct interpretation of their writings.

**Communal Reformation**: English translation of the German term *Gemeindereformation*, used to designate the German Reformation movement in the early 1520s through the end of the Peasants’ War, when it was a genuinely popular social movement with a broad demographic base in both the towns and rural areas of southern and central Germany.

**conciliarism**: In the domain of ecclesiology, the late medieval position holding that ultimate authority in the Church reposes with church councils rather than with the papacy. Conciliarism reached its apogee in the early fifteenth century and waned from the mid-fifteenth century, although it remained important well into the Reformation era.

**confessionalization**: The process in the Reformation era whereby secular and ecclesiastical authorities worked together in the effort to create well-informed, conscientious Christians who had specific confessional identities (Lutheran, Calvinist, Roman Catholic) and would also be well-disciplined, obedient political subjects.
confraternities: In late medieval and early modern Catholic Europe, the most important collective lay religious institutions, variously constituted mutual aid societies organized for the spiritual and social well-being of their members.

consistory: The principal institution responsible for the exercise of moral and religious discipline in Calvinist Geneva, and wherever Calvinism took full root according to the Genevan model. The consistory was composed of the local Calvinist church’s pastors and elders.

conventicles: Secret, underground gatherings of like-minded Christians in contexts of persecution, for purposes of worship, conversation, scripture study, and mutual encouragement and support.

Counter-Reformation: The collective term for those aspects of early modern Catholicism concerned primarily to oppose, denounce, and undo the Protestant and radical Reformation.

diocese: The principal geographical and administrative subdivisions of Latin Christendom in the Middle Ages and of Catholic Europe (and Protestant England) in the Reformation era, overseen by a bishop. Dioceses were subdivided into parishes.

episcopacy: The office of bishop in the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, and the Lutheran churches of some countries. The ecclesiological significance of the episcopacy was rejected in Reformed Protestantism and the radical Reformation.

Eucharist: The celebratory ritual meal of thanksgiving in collective Christian worship that is based on the Last Supper of Jesus with his apostles. It can also refer specifically to the consecrated bread and wine consumed during this meal. The Eucharist, or Lord’s Supper, was one of the most disputed areas of Christian theology and liturgy in the Reformation era.

excommunication: The formal expulsion of a baptized Christian from the community of the Roman Catholic Church and, therefore, from the reception of the sacraments, after due warning and exhortation to rectify the offense or condition for which excommunication is threatened. Excommunication was appropriated in various forms by Protestant groups in the Reformation era (e.g., banning and shunning among Anabaptists).

heresy: The deliberate holding of erroneous Christian doctrines, as defined by orthodox authorities. Because orthodoxy was disputed in the Reformation era, heresy was also disputed. Heresy is not to be confused with unbelief; only a baptized Christian can be a heretic.

humanism: In the Renaissance, the movement to recover and teach the language, literature, rhetoric, poetry, and history of the ancient Greek and Roman classics to instill virtue and good government. Christian humanism adapted this program to the reform of the Church through the recovery and teaching of the Church Fathers’ writings and the Bible in their original languages.

iconoclasm: The violent or controlled destruction of religious images or works of art. In the Reformation era, Protestant iconoclasm was frequently directed against Catholic religious art, both inside and outside churches.

idolatry: In Christianity, the worship of anything that is not God. In the Reformation era, Protestants who rejected the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and Catholic ideas about religious images and relics accused Catholics of idolatry in venerating the Eucharist, religious images, and saints’ relics.

indulgence: In the late Middle Ages and the Reformation era, in Catholic teaching, the Church’s complete or partial remission of the purgatorial punishment for sins by a person making a proper confession and fulfilling the conditions stipulated by an authorized cleric for attaining the indulgence. Luther’s dissatisfaction with the abuse of indulgences lay behind his Ninety-five Theses.

Inquisition: An ecclesiastical tribunal in the Catholic Church specially designated to inquire into and suppress heresy. Not a monolithic institution, the principal inquisitions in late medieval and early modern Europe were the medieval (established in the thirteenth century), the Spanish (est. 1478), and the Roman (est. 1542).

justification by faith alone: The phrase describing the central doctrinal assertion of Protestantism that human beings are made acceptable to God strictly through trust in Christ as their savior, a trust produced in them entirely by God’s grace. Thus, humans contribute nothing whatsoever to their own salvation. The doctrine was formally
condemned by the Council of Trent, which insisted that human beings cooperate with God’s grace in the process of salvation.

**liturgy**: Collective Christian worship according to some regular, established pattern or procedure. Liturgical forms varied widely across the various traditions of early modern Christianity.

**Lord’s Supper**: A general name for the celebratory ritual meal of thanksgiving in collective Christian worship that is based on the Last Supper of Jesus with his apostles. (See also **Eucharist**.)

**Lutheranism**: The branch of Protestantism that takes its name from Martin Luther, as distinct from Reformed Protestantism or radical Protestantism. Lutheranism, which remained theologically, liturgically, and aesthetically closer to Roman Catholicism than did Reformed Protestantism, became the official form of Christianity in many German territories and in the Scandinavian countries.

**magisterial Protestantism**: Those forms of Protestantism that were introduced with the sanction, support, and/or coercion of secular magistrates, whether in cities, territories, or nations. Magisterial Protestantism includes Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism and excludes the radical Reformation. In this course, “Protestantism” is generally used as shorthand for “magisterial Protestantism.”

**mendicants**: Literally “beggars,” the term refers to the regular clergy who originally begged alms for their survival as itinerant preachers and ministers, chiefly the members of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, but also including the Carmelites and Augustinians. Synonymous with “mendicant friars” or “friars.”

**papacy**: The office of pope in the Roman Catholic Church, the highest office in its hierarchical structure. Rejection of the papacy and its authority was the only tenet shared by all Protestants in the Reformation era.

**parish**: A geographical and administrative subdivision of a diocese in Catholic Europe, overseen by a parish priest (or by a minister in those areas of Protestant Europe that retained parishes as geographical and administrative designations).

**penance**: In one sense, a synonym for the sacrament of confession in the Roman Catholic Church; the term can also refer to the activities done to fulfill the penalties stipulated for the forgiveness of sins according to the sacrament, as well as to the state of being contrite for, repentant about, one’s sins. Protestants rejected the Catholic meanings linked to the sacrament of penance but generally emphasized the importance of repentance as a condition for amendment of life.

**Petrine supremacy**: The Catholic teaching that links Peter’s preeminence among the apostles to the understanding of him as the first pope and, thus, to the succession of popes that began with Peter and derives its authority from Christ. Hence, the papal see of Rome is called the “See of St. Peter.”

**predestination**: The Christian teaching, importantly influenced by Augustine in the Reformation era, that human beings are destined for salvation or damnation as the result of God’s will, independent of their own choices or actions. Among the major traditions in early modern Christianity, the doctrine was emphasized and elaborated most by Calvin and Calvinist theologians.

**Protestantism**: The broadest designation of all those Christian groups in Latin Christendom who, in the Reformation era, rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. The distinction between magisterial Protestantism and radical Protestantism comprises its fundamental subdivision. In this course, “Protestantism” is generally used as shorthand for “magisterial Protestantism.”

**providence**: The Christian teaching that God actively orders and governs all things and events in his creation, often despite appearances to the contrary. Belief in God’s providence was fundamental to virtually all Christians in the Reformation era.

**radical Reformation**: Those forms of Protestantism that rejected Christianity as it was introduced and supported by secular authorities. Anabaptists are the most significant subgroup in the radical Reformation.

**Reformed Protestantism**: Along with Lutheranism, one of the two major traditions in magisterial Protestantism. Although Calvinism and Zwinglianism are its two most important subtraditions, Reformed Protestantism is an umbrella designation that is bigger than either.
**regulars:** As distinguished from mendicants and secular clergy, these were cloistered monks or nuns in Roman Catholicism who belonged to religious orders that followed a monastic “rule” (*regula*). The rule theoretically kept them apart from the wider world, pursuing lives of prayer, work, and contemplation. Among the most important were the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Carthusians.

**resistance theory:** Protestant political thought that developed in Lutheranism and Calvinism in the sixteenth century concerning the conditions and identities of those who might legitimately resist and/or oppose an ungodly (i.e., Catholic) ruler.

**Roman Catholicism:** The early modern Christian tradition that was institutionally continuous with medieval Latin Christianity, the authority of which was repudiated, in various ways and to various degrees, by all Protestant groups in the Reformation era.

**royal supremacy:** The English law enacted in 1534 by Parliament at Henry VIII’s behest that made the sovereign the supreme head of the Church in England. The royal supremacy emerged from Henry VIII’s desire to have his marriage to Katherine of Aragon annulled so that he could wed his mistress, Anne Boleyn.

**sacraments:** In Catholicism, specifically designated sacred rituals that confer God’s grace on the recipient. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) enumerated seven: baptism, confession (penance), communion (Eucharist), confirmation, marriage, holy orders, and extreme unction. Most Protestants accepted only baptism and communion, although different reformers and groups understood these two in widely divergent ways. The correct understanding of the sacraments was bitterly contested among different Christian groups in the Reformation era.

**saints:** In Roman Catholicism, holy men and women whose presence in heaven has been attested after their deaths by miracles they have worked, who have been officially canonized, and who can intercede with God on behalf of ordinary men and women. Protestants rejected saints’ intercessory role but sometimes adopted the term to refer to living members of their own group.

**secular clergy:** As distinguished from the mendicants and the regular clergy, these were members of the clergy serving in the world (*saeculum*), most often as ordinary parish priests or at lower clerical ranks. They were not members of a religious order and were under the direct authority of a bishop.

**sola fide:** A Latin phrase meaning “by faith alone,” this popular slogan of the Protestant Reformation expressed in a condensed form the assertion that Christians were saved by God solely on the basis of faith, imparted wholly by God’s grace, and not as the result of any effort or action whatsoever on their own part. Good works were part of Christian love and directed toward one’s fellow human beings, but contributed nothing to one’s salvation. The Council of Trent formally condemned this teaching as heretical.

**sola scriptura:** A Latin phrase meaning “by scripture alone,” this popular slogan of the Protestant Reformation articulated in a compressed way the claim that the Bible alone, not the papacy, church councils, or ecclesiastical tradition in general, is the sole authority for Christian faith and life. The Council of Trent formally condemned this teaching as heretical.

**spirituali:** The collective name for the elite, humanistic, reform-minded group of Italian prelates in Italy in the 1530s and 1540s who were sympathetic to the doctrine of justification by faith alone but did not reject papal authority. The Council of Trent’s condemnation of justification by faith alone forced them to choose between the two commitments.

**transubstantiation:** In Catholic teaching, the dogma that with the priest’s words of consecration in the Mass, the appearance of the bread and wine remain, but their substance is miraculously changed into the body and blood of Christ, following his own words to his apostles at the Last Supper (“This is my body”). Protestants rejected the dogma of transubstantiation, although Lutherans retained the teaching of Christ’s real presence in the Eucharist.
Biographical Notes

Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584): Archbishop of Milan from 1565 until his death in 1584, where his diligent reforming activities epitomized the ideal of the pastorally minded, post-Tridentine Catholic bishop. He held regular provincial councils and diocesan synods, carried out systematic visitations of parishes and monasteries, established and supported a major diocesan seminary for the training of priests, and promoted the schools of Christian doctrine, all in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent. His zeal provoked conflict with civil authorities in Milan, though he eventually won their support. Borromeo became the model for other post-Tridentine bishops. He was formally canonized as a saint in 1610.

John Calvin (1509–1564): The leading reformer and theologian in the second generation of the Protestant Reformation, he was born in France but became the resident exile religious leader in Geneva, Switzerland, after his conversion to Protestantism. Trained as a humanist and a lawyer, his uncompromising reforms led to his exile from Geneva in 1538; he spent three years in Strasbourg before being invited back to Geneva in 1541, where he remained until his death. Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, first published in 1536 and revised several times until it reached its final form in 1559, is the single most important Protestant theological work of the Reformation era. Calvinism became the most dynamic, influential form of Protestantism in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Charles V (1500–1558): As the Holy Roman Emperor from 1519 until 1556, he was probably the most important political figure in the early decades of the Reformation era. A staunch defender of Catholicism and opponent of Protestantism, he ruled over vast territories either directly or indirectly, including Spain, the Low Countries, Austria, northern Italy, most of central Europe, and parts of eastern Europe. He issued the Edict of Worms that condemned Luther in 1521, defeated the allied Protestant forces in the Schmalkaldic War of 1547, and imposed the Augsburg Interim on Lutheran towns and territories before concluding the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. His chief political rival was Francis I of France, with whom he was frequently at war until Francis’s death in 1547.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603): Daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, she was the queen of England from 1558 until 1603 and restored Protestantism to England. The sheer longevity of her reign, in contrast to those of her predecessors Edward VI and Mary, was probably the most important factor in transforming England into a Protestant country by the 1580s. Elizabeth pursued a moderate, pragmatic Protestantism that emphasized obedience and sought to avoid the violence that religious differences were provoking on the Continent.

Erasmus (c. 1466–1536): The leading Christian humanist of the early sixteenth century, he sought the gradual renewal of Christendom based on the fusion of classical and biblical erudition, education, and piety in the “philosophy of Christ.” His prodigious literary output included dozens of scholarly, satirical, instructional, and moral works. Erasmus produced editions of many of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers, as well as an edition of the *New Testament* in the original Greek with his own Latin translation (1516). Other important works included his *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* (1503) and *Praise of Folly* (1511). He criticized clerical ignorance, immorality, and greed; ridiculed lay “superstition”; and rejected scholastic theology. Although originally supportive of Luther, Erasmus’s very different views and approach to theology came to a head in their famous debate over the role of free will in Christian salvation in 1524–1525.

Francis I (1494–1547): The French king who patronized humanism and humanist reform but opposed Protestantism, particularly after the Affair of the Placards in 1534. During the 1520s, his implicit distinction between elite, educated reform and disruptive, seditious heresy shielded the reforming measures under Guillaume Briconnet, the bishop of Meaux. The later years of his reign saw a sharp increase in executions for heresy in France. Francis’s chief political rivals throughout his reign were Charles V and Henry VIII.

Henry IV (de Navarre) (1553–1610): The French king whose conversion from Calvinism to Catholicism in 1593 helped bring an end to the French Wars of Religion with the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The son of Jeanne de Navarre and Antoine de Bourbon, Henry, a committed Protestant and Huguenot military leader in the Wars of Religion, became the next in line to the throne after the death of the Duke of Anjou in 1584. This precipitated opposition from the militant Catholic League, which rejected in principle the notion of a Protestant king, and ushered in the violent religio-political clashes of the later 1580s and early 1590s. When Henry III was assassinated in 1589, Henry de Navarre became a king without a crown, one not secured until he agreed to convert. Despite adopting Catholicism,
during the rest of his reign, Henry’s continued protection and toleration of Protestants, both at his court and further afield, enabled France to recover somewhat from its religious civil wars.

**Henry VIII** (1491–1547): The English king at whose behest the country severed its longstanding institutional links to the Roman Catholic Church and created a separate national church under royal control. Before the late 1520s and his desire to have his marriage to Katherine of Aragon annulled, Henry was a stalwart defender of Catholic orthodoxy. In 1521, he published a treatise against Luther and earned the title “Defender of the Faith” from Pope Leo X. Clement VII’s refusal to grant the annulment precipitated a series of parliamentary acts between 1532 and 1534 that created an English church separate from Roman jurisdiction and subject to the English monarch as “supreme head.” Despite repudiating Rome, Henry remained hostile to Protestantism, an antagonism evinced late in his reign, especially after the Six Articles Act of 1539. In the later 1530s, he oversaw the dissolution of all the English monasteries, the vast holdings of which were taken by the crown and quickly sold to fund war.

**Melchior Hoffman** (1495?–1543): The peripatetic radical Protestant prophet and preacher who brought Anabaptism to the Low Countries when he went to Emden in 1530. He prophesied the end of the world for 1533, with Strasbourg as the New Jerusalem, where godly magistrates would destroy the godless. All those who had been (re)baptized would be saved. Hoffman’s first Dutch converts in Emden became the nucleus of the Melchiorite Anabaptist movement in the Netherlands, which grew exponentially and was transformed after 1533, most dramatically by those who became Münsterites. Hoffman returned to Strasbourg, where he was imprisoned for his Anabaptism, and died in obscurity.

**John Knox** (c. 1514–1572): An impassioned, uncompromising Calvinist reformer who played a leading role in the Scottish Reformation, he converted to Protestantism sometime in the early 1540s. He first became a public figure in 1547, when he preached his first sermon, then spent two years as a prisoner on a French galley ship. After his release, he went to England, where he preached and ministered, then fled to the Continent and Geneva as one of the Marian exiles in 1554. Deeply impressed by Calvin and Geneva, he returned to Scotland for several months in 1555–1556, then again in 1559, when he provoked the uprisings that intersected with a series of political events to produce the Scottish parliament’s adoption of Protestantism in 1560. Knox wrote several treatises in 1558 that contributed to Calvinist political resistance theory, as well as a lengthy account of the Reformation in Scotland.

**Jan van Leiden** (1509–1536): The self-proclaimed prophet-king and ruler of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster in 1534–1535, he had been a tailor and unsuccessful trader before his baptism by Jan Matthijs in late 1533. Sent by Matthijs as an apostolic missionary to Münster in April 1534, after the Anabaptist takeover of the city and Matthijs’s death, Jan van Leiden became the city’s ruler and brutally dispatched anyone who opposed him. Under van Leiden, the “New Jerusalem” practiced communal ownership of goods and polygamy, both of which scandalized European contemporaries. After a siege finally broke the regime in late June 1535, Jan was executed in early 1536.

**Ignatius Loyola** (1491?–1556): The founder of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), the most important Catholic religious order of the Reformation era. While convalescing from battle injuries in 1521, Ignatius underwent the first in a series of conversion experiences that led him to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to learn Latin, then to study theology in Paris. There, in 1534, he gathered around him a circle of six students, including Francis Xavier and Diego Laínez, who became the core of the earliest Jesuits. Prevented from going to Jerusalem by war, they instead went to Rome, where the new order received papal approval in 1540. In Rome, Ignatius established the Jesuit Roman College in 1551 and oversaw the rapid numerical and geographical expansion of the early order, which included over 1,000 members at the time of his death. He modeled his *Spiritual Exercises* on his own conversion, and it became the central text in Jesuit spirituality; through the society’s members, the text exercised a widespread influence in Catholic Europe.

**Martin Luther** (1483–1546): The first and most influential reformer and publicist in the first generation of Protestantism, Luther came to reject papal and conciliar authority in favor of the Bible as the sole norm for Christian faith and life. After his early education and university education at the University of Erfurt in central Germany, Luther entered the Observant Augustinian order in 1505, was ordained a priest in 1507, and began teaching at the University of Wittenberg in 1511. Riddled with anxiety about his sinfulness, he eventually found deliverance in the teaching and experience of salvation by “faith alone,” which emerged between 1513 and 1519. In 1517, he posted his famous *Ninety-five Theses*, protesting against indulgences. He was then driven to more and more radical statements in the course of debates with theological adversaries between 1518 and 1521, when he defied both Pope Leo X and Emperor Charles V. He sharply rejected the militancy of the peasants in 1525, remaining traditional and
conservative in his social and political views. Luther’s writings, including his translation of the Bible into German, plus hundreds of pamphlets, treatises, songs, and letters, had an enormous influence on the early Protestant Reformation and the consolidation of Lutheranism in Germany.

Thomas Müntzer (c. 1490–1525): A radical apocalyptic and militant reformer from central Germany who preached violent revolution during the Peasants’ War of 1525. Originally sympathetic to Luther, Müntzer progressively moved away from and ridiculed him as a panderer to princes. He understood the rising tide of peasant and urban agitation in the early 1520s as a sign of the coming apocalypse, in which God would destroy the ungodly alliance of oppressive rulers and sycophantic priests and ministers. After a stint as a minister and preacher in the small Thuringian town of Allstedt, Müntzer became increasingly involved in the cause of the peasants. In May 1525, he led several thousand woefully underarmed peasants into battle at Frankenhausen, where they were slaughtered. Shortly thereafter, he was captured and executed. In subsequent years, his legacy endured in an attenuated manner among certain central and south German Anabaptists.

Philip II (1527–1598): The Spanish king and son of Charles V, he was the most powerful ruler in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century, overseeing a worldwide empire as a result of Spanish colonization (the Philippines are named after him). A devout Catholic and zealous opponent of Protestantism, his refusal to mitigate the anti-heresy measures in the Low Countries precipitated the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566, the Dutch Revolt, and the Spanish loss of the northern Netherlands. Despite his Catholic convictions, Philip was concerned to maintain royal control over many aspects of the Spanish church, as well as over the Spanish Inquisition.

Menno Simons (c. 1496–1561): The most influential Dutch Anabaptist leader in the wake of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster, especially after the early 1540s. Menno was a parish priest in Friesland who became an Anabaptist after finding no basis for infant baptism in either the Bible or in any of the early Protestant reformers. Like other Anabaptist leaders in German-speaking regions, he stressed the importance of adult commitment and moral rectitude as a prerequisite for being Christian. He renounced his position as parish priest in early 1536, was (re)baptized, and lived most of his career as a reformer in the relative safety of north Germany in order to avoid persecution. He remained fundamentally oriented toward the Low Countries, where his followers, eventually known as Mennonites, were more numerous than any other Protestant group until the explosive growth of Dutch Calvinism in the 1560s.

Teresa of Avila (1515–1582): The Spanish founder of the Discalced Carmelites and the most remarkable female Christian writer of the sixteenth century. She entered the well-to-do Carmelite convent in Avila in 1535, where she remained for twenty-seven years. She began pursuing religious life seriously in 1538 and became increasingly involved in mystical prayer after 1555. Disrupting the tradition of aristocratic patronage of the Carmelite monastery in Avila in 1562, she established a new house based on strict poverty and rigorous adherence to the rule of the order. Fourteen more houses were established by the time of her death. Her initiatives and mystical experiences provoked controversy, and she was asked to justify herself to her confessors. Teresa’s extensive literary output, including her autobiography and The Interior Castle, rank among the great works of early modern Catholicism. She was canonized in 1622.

William of Orange (1533–1584): The Dutch nobleman around whom resistance to Spain coalesced beginning in 1568, which led to the formation of an independent Dutch nation. Although dependent on Calvinist anti-Catholic sentiment and action, William himself sought to maintain a unified, political, anti-Spanish focus to the rebellion, across the northern and southern provinces of the Low Countries. This position proved untenable, with anti-Spanish Calvinism predominating in the new United Provinces of the north and Catholicism and Spanish control prevailing in the south. William was assassinated in 1584. He is justifiably regarded as the “father of his country.”

Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531): The Protestant reformer whose influence was responsible for the abolition of Catholicism and the adoption of Protestantism in the Swiss city of Zurich between 1523 and 1525. Educated in part at the universities of Basel and Vienna, Zwingli was ordained a priest in 1506 and was deeply influenced by Christian humanism; he held Erasmus in high regard. He was appointed preacher in Zurich in 1519. Zwingli considered the civic government and church as two aspects of one and the same Christian community, both of which should be organized based on biblical teachings. His sharp disagreement with Luther over the nature of the Lord’s Supper found dramatic expression in the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, preventing a political alliance between Zwinglian and Lutheran cities and setting the Lutheran and Reformed Protestant traditions on divergent paths.
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Professor Gregory has received numerous awards and fellowships, including the Walter J. Gores Award, Stanford’s highest teaching honor, after just his second year of university teaching (1998), and the Dean’s Award for Distinguished Teaching in the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford (2000). In 1999–2000, he was a faculty research fellow at the Stanford Humanities Center. The author of numerous scholarly articles, Professor Gregory’s first book, Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe, was published in 1999 by Harvard University Press, from which it received the Thomas J. Wilson Prize as the best first book published by the press during the calendar year. The book has also received the 2000 John Gilmary Shea Prize of the American Catholic Historical Association, the 2000 Phi Alpha Theta Book Award, the 2000 California Book Award silver medal for nonfiction, and second place in the 2000 Catholic Press Association Book Awards.

This is Professor Gregory’s first course for The Teaching Company.
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The History of Christianity in the Reformation Era

Scope:

The century and a half from about 1500 to about 1650 is among the most tumultuous and consequential periods in all of European history. At the center of the upheaval stands religion, particularly the disagreements and divisions in Western Christianity. This course presents an analytical narrative of the religious developments of the Reformation era in their political, cultural, and social contexts, emphasizing the embeddedness of Christian beliefs and practices in the institutional and intellectual life of the period. It treats not only the Protestant Reformation and state-supported Protestantism but also the radical Reformation and varieties of Anabaptism, as well as the persistence and transformation of Roman Catholicism. The overall goal will be to understand historically the theological and devotional aspects of each of these three broad traditions on its own terms and to grasp the overall ramifications of religious conflict for the subsequent course of modern Western history. Geographically, the course ranges across Western Europe, with most attention devoted to England, France, Germany, the Low Countries, Italy, and Spain.

The first six lectures discuss the late Middle Ages and the late medieval Church as the matrix out of which Reformation-era Christianity emerged. After an introductory lecture that provides an overview of the entire course, a second lecture surveys some of the basic demographic, political, and social realities common in this distant, pre-industrial, hierarchical world. The third and fourth lectures discuss some of the most important, interwoven beliefs, practices, and institutions of Latin Christendom on the eve of the Reformation. The countervailing signs of corruption and vitality in the late medieval Church are addressed in Lecture Five, while Lecture Six explores an important strand of reform that would influence sixteenth-century developments in significant ways, namely Christian humanism, above all in the person of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

From here, in Lectures Seven through Twelve, we enter the world of the early Reformation in Germany and Switzerland. Two lectures are devoted to the most important of the Protestant reformers, Martin Luther. The first of these discusses his trajectory from an obscure Augustinian monk and university professor in 1517 to an international figure who defied pope and emperor by 1521. The next lecture addresses the meaning and implications of his basic theological convictions. Lecture Nine looks at Huldrych Zwingli, the Protestant preacher and leader of the Reformation in Zurich, in the broader context of the Swiss Confederation. The spread of the early evangelical movement in the towns of Germany during the early 1520s is the subject of Lecture Ten. Lectures Eleven and Twelve are the first devoted to the Radical Reformation, considering, in turn, the “social Gospel” and revolutionary demands of the “Common Man” during the Peasants’ War of 1524–1525 and the emergence of early Anabaptist separatist groups in Germanic lands after the suppression of the peasants.

Looking beyond central Europe, the next four lectures explore further key developments during the crucial decades of the 1520s and 1530s among Protestants, Catholics, and Anabaptists. Lecture Thirteen discusses the similarities and differences in the spread of early Protestantism to England, France, and the Low Countries. The fourteenth lecture considers Henry VIII’s Reformation in England, an ecclesio-political development that severed the country’s longstanding ecclesiastical ties to Rome. The theological and institutional Catholic reaction to the early Reformation is the subject of Lecture Fifteen; it treats the counter-arguments marshaled against Protestantism and radical Protestantism. Lecture Sixteen tells the remarkable story of early Dutch Anabaptism and the rise and fall of the Kingdom of Münster in 1534–1535; the practices of this group under the radical, violent Anabaptist leader Jan van Leiden reinforced authorities’ suspicion of all forms of religious radicalism.

In Lectures Seventeen through Twenty-Two, we move through the middle decades of the sixteenth century, again by looking at all three traditions but especially Protestantism and the emergence of Calvinism. Lecture Seventeen is devoted to John Calvin himself, including his life, some key emphases in his theology, and the chief Reformation institutions in his adopted city, Geneva. In the following lecture, we move south, to Italy, and discuss aspects of Catholic reform before the Council of Trent, including the founding of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola. Lecture Nineteen considers the growth and embattlement of Protestantism in Germany, France, England, and the Low Countries during the 1540s and the first part of the 1550s. This theme is pursued in more detail in Lecture Twenty, which considers the rapid growth of Calvinism in France and the Netherlands in the late 1550s and early 1560s, and in Lecture Twenty-One, devoted to John Knox and the adoption of Calvinism in Scotland in 1559–1560. Lecture Twenty-Two tells the story of Menno Simons and the difficulties faced by persecuted Mennonites in the Low Countries in the decades following the collapse of the Kingdom of Münster.
The next three lectures are devoted to fundamental developments in Roman Catholicism. The doctrinal and disciplinary aspects of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) are the subject of Lecture Twenty-Three, while Lecture Twenty-Four treats the efforts made to implement the council’s prescriptions among the Catholic clergy and laity. Lecture Twenty-Five discusses the vast missionary efforts that accompanied European trade and conquest both before and after the Council of Trent, in both Asia and the Americas, noting parallels to concurrent efforts made in Catholic Europe.

Lectures Twenty-Six through Twenty-Nine focus on the conflicts and coexistence of Catholics and Protestants in the later sixteenth century in four different countries or regions. The French Wars of Religion (1562–1598) from the Massacre of Vassy to the Edict of Nantes are treated in Lecture Twenty-Six. Next, we turn to the Low Countries and the Dutch Revolt against Spain, chronicling the emergence of an independent United Provinces of the Netherlands and the foundations of a Calvinist Netherlands and a Catholic Belgium in the modern era. Lecture Twenty-Eight examines the religious spectrum of Elizabethan England, including conformist Protestants of the Church of England, godly Puritans who wanted a Christianity more in the continental Calvinist mold, and dissenting Catholics who were loyal to Rome. Moving to central Europe after the Peace of Augsburg (1555), Lecture Twenty-Nine discusses confessionalization, the cooperative efforts between churches and states, whether Lutheran, Catholic, or Calvinist, in the territorial states of the Holy Roman Empire.

The next three lectures pursue these national narratives through the first half of the seventeenth century. Lecture Thirty contrasts the trend toward anti-Calvinist Catholic uniformity in France and the southern Netherlands with the religious pluralism and comparatively broad de facto religious toleration in the United Provinces, noting too the continuing theological debates about grace in Protestant Arminianism, as well as Catholic Jansenism. Lecture Thirty-One chronicles the bloodiest of all the era’s wars of religion, the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), which was fought largely in central Europe but involved nearly every European country at one point or another. The religious tensions in early seventeenth-century England, the English Revolution, and the Restoration of 1660 are treated in Lecture Thirty-Two.

The final four lectures address wide-ranging, comparative, analytical questions about the nature, influence, and legacy of Christianity during the era. The thirty-third lecture attempts to assess the impact of the religious transformations on different aspects of early modern society and culture, including the family and marriage, religious art, and literacy and education. Lecture Thirty-Four seeks to evaluate whether and in what senses the Reformations can be said to have been successful and whether certain traditions were more successful than others. The penultimate lecture offers reflections on large-scale changes in European Christianity, including the era’s volatile combination of shared and incompatible beliefs across distinct communities of faith. The final lecture notes the supreme irony by which the religious commitments and conflicts of the era helped contribute to the rise of secular institutions and ideas, to a world in which Christianity was eventually marginalized but not replaced.
Lecture Thirteen
The Spread of Early Protestantism:
France, the Low Countries, and England

Scope: In the 1520s and early 1530s, Protestant ideas spread and found adherents in France, the Low Countries, and England, but in none of these regions did the Reformation become a widespread movement at the time. In each of these countries, differences can be found in the matrices for the reception of Protestant ideas and in the institutions that assisted or resisted the spread of Protestant views. Accordingly, the small Protestant communities were affected in divergent ways in each country and developed differently in these years.

Outline

I. The Protestant Reformation did not become a widespread movement in the Low Countries, France, or England during the 1520s or 1530s.
   A. Protestant views were often embraced in eclectic, unsystematic ways.
   B. All three countries were overwhelmingly Catholic during this period.

II. In the Low Countries, the Reformation faced strong repression from mostly cooperative secular and ecclesiastical authorities.
   A. Several factors favored the Reformation's growth in the Low Countries.
      1. Holland and Flanders in particular were highly urbanized regions that boasted high literacy rates.
      2. The Netherlands had a strong tradition of Christian humanism.
      3. Observant Augustinian monasteries were important in fostering the initial spread of Luther's ideas.
   B. Charles V’s determined opposition to the Reformation, combined with basically cooperative local authorities, prevented it from taking hold.
      1. Towns and provinces in the Low Countries lacked the de facto political autonomy of German territories and imperial free cities; thus, Charles V had no powerful princes with whom to contend.
      2. Between 1518 and 1522, a host of official measures forced the reform minded into either-or choices.
      3. Two Augustinians from Antwerp who sided with Luther were executed in Brussels in July 1523. They were instantly proclaimed as the first two martyrs for the evangelical cause.
   C. Because of repression, early Protestants were forced “underground,” meeting in small gatherings called conventicles.
      1. Former priests seem to have taken the leadership initiative, although we also have evidence of lay involvement.
      2. Socially, most adherents seem to have been independent, urban craftsmen, plus a few artists and members of the clergy.

III. In France, King Francis I’s attitude was crucial to the course of the early Reformation. Early receptivity to humanist-minded reform became sharp opposition to Protestantism after the Affair of the Placards (October 1534).
   A. France was much more rural than southern Germany or the Low Countries, which made patronage more important than urbanization for the prospects of the Reformation. The most important early patron for reform was Guillaume Briçonnet, the bishop of Meaux.
      1. Though not himself a follower of Luther, Briçonnet brought to his diocese the leading French humanist, Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples, who, in 1512, articulated a doctrine of justification by faith alone.
      2. Lefèvre's presence, along with several reform-minded preachers and a number of evangelical tracts published between 1523 and 1525, made Meaux the “cradle of the French Reformation.”
   B. Francis I’s distinction between elite, educated reforming efforts in controlled settings and popular, disruptive heterodoxy in public was the key factor that affected his policy toward evangelical ideas.
      1. Institutionally, the Parlement of Paris and the faculty of theology of the University of Paris were strongly opposed to the Reformation but could not proceed against it without the king.
      2. Francis I protected the Meaux circle, which was broken up during his absence in 1525.
C. The watershed in the early French Reformation was the Affair of the Placards on October 17–18, 1534.
   1. Francis I was committed to Catholicism, but did not want to abandon humanist reform in France simply because of unrest in Germany.
   2. The inflammatory broadsheets denouncing the Mass that were posted during the Affair of the Placards led to a severe retaliation by the king, who now worked cooperatively with other institutions.
   3. The Affair of the Placards effectively collapsed the distinction between safe and dangerous reforming ideas in France.

IV. In England, the late medieval legacy of Lollardy predisposed secular and ecclesiastical authorities against early Protestantism.
   A. The minor inroads of early Protestantism in England should be distinguished from the Henrician Reformation.
   B. Like France, England was much more rural than southern Germany or the Low Countries; except for London, there was little urban dynamic to the first inroads of the Reformation.
      1. Like the Low Countries, however, England had a significant tradition of Christian humanism.
      2. Lollardy, an underground heretical movement originating in the late fourteenth century, persisted into the early sixteenth century and might have aided the early reception of the Reformation.
      3. The writings of Luther and other reformers were imported to England as early as 1518.
   C. Before the late 1520s, a concerted reaction against Reformation ideas existed in England, strongly backed by Henry VIII.
      1. Henry VIII put his name to an anti-Lutheran Defense of the Seven Sacraments in 1521 and received from Pope Leo X the title “Defender of the Faith.”
      2. A coalition of the king, bishops, theologians, and local authorities set itself against Reformation ideas, publications, and adherents.
      3. Opposition to the Reformation absorbed less of Henry VIII’s energy in the late 1520s, once he sought to have his marriage with Katherine of Aragon annulled and to marry Anne Boleyn.
   D. A number of activities testify to the presence of early Protestants.
      1. Because of the suppression, early evangelicals met secretly.
      2. A few preachers spoke out against Catholic images and practices, and there were a few isolated incidents of iconoclasm.
      3. Despite censorship laws, many illegal publications were smuggled into England, the most important of which was William Tyndale’s translation of the New Testament into English (1526).
      4. Simon Fish’s Supplication of the Beggars (1528) attacked the greed of the Catholic clergy.

Essential Reading:
Christopher Haigh, English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors, ch. 3.

Supplementary Reading:
Susan Brigden, London and the Reformation, ch. 2.
A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation, 2nd ed., ch. 5.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why were such monarchs as Henry VIII and Francis I better able to squelch the early Reformation in their respective kingdoms than was Charles V in the Holy Roman Empire?
2. How were the experiences of early Protestants in Germany, France, the Low Countries, and England similar? How were they dissimilar?
Lecture Fourteen
The Henrician Reformation in England

Scope: Anti-Roman yet not Protestant, the Henrician Reformation in England was above all a series of political acts of state. Its origins lay in Henry VIII’s desire to have his marriage with Katherine of Aragon annulled so that he might marry his mistress, Anne Boleyn. A series of legislative measures enacted between 1532 and 1534 undid England’s ecclesiastical obedience to Rome and established the king as the supreme head of the church in England. This dramatic subjugation of the church to the English crown was not a Protestant Reformation, although it did result in a brief period in the later 1530s that was less unfavorable to Protestants than the 1520s and early 1530s had been. Meanwhile, the Catholic monasteries were dissolved and their property seized, traditional shrines were abolished, and those Catholics who remained loyal to Rome were executed. The Henrician Reformation is one of the most dramatic examples of the way in which sixteenth-century secular authorities dominated ecclesiastical authorities.

Outline

I. Beginning in the late 1520s, Henry VIII unsuccessfully sought papal sanction for a divorce with Katherine of Aragon so that he might marry his mistress, Anne Boleyn.
   A. Desirous of a male heir and infatuated with Anne, Henry sought to divorce Katherine on the grounds that the original papal dispensation permitting the marriage had violated an Old Testament prohibition against marrying a dead brother’s wife.
   B. Clement VII could have granted the annulment, for which precedents existed, but Katherine’s nephew was Charles V, whose troops had sacked Rome in 1527 and whose family would have been greatly dishonored by a papal annulment.
   C. The pope frustrated Henry VIII, who had anticlerical measures pushed through the English Parliament in 1529 in an attempt to force the pope’s hand.

II. Between 1532 and 1534, a series of parliamentary acts at the king’s behest gradually undid England’s ecclesiastical obedience to Rome and declared the king to be the supreme head of the church in England.
   A. Working closely with his leading minister, Thomas Cromwell, Henry sought to pressure the pope further by subjugating the English clergy and ending annual payments to Rome, both of which measures were enacted in 1532.
   B. In 1533, all ecclesiastical appeals to Rome were prohibited, which permitted the divorce case to be settled in England.
      1. The same year, Anne’s pregnancy led to her secret marriage to Henry.
      2. After Thomas Cranmer was named Archbishop of Canterbury, he granted Henry the divorce from Katherine and validated the marriage to Anne.
   C. In late 1534, the Act of Supremacy followed other legislation from earlier in the year by declaring the king to be “supreme head of the church in England.” Refusal to swear to this by an oath was made treason, punishable by death.
      1. In an unprecedented constitutional revolution, the entire church and clergy were now subject to royal control and without any independent authority.
      2. Papal authority ended in England, as did the country’s centuries of union with the rest of Latin Christendom.

III. In the mid- to late 1530s, certain traditional Catholic institutions and practices were attacked, while Protestants enjoyed greater latitude than in previous years.
   A. Practical measures against some traditional Catholic institutions and practices followed the enactment of the Royal Supremacy.
      1. The monasteries were dissolved and all their vast properties and possessions were claimed by the crown.
      2. England’s greatest saint’s shrine, to St. Thomas Becket, was destroyed in 1538 as part of a wider campaign against the cult of the saints.
B. Catholics who refused to acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church were executed as traitors, the most famous of whom were Thomas More and John Fisher.

C. Cromwell and Cranmer exploited opportunities cautiously to further Protestant religious aims in the wake of the Act of Supremacy.
   1. The printing and distribution of the English Bible was intended to help enforce the supremacy by inculcating obedience, but it also served Protestant purposes.
   2. Among ordinary people, Protestant ideas and actions proliferated in ways that alarmed the king.

IV. Beginning in 1538, the last years of Henry VIII’s reign were marked by a strong anti-Protestant reaction.
A. The Six Articles Act of 1539 betokened a severe royal reaction against Protestantism by the king. The articles affirmed:
   1. Transubstantiation;
   2. Communion with bread alone;
   3. Clerical vows of chastity;
   4. Legitimacy of traditional votive masses;
   5. Necessity for clerical celibacy;
B. The anti-Roman, anti-Protestant character of the Henrician Reformation was dramatically displayed in the London executions of three Roman Catholics for treason and three Protestants for heresy on June 30, 1540.

Essential Reading:
Christopher Haigh, English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors, chs. 5–9.
Richard Rex, Henry VIII and the English Reformation.

Supplementary Reading:
Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, ch. 11.

Questions to Consider:
1. What are the similarities and dissimilarities between the Henrician Reformation and the early evangelical movement in central Europe?
2. Is it likely that the Henrician Reformation would have occurred if the king had not sought a divorce in the first place?
Lecture Fifteen
Defending the Traditional Order:
Early Catholic Response

Scope: Both ecclesiastical and secular authorities defended Catholicism, attacking the Reformation as another in a long line of medieval heresies. Working (at least in theory) together, they opposed heresy both intellectually and institutionally. Those defending the Church’s authority and tradition marshaled a variety of arguments against Reformation views, including the primacy of consensus and custom, the primacy of ecclesiastical over scriptural authority, the manifest contradictions of reformers among themselves, and the denunciation of heresy as the root of political subversion and moral decay. The relative lack of published Catholic counter-propaganda in the early years of the Reformation derived both from reasons internal to the logic of Catholic writers and from a relative lack of material support for their endeavors.

Outline

I. Understood historically, the early Catholic response to the Reformation continued the traditional intellectual and institutional response to heresy from the later Middle Ages.
   A. From the early centuries of Christianity, heresy was conceptually related to orthodoxy as truth to error.
      1. Heresy was different than unbelief; only someone who had been baptized a Christian could be a heretic.
      2. Heresy was different than mere superstition, ignorance, or unintentional error; it was the deliberate holding of beliefs that contradicted Christian truth as defined by the Church.
      3. The basic assumption about the inseparable relationship between religious truth and error was shared among Catholics, Protestants, and Anabaptists in the sixteenth century.
   B. Both ecclesiastical and secular authorities had a part to play in the defense of truth implied in the suppression of heresy.
      1. Ecclesiastical authorities were to instruct heresy suspects in the truth, correcting their errors. If heretics proved obstinate, they were excommunicated and delivered to secular authorities.
      2. Secular authorities punished unrepentant heretics with death in a judicial context in which many crimes were severely punished, lest heretics spread their errors and endanger more souls.

II. Between 1518 and 1525, at least fifty-seven different Catholic authors wrote against Luther, using four major types of arguments.
   A. The Church’s longstanding tradition of consensus and custom were arguments consistent with its truth and the promises of scripture.
      1. Countless theologians and saints had upheld the Church’s teachings and practices for so many centuries that the idea of Luther or others being right, and these authorities being wrong, was preposterous.
      2. Customs in canon law were like precedents in civil law, which fit with Christ’s promise to send the Holy Spirit to guide his followers.
   B. On both biblical and historical grounds, the authority of the Church was greater than the authority of scripture.
      1. Based on the Bible itself, ecclesiastical customs without explicit scriptural sanctions were to be expected.
      2. Because it was only by the Church’s authority that the canon of scripture was defined, scripture’s authority was secondary to ecclesiastical authority and could not be used against the Church.
   C. The many contradictions and disagreements of Protestant and radical reformers among themselves pointed to the vacuity of “scripture alone” as a foundational principle.
   D. Heresy led to political subversion and to moral decay.
      1. The rebelliousness of heresy in religion would lead to general social and political rebellion, the ultimate example of which was the Peasants’ War.
2. This argument was particularly powerful for a world that had no police forces or standing armies, a world in which the deference of the lower classes to the upper was essential to keep order.
3. On the individual level, the doctrine of justification by faith alone would be used as a pretext for license, immorality, and the neglect of good works.

III. Catholic controversialists were both reluctant to publish counter-propaganda and relatively unsupported financially and institutionally in their efforts.

A. For reasons that derived from the threat of heresy, Catholic controversialists were not eager to publish works against the Reformation for public consumption.
   1. Letting theologically unsophisticated laity make decisions affecting their eternal salvation based on popular pamphlets and woodcuts was a big part of the problem to begin with.
   2. Once Luther and others had been formally condemned as heretics, further disputations would imply that the condemnations had not been authoritative.

B. Popes, German princes, and German bishops failed significantly to support Catholic efforts to publish against heresy in the early Reformation.
   1. Except for the brief pontificate of Adrian VI (1522–1523), Rome offered little institutional support for counter-propaganda against the Reformation, which was viewed as a German political problem.
   2. With few exceptions, such as Georg of Saxony, the lack of Catholic princely and episcopal response to the Reformation seemed to confirm evangelical accusations of self-interested laxity and greed.

Essential Reading:
Mark U. Edwards, Jr., Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther, ch. 7.
Brad S. Gregory, Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe, ch. 3.

Supplementary Reading:
Johann Eck, Enchiridion of Commonplaces against Luther and Other Enemies of the Church.

Questions to Consider:
1. What advantages and disadvantages did Catholic controversialists have in defending the Church’s teachings and authority in the early years of the Reformation?
2. If there had been a Catholic response in print equal to the Reformation flood of publishing, how might the early years of the Reformation in Germany have unfolded differently?
Lecture Sixteen
The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Münster

Scope: The rise and fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster (1534–1535) in northern Germany is one of the most spectacular episodes in the Reformation era. Melchior Hoffman brought his eclectic, apocalyptic Anabaptism to Emden in 1530 and established a following in the Netherlands and northern Germany that outstripped his control. Under the leadership of Jan Matthijs, Münster’s city Reformation turned Anabaptist and intensely apocalyptic, establishing communal ownership of all goods. Leadership passed to the even more radical Jan van Leiden, who ruled the city as a dictatorial prophet-king and established polygamy. The city was besieged from the end of 1534 and overtaken in June 1535. The Münster episode cemented authorities’ suspicion of religious radicalism, fragmented Dutch Anabaptism, and cast a heavy shadow over nonviolent Anabaptism for the remainder of the century.

Outline

I. Dutch Anabaptism began when the eclectic, prophetic reformer Melchior Hoffman brought his apocalyptic message from Strasbourg to Emden in 1530.
   A. Hoffman proclaimed that the apocalypse would come in 1533, with righteous magistrates leading an extermination of the godless in Strasbourg, prayerfully supported by those who had accepted adult baptism.
   B. Hoffman made a few converts from the Netherlands in Emden and baptized them; they took the message back and did likewise, creating a small nucleus of Melchiorite Anabaptists.

II. The particular intersection of Melchiorite Anabaptism with the Reformation in the north German city of Münster made possible the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster.
   A. An internal rift between Lutheran and Zwinglian factions in Münster facilitated an Anabaptist takeover of the city.
      1. At first, beginning in 1531, the evangelical preacher Bernhard Rothmann helped get a Lutheran Reformation established in the city by early 1533.
      2. Rothmann then adopted and preached Zwinglian views, while the magistrates remained Lutheran, creating a volatile situation by late 1533.
   B. Jan Matthijs took control of the Melchiorite movement and replaced Strasbourg with Münster in Hoffman’s apocalyptic scheme.
      1. Jan Matthijs promised that baptism would safeguard believers from the coming apocalypse, which would come at Easter 1534.
      2. Münster, identified as the future New Jerusalem, became the destination for large numbers of Anabaptists and experienced a temporary exodus of many male citizens from the city.

III. Under the leadership of Jan Matthijs, followed by Jan van Leiden, the Kingdom of Münster established communal ownership of goods and polygamy before it was besieged and destroyed.
   A. In February 1534, the immigration of Anabaptists facilitated a legal Anabaptist takeover in the city council elections, soon followed by an episcopal siege of the city.
      1. Those unwilling to accept adult baptism were forced out of the city, the remainder now identifying themselves as “Israelites” in the “New Jerusalem.”
      2. Community of goods was instituted, ending any real distinction between public and private property.
   B. In April 1534, Jan van Leiden succeeded Jan Matthijs as leader after the latter’s death and ruled the city as its absolute prophet-king.
      1. Jan van Leiden instituted polygamy, legitimated with reference to the Old Testament patriarchs.
      2. Those who resisted King Jan’s rule were brutally dispatched.
   C. By the spring of 1535, the siege eventually wore down and crushed the trapped inhabitants of the regime.
      1. The same apocalyptic ethos of the Münsterites can be seen in other incidents in the Netherlands during the spring of 1535.
      2. The bishop’s army overtook the city on June 25, 1535. Most of the inhabitants were killed; the leaders, shortly thereafter executed.
IV. The Kingdom of Münster was regarded as a shocking scandal and had deep, longstanding consequences.

A. Münster cemented authorities’ suspicion of religious radicalism after the Peasants’ War.
   1. The regime’s suppression was followed by a harsh retaliation against Dutch Anabaptists in the later 1530s.
   2. Fledgling Protestant cities and territories condemned the regime equally, wanting to prove that rejection of Rome need not entail political and social unrest.

B. Severe repression in the decade after Münster crippled Dutch Anabaptism, breaking it into a number of different strands, none of which predominated.
   1. The Batenburgers carried out a campaign of vengeful terrorist attacks against the destroyers of the Kingdom of Münster.
   2. Other groups included the Davidites and the Obbenites (who would become the Mennonites in subsequent decades), both of whom rejected Münsterite violence.

C. The legacy of Münster cast a deep shadow of suspicion over nonviolent Anabaptists throughout Europe.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Anthony Arthur, The Tailor King: The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster.
C. Arnold Snyder, Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction, ch. 10.

Questions to Consider:
1. What sorts of convictions did the Münsterites share with other early Anabaptist groups? What did they share with the early evangelical reformers and their followers in general?
2. How do such incidents as the Peasants’ War and the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster help one to understand the mentality of secular authorities regarding religious innovation in the sixteenth century?
Lecture Seventeen

John Calvin and the Reformation in Geneva

Scope: The most important theologian and religious leader in the second generation of Protestantism was John Calvin (1509–1564). Immersion in humanism and study of the law, as well as the experience of religious exile, were among Calvin’s most important formative influences. Calvin’s theology, best known through his famous *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, emphasizes God’s sovereignty and majesty, divine providence, predestination, and Christian activism in the world. Calvin played the crucial role in establishing the distinctive ecclesiastical order in his adoptive Swiss city of Geneva, with its four ministries (doctors, pastors, elders, and deacons) and the disciplinary body known as the Consistory.

Outline

I. John Calvin, was significantly influenced by humanism, the study of law, and the experience of religious exile.
   A. Calvin studied at the University of Paris, where he was exposed to traditional scholasticism, as well as humanism.
      1. Humanism had a much deeper influence on Calvin than on Luther.
      2. Calvin’s first published work was a learned commentary on Seneca’s *De clementia* (1532).
   B. After Paris, Calvin studied law at Orleans and Bourges.
      1. Legal ways of thinking and arguing shaped Calvin’s theology. He was sensitive to the importance of laws and their relationship to institutions for collective human life.
      2. In his theology, we see a more positive view of the role of law in Christianity and Christian theology than we do in Luther. For Luther, God’s law functioned only to drive individuals to Christ and to restrain the wicked in public life. For Calvin, God’s law is also a positive guide to Christian practice.
      3. In a sense, Calvin viewed scripture as God’s last will and testament, notarized by Christ.
   C. Calvin spent his entire career as a refugee for his religious views.
      1. After his conversion to Protestantism, Calvin left France and, in 1536, was persuaded to help establish the Reformation in Geneva with Guillaume Farel.
      2. Calvin and Farel were exiled from Geneva in 1538 after trying to do too much too quickly.
      3. Calvin spent three years in Strasbourg with Martin Bucer as the pastor to French-speaking Protestant refugees.
      4. In 1541, Calvin accepted an invitation to return to Geneva, where he remained until his death in 1564.

II. Calvin’s theology stresses, most systematically in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, God’s sovereignty and majesty, divine providence, predestination, and a determined Christian activism.
   A. Calvin shared many central Protestant convictions with Luther.
      1. The idea of justification by faith alone was fundamental for Calvin.
      2. Calvin upheld the autonomy of scripture as God’s word and, thus, its authority in all matters of Christian doctrine and authority.
      3. Like Luther, he rejected many Catholic teachings and practices.
   B. A profound sense of reverent awe for God as creator and redeemer pervades Calvin’s theology and is directly related to his uncompromising concern with true doctrine and right worship.
   C. Calvin’s sense of divine providence means that everything that transpires does so as the result of God’s will.
      1. God’s sovereign providence is directly related to a profound trust that in the end, God will never let down his elect.
      2. Calvin’s theology is less apocalyptic and more hopeful about the future than Luther’s.
   D. A corollary of God’s sovereignty and providence is double predestination, the teaching that God predestines by his grace some souls to eternal salvation and others to eternal damnation.
      1. Predestination is meant to remove entirely any anxiety about one’s own status in God’s eyes.
      2. A denial of predestination affronts God’s sovereignty, as it reflects the human desire to create a reasonable God in man’s image.
E. According to Calvin, the Christian’s gratitude for the gift of eternal life should be manifest in every domain of one’s life, doing good works and avoiding immorality to reflect God’s glory.
1. With Luther, salvation is a point of arrival; with Calvin, it is more a point of departure.
2. Calvin stresses much more than Luther the process of sanctification that follows justification by faith alone.
3. Psychologically, Calvin’s emphasis on predestination probably also affected his Christian activism, seeing in a model Christian life a presumptive indication of one’s elect status.

III. Calvin was the chief architect of Geneva's ecclesiastical institutions; he sought to make the city a civic reflection of God’s glory, an “anti-Münster.”

A. The process of Christian sanctification required a stable framework for individual and collective life, implying institutions, laws, and discipline.

B. Ministry in the church in Geneva was carried out through four distinct offices, established in late 1541 after Calvin’s return to the city.
1. Pastors were responsible for preaching the word of God, for instructing and admonishing Christians, and for administering the sacraments.
2. Doctors were teachers who were responsible for preserving and teaching pure doctrine.
3. Elders were laymen chosen by the city’s magistrates, who together with the pastors, supervised the discipline and morals of people in the city.
4. Deacons were laymen responsible for overseeing aid to the sick and the needy.

C. The pastors and elders together composed the Consistory, Geneva’s religious and moral judicial institution.
1. The Consistory met every week and was responsible for maintaining discipline and punishing breaches in Christian morality.
2. Scrupulosity characterized the Consistory’s work, which made no exemptions for the powerful and well connected.

D. Ecclesiastical and civic institutions in Geneva were distinct yet cooperative, seeking the common goal of a well-ordered Christian commonwealth that reflected God’s glory.

Essential Reading:
Bernard M. G. Reardon, Religious Thought in the Reformation, 2nd ed., chs. 7–8.

Supplementary Reading:
William Monter, Calvin’s Geneva.
François Wendel, Calvin: Origins and Development of His Religious Thought.

Questions to Consider:
1. How did the major influences on Calvin and Luther, respectively, shape them in different ways?
2. What aspects of a walled medieval city like Geneva would have aided Calvin in his aspiration to fashion it into a civic reflection of God’s glory?
Scope: When discussing Catholicism in the sixteenth century, it is useful to distinguish between Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, Italy was affected relatively little by the Protestant Reformation. Significant developments occurred, however, as part of Catholic reform on both the institutional and individual levels, including preaching, publishing of devotional literature, and founding of new confraternities. Among the new religious orders were the Capuchins and the Ursulines. The most influential of the new religious orders was the Society of Jesus, founded by the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola. The Society’s members exhibited a wide-ranging flexibility of ministry, in combination with self-conscious obedience to the pope and to Catholic orthodoxy. In the 1530s and early 1540s, numerous calls were made and initiatives taken in the direction of convening a general council of the Church.

Outline

I. “Catholic Reform” and “Counter-Reformation” refer to different broad aspects in early modern Catholicism.
   A. Broadly speaking, Catholic Reform refers to the internal self-renewal and reform of Catholic devotion, practice, and institutions.
   B. Counter-Reformation refers to deliberate Catholic measures taken to oppose, denounce, and undo the Reformation and Protestantism.
   C. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, the main dynamic in Catholicism in Italy was Catholic Reform.
      1. Italy was little affected by the early Reformation at the popular level.
      2. Certain elite, humanist-minded clergy, known as the spirituali, were sympathetic to the doctrine of justification by faith alone but did not reject papal authority.

II. In early sixteenth-century Italy, important developments enlivened individual and collective Catholic religiosity, in which interior spirituality was externalized in Christian activity.
   A. Religious leaders sought to effect a deeper spirituality, personal conversion, and a more frequent reception of the sacraments.
      1. Through sermons and devotional literature, preachers and spiritual writers sought to convert individual Catholics to a more committed, self-conscious awareness and practice of their faith.
      2. Part of deeper spirituality was a more frequent reception of the sacraments of penance and communion, as well as the promotion of other traditional Catholic devotional practices.
   B. Among both male and female laity, new confraternities were important collective manifestations of religious renewal.
      1. The harshness of everyday life and the dislocations of the Italian wars, presented many opportunities for charity and compassion.
      2. Confraternities tended to specialize in addressing particular needs, such as caring for lepers, comforting condemned prisoners, or teaching basic literacy to poor children.
      3. The Oratory of Divine Love was founded in Genoa in 1497 and was devoted especially to caring for the incurably sick.
   C. A number of new religious orders also exemplified the exterior manifestation of committed interior spirituality.
      1. The Capuchins, given papal approval in 1528, were a reform of the Franciscans and were dedicated to preaching and ministering to the poor and the sick.
      2. The Ursulines, established by Angela Merici in 1535, were dedicated to teaching. They received papal approval in 1544.

III. The most important and influential of the new religious orders was the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). Its members combined a flexible approach to ministry with commitment to Catholic orthodoxy.
   A. Jesuit ministry was characterized by a wide-ranging pragmatism that sought “the advancement of souls” and “the greater glory of God.”
1. Established by the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola and granted papal approval in 1540, the Jesuits broke from existing models of male religious orders to maximize their flexibility in ministry.
2. Jesuits took a special vow of obedience to the pope and engaged in a wide range of ministries, although secondary and university education soon became one of their chief emphases.
3. The Jesuits’ ministerial diversity and their commitment to Catholic orthodoxy contributed to their impressive early success.

B. The interior, spiritual core of Jesuit activism was the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola.
   1. The Spiritual Exercises was a practical guide for spiritual directors seeking to help people determine God’s particular will for them over the course of a four-week retreat.
   2. The Spiritual Exercises reflected Ignatius’s own conversion to Christian selflessness and service.

IV. In the 1530s and early 1540s, calls for an ecumenical church council bore no fruit and attempts at reconciliation between Catholics and Lutherans foundered.
   A. Longstanding calls for corrections to abuses in the Church had gone largely unheeded by early sixteenth-century popes.
   B. Calls for an ecumenical council were issued from the late 1510s, but conflicting interests prevented it from being convoked.
      1. Popes feared that a council might diminish their authority.
      2. There was deep disagreement about who would attend the council and where it would be held.
   C. Only with Pope Paul III in the mid-1530s were serious plans made for a papal version of the ecumenical council, though it, too, was delayed by political antagonisms.
      1. At the pope’s behest, a committee of eminent cardinals spoke frankly of abuses to be addressed by a council in the Consilium de emendanda ecclesia of 1537.
      2. Antagonism between Charles V and Francis I delayed the council further.
   D. Catholics and Lutherans failed in their attempts at doctrinal reconciliation at Regensburg in 1541.
      1. The most moderate representatives from each side agreed on a complicated, compromise formulation of the doctrine of justification but could not agree on other issues.
      2. After the failure of Regensburg, politics drifted toward the Schmalkaldic War and ecclesiastical affairs, toward the Council of Trent.

Essential Reading:
Eric Cochrane, Italy 1530–1630, ch. 7.

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. How is Calvin’s Christian activism similar to the exteriorized spirituality of Catholic Reform?
2. How were the Jesuits able to address needs that other religious orders were not meeting?
Lecture Nineteen

The Growth and Embattlement of Protestantism

Scope: Despite war in Germany, judicial suppression in France and the Low Countries, and dramatic swings in ecclesiastical polity in England, Protestantism continued to grow in all these areas from the late 1530s to the mid-1550s. In Germany, the Protestant alliance known as the Schmalkaldic League was first defeated by Charles V in the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547) but eventually gained significant concessions from him in the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which permitted rulers to declare whether their territories would be Lutheran or Catholic. In France, Catholic repression of Protestantism continued under Francis I and his son, Henry II, even as Calvinism gained slowly but steadily in numbers. In the Low Countries, Charles V concentrated on suppressing Anabaptists before 1545 and Calvinists after this date and reorganized the Inquisition in 1546. In England, Henry VIII was succeeded by his boy-king son, Edward VI, under whom a forceful but brief Protestant Reformation was instituted (1547–1553), followed by a return to Roman Catholicism under Mary Tudor (1553–1558).

Outline

I. Charles V’s forces defeated the allied Protestant forces in the Schmalkaldic War, but eventually the Peace of Augsburg (1555) produced a compromise solution between Catholics and Lutherans in Germany.
   A. Charles V’s demand in 1531 that Lutheran cities and territories return to Catholicism led to a Protestant defensive military alliance.
      1. As in the 1520s, the sheer extent of Charles V’s lands and his other concerns prevented his immediate action in Germany, which enabled additional cities to opt for the Reformation under the protection of the Schmalkaldic League.
      2. In the complicated politics of the later 1530s, both Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England established diplomatic ties with the Schmalkaldic League.
      3. Charles V made a military truce with Francis I, which allowed both rulers to focus on religious issues.
   B. After defeating the Protestant alliance in the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547), Charles V imposed Catholicism in the Augsburg Interim (1548).
      1. Despite minor concessions, the re-Catholicization of Lutheran cities and territories produced resentment and resistance.
      2. Charles V was strong enough to defeat a Protestant alliance but not to impose Catholicism in any thoroughgoing way.
   C. A brief Lutheran counteroffensive in 1552 eventually led to the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which established that individual rulers would have the right to choose the religion of their territories—the first time that non-Catholic Christians were given official political and legal recognition.

II. In France, the period from 1535–1555 was marked by increased royal concern to eliminate heresy, and the slow but steady growth of Calvinism.
   A. The stronger stand against heresy taken by Francis I after the Affair of the Placards persisted throughout his reign and that of his son, Henry II.
      1. A long series of anti-heresy legislation culminated in the Edict of Chateaubriand (1551). Among other measures, the Edict banned Protestants from holding positions as teachers or magistrates and reiterated all the prohibitions against Protestant publications.
      2. Institutionally, the most famous development of these years was Henry II’s creation of the chambre ardente. Operating from 1547–1550, it was exclusively concerned with trying heresy cases.
   B. On the Protestant side, these decades were marked by a slow growth of Calvinism.
      1. Calvin himself retained a particular concern for his native country; his Institutes was first published in French in 1541.
      2. As Calvinism grew in France, refugees flowed into French-speaking Geneva just over the border.
      3. Although many Calvinists probably dissembled their faith to avoid persecution, others saw in persecution a sign of God’s favor.
III. In the Low Countries, Charles V’s concern to suppress heresy focused first on Anabaptists, then on Calvinists.
   A. In the wake of the Kingdom of Münster, severe retaliation took place against Anabaptists in the Low Countries.
   B. Local authorities largely cooperated with imperial mandates.
   C. In the mid-1540s, Charles V reorganized the Inquisition in the Low Countries and directed anti-heresy efforts primarily against Calvinists.

IV. In England, a brief but vigorous Protestant Reformation under Edward VI was followed by a strong return to Roman Catholicism under Mary Tudor.
   A. England’s Edwardian Reformation was determinedly Protestant, especially in its second phase, overseen by John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland.
      1. The first phase of the Edwardian Reformation (1547–1549) was carried out under Edward IV’s uncle, Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, and Duke of Somerset. He introduced Protestantism in a piecemeal, moderate manner.
      2. The second phase was more thoroughly and aggressively Protestant, including a major liturgical overhaul and important doctrinal changes (1549–1553).
      3. During Edward’s reign, England was an important refuge for continental Protestants, including Martin Bucer, who arrived in England in 1549 and was appointed the Regis Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University.
      4. Bucer became an important influence on English Protestant doctrine and worship.
      5. During this period, Cranmer, influenced by Bucer, wrote the English Book of Common Prayer.
   B. After Edward’s death, Mary Tudor reinstated Roman Catholicism in England until her own death in 1558.
      1. Mary damaged the initially popular return to Catholicism by marrying Philip II of Spain and by an aggressive campaign against heresy that led to the burning of nearly 300 Protestants.
      2. With England’s return to Catholicism, hundreds of Protestants sought refuge on the Continent, where they gained first-hand knowledge of Reformed Protestantism in urban contexts.

Essential Reading:
Carter Lindberg, The European Reformations, ch. 9.

Supplementary Reading:
Thomas A. Brady, Jr., The Politics of the Reformation in Germany, chs. 7, 12–13.

Questions to Consider:
1. What sorts of experiences did Lutherans and Calvinists share across national boundaries during the 1540s and 1550s?
2. What effect might the experience of persecution have had on the fledgling communities of Calvinists in France and the Low Countries? Might it have inspired rather than deterred them?
Lecture Twenty
Calvinism in France and the Low Countries

Scope: Calvinism grew enormously in France between 1555 and 1562 and in the Low Countries between 1555 and 1566. After the first official Calvinist church was established in Paris in 1555, Calvinists made effective use of different forms of communication to attract significant numbers of followers among the urban “middling sorts,” especially in southern France. Relations between Huguenots (as French Calvinists were called) and Catholics grew increasingly strained until they finally erupted in 1562, initiating the French Wars of Religion. A similar pattern may be observed in the Low Countries after the establishment of the first official Calvinist church in Antwerp in 1555, although the significant growth in Calvinism did not occur until the 1560s. Tense relations boiled over in the summer of 1566 in the Iconoclastic Fury, a Calvinist campaign that destroyed Catholic ecclesiastical art in hundreds of churches. During these tense, volatile years, earlier Protestant admonitions to passive disobedience were transformed into theories of active resistance in Protestant political thought.

Outline

I. Between 1555 and 1562, Calvinism grew enormously in France. Tensions between Calvinists and Catholics eventually erupted in war in 1562.
   A. Calvinism spread by means of printing, ministers trained in Geneva, and oral communication.
      1. Numerous Calvinist works poured from clandestine presses in Paris, Lyons, and Geneva, during the 1540s and 1560s.
      2. Even though demand far outstripped supply, at least 88 trained ministers were sent from Geneva to new Calvinist churches between 1555 and 1562.
      3. Oral communication, including open preaching and singing, helped spread Calvinism.
   B. Calvinism found most of its adherents among urban “middling sorts” and the nobility.
      1. The Protestant emphasis on the Bible and God’s Word helps account for the fact that most Calvinists were urban, literate artisans, lawyers, city officials, shopkeepers, and small merchants.
      2. Highly significant were the converts among the nobility, about half of whom had become Calvinist by 1560, giving Calvinism a disproportionate political clout.
   C. Calvinism was concentrated in a southern arc from La Rochelle to Lyons, with additional concentrations in Paris and Normandy.
   D. Several chronological milestones mark the years of explosive Calvinist growth in France.
      1. The first official, organized Calvinist church in France was established in Paris in 1555.
      2. By 1557–1558, there were large-scale, public displays by Calvinists in a number of cities, including Paris.
      3. In 1559, the death of Henry II, followed by the death of Francis II the following year, left Catherine de Medici as regent, seeking to mediate a tense situation.
      4. After the failure of the Colloquy of Poissy and an edict of toleration, continuing conflicts led to the Massacre of Vassy in March 1562, initiating the French Wars of Religion.

II. Calvinism grew in the Low Countries between 1555 and 1566, when strained relations boiled over in the Iconoclastic Fury.
   A. The north German city of Emden provided an important refuge and center of printing for Dutch Calvinists.
   B. In 1555, the first organized Calvinist church in the Low Countries was established in Antwerp. Its members were in touch with Calvinists in Emden, Flanders, and Brabant and, after 1559, in London.
   C. The number of Calvinists grew more rapidly in the early 1560s, with more public preaching and acts of anti-Catholic iconoclasm.
   D. By 1564–1565, Calvinists had grown sufficiently strong to force the hand of the regent Margaret of Parma, leading to the Compromise of the Nobility in April 1566.
      1. In contrast to previous years, the suppression of heresy now seemed as disruptive as permitting its proliferation.

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2. Far away in Spain, Philip II refused to moderate the heresy laws despite the pleas of Margaret of Parma in 1564 and 1565.
3. Coping with what was as much a Spanish/Dutch as a Catholic/Calvinist issue, Margaret was forced temporarily to abolish the laws and Inquisition in the Compromise of the Nobility.

E. The concessions to Calvinists inspired a mass movement of open-air preaching in the summer of 1566, which led to the Iconoclastic Fury.
1. Beginning outside a monastery in East Flanders on August 10, the sacking of churches and smashing of ecclesiastical images spread throughout other provinces in August and September.
2. The Iconoclastic Fury led directly to retaliation by Philip II and to the Dutch Revolt, with 80 years of on-and-off warfare between Spain and the Netherlands.

III. Partly as a result of these volatile years, Protestant political thought was transformed from the admonition to passive disobedience into the active resistance of an ungodly ruler.

A. Countervailing tendencies in Calvin’s views helped make possible the emergence of Protestant resistance theory.
1. Like Luther and other early Protestant reformers, Calvin denounced active resistance of an unjust ruler by individual subjects, although Calvin left room for opposition by lesser magistrates if a ruler prohibited true worship.
2. At the same time, Protestant leaders railed against Catholic worship and images as rank idolatry, yet insisted that ordinary Protestants could only refuse to participate in it.

B. In the 1550s, the concrete tensions and persecution endured by Protestants in France and the Low Countries, as well as in Marian England, outstripped Calvin’s prescriptions.
1. Calvin and other reformers were unable to control the course of events.
2. Other reformers would develop resistance theory further, eventually arguing that every individual Protestant had the duty actively to oppose sovereigns who opposed Protestantism.

Essential Reading:
Geoffrey Parker, The Dutch Revolt, chs. 1–2.

Supplementary Reading:
Andrew Pettegree, Emden and the Dutch Revolt, chs. 1–3.

Questions to Consider:
1. How does the rapid growth of Calvinism in France and the Low Countries compare to the rapid growth of the evangelical movement in Germany and Switzerland in the 1520s?
2. Are there ways in which Catholic authorities might have been more effective in containing the growth of Calvinism?
Lecture Twenty-One
John Knox and the Scottish Reformation

Scope: Scotland’s swift adoption of Calvinism in 1559–1560 could not have been predicted in 1558. To an unusual extent, it was inseparable from international dynastic politics. Although Protestantism in Scotland had grown slowly over the previous decades and Calvinism had evolved during the 1550s, it took the successive deaths of Mary Tudor of England, Henry II of France, and the Scottish regent Mary of Guise, plus the return of the dynamic preacher John Knox and English military intervention, all within a two-year period, for the Reformation to succeed. Knox’s role was crucial, although he had spent only a few months in Scotland between being sentenced to a French galley in 1547 and his return to lead the Protestant rebellion in 1559. Seen in an international context, the late 1550s and early 1560s are an important high water mark of Calvinist influence in Europe.

Outline

I. Scotland’s Reformation in 1559–1560 was the unexpected product of the slow growth of Protestantism in previous decades, dynastic politics and international relations, and the catalytic activity of John Knox.

II. Before the early 1550s, Protestantism made minor headway in Scotland. It was squelched on the occasions when it looked as though it might become politically significant.

A. Protestantism made its first inroads into Scotland in the 1520s, with evangelical literature, attacks on the corruption of the Church and clergy, and acts of iconoclasm.

B. Henry VIII of England tried to persuade James V to follow him in forsaking Rome, but the Scottish king protected the Church, which in Scotland was largely under royal and noble control.

1. Scotland’s traditional political alliance with France was strengthened by the king’s marriage to Mary of Guise.

2. In the 1530s, those with Protestant sympathies were disposed to regard England as a potential Scottish ally, against France.

C. The death of James V in 1542 led the presumptive heir to the throne, the Earl of Arran, to support certain pro-Protestant measures.

1. The heir to the throne was the infant Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, whose mother maintained the French alliance, whereas Arran entertained the prospect of alliance with England.

2. Sanction of the vernacular Bible and attacks on several urban monasteries accompanied “Arran’s godly fit” in 1543.

D. Cardinal David Beaton of St. Andrews spearheaded a backlash against Protestantism in 1546–1547.

1. The leading Protestant preacher, George Wishart, was captured, tried, and burned as a heretic in St. Andrews in March 1546.

2. Several of Wishart’s supporters murdered Beaton in retaliation in May 1546 and took over St. Andrews castle.

3. John Knox preached his first sermon among Wishart’s supporters in 1547. After the French captured St. Andrews castle, Knox spent the next two years as a French galley prisoner.

III. In exile, Knox gained valuable experience in Calvin’s Geneva during the 1550s and spurred Protestants during a visit to Scotland in 1555–1556.

A. Released by the French in March 1549, Knox went to England. His objections to the 1552 Prayer Book and refusal of a bishopric reflected his intense Reformed Protestantism and virulent hatred of Catholicism.

A. When Mary Tudor acceded to the throne, Knox went into exile on the Continent, where he spent time in Calvin’s Geneva.

B. Returning to England to wed in 1555, Knox preached to and encouraged influential Scottish Protestants in 1555–56.

1. Mary of Guise left Scottish Protestants largely untroubled because she needed their support for the arranged marriage between her daughter, Mary Stuart, and the French prince, Francis II.
2. Knox returned to Geneva in July 1556. He was condemned in absentia by the Scottish bishops and burned in effigy.

D. In 1558, Knox and other Marian exiles published several radical treatises justifying political resistance to an ungodly ruler, related to those that emerged among French Calvinists.

1. The most famous of Knox’s treatises was The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, which was directed especially against Mary Tudor.

2. Knox’s fellow exile in Geneva, Christopher Goodman, went beyond him in calling for popular rebellion against ungodly, idolatrous (i.e., Catholic) rulers.

IV. A complex series of complex events led to a political victory for Protestantism in the Scottish Parliament by the summer of 1560, something that two years earlier would have been entirely unforeseeable.

A. With Mary Stuart’s marriage to the French prince Francis II in 1558, it looked as though Scotland would remain secure as a French ally well into the future, despite some growing Scottish resentment of French influence.

B. The religio-political situation altered sharply with the death of Mary Tudor and accession of Elizabeth in England, Knox’s return to Scotland, and the death of Henry II of France, all in nine months.

1. Mary’s death in November 1558 meant the accession of the Protestant queen, Elizabeth, in England.

2. Knox would have preferred returning to England, but his First Blast outraged Elizabeth. He went to Scotland instead, where his virulent preaching provoked Protestant rebellion, which fused religious with anti-French sentiment, beginning in May 1559.

3. The death of King Henry II of France in July 1559, followed by the death of Francis II the following year, left the country in turmoil and in no position to deal with Scotland.

C. Seizing the moment, an English army arrived in Scotland in March 1560, which permitted the Scottish Reformation Parliament to establish a Calvinist Protestantism in August 1560.

1. The measures of the Reformation Parliament were technically illegal, because they were not approved by the absentee ruler, Mary Stuart. Her absence permitted crucial early consolidation.

2. When Mary returned to Scotland from France in August 1561, she remained a Catholic and retained Catholicism at her court but accepted the new Protestant order in Scotland until her abdication in 1567.

3. In 1560, the regimes of both England and Scotland were Protestant; in 1558, they had been Catholic.

V. Scottish Calvinism faced numerous problems and spread slowly in the following decades, but the events of 1559–1560 proved to be its enduring foundation. Viewed internationally, the period from 1559–1562 constituted a high water mark for Calvinist influence in Europe.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Gordon Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation.

Questions to Consider:
1. How did Scotland’s political relationship to France and England affect the course of Protestantism in that country?

2. If Mary Tudor had died but Henry II of France had not, how might the Scottish events of 1559–1560 have turned out differently?
Lecture Twenty-Two
Menno Simons and the Dutch Mennonites

Scope: In the decades after the Kingdom of Münster, Menno Simons became the most important Dutch Anabaptist leader of the largest Dutch Anabaptist group. Menno’s theology is characterized by a literalist biblicism that emphasized regeneration in Christ and uncompromising discipleship in a spotless community of like-minded Christians, reinforced by the ongoing experience of persecution. Even before Menno’s death in 1561, a Waterlander group had separated from the Mennonites over issues of banning and shunning; in the later 1560s, another rift opened between Frisian and Flemish Mennonites. Further schisms marked the 1580s. Indeed, the branches of Anabaptism in Europe as a whole never belonged to a single group with shared beliefs and practices at any time during the sixteenth century.

Outline

I. A former priest, Menno Simons embraced believers’ baptism shortly after the fall of the Kingdom of Münster, eventually becoming the main leader of the most important group of Dutch Anabaptists.
   A. Menno, born c. 1496 in Friesland, was ordained in 1524. He received a monastic education but was not learned in humanism or theology.
   B. Menno’s failure to find a biblical basis for infant baptism led him to reject it and to embrace believers’ baptism. The catalyst was the execution of a Melchiorite for “a second baptism” in 1531.
   C. The disastrous Anabaptist takeover of the Cistercian cloister of Oldeclooster in April 1535, as well as the Kingdom of Münster, led to Menno’s final break with Catholicism.
      1. Menno preached peaceful Anabaptist views and wrote a treatise against Jan van Leiden in 1535.
      2. In late 1535 or early 1536, Menno was baptized by Obbe Philips.
   D. Menno emerged as an Anabaptist leader in the 1540s. By the 1550s, his was the most important Anabaptist group in the Low Countries.
      1. Menno’s reputation grew partly because of esteem for his writings.
      2. Due to persecution, Menno mostly lived in northern Germany after 1543, where he remained largely oriented toward the Netherlands.
      2. Until at least the early 1560s, there were more Mennonites than Calvinists in the Low Countries.

II. Mennonites were shaped by Menno’s emphases on regeneration and the spotless congregation, as well as by the ongoing experience of severe persecution in the Low Countries.
   A. Menno’s writings emphasize the radical following of New Testament prescriptions in direct imitation of Christ, based on a self-conscious commitment that follows regeneration by God.
      1. Like other Anabaptist leaders, Menno insisted that one’s life and actions must reflect one’s faith.
      2. Menno and other Anabaptists overturned the medieval two-tier model of ordinary and extraordinary Christians.
      3. The insistence on exemplary conduct implies a higher estimate of human capacities than in Luther.
   B. According to Menno, only those who live this radical discipleship in fellowship with a “spotless congregation” set apart from the world are genuine Christians.
      1. The purity of the congregation was to be enforced through admonition and, if necessary, through banning and shunning, in accordance with the New Testament.
      2. The purpose of banning and shunning was to shame the sinner into remorse and reunion with the community.
   C. Mennonites’ sense of themselves as distinct communities of true Christians was strongly reinforced by their experience of persecution.
      1. Mennonites saw themselves as defenseless sheep in the midst of bloodthirsty wolves: the Catholic ecclesiastical and political authorities.
      2. Like Calvin, Menno insisted that Christians must be willing to imitate Christ in suffering, to the point of death if necessary, in accord with biblical injunctions.
III. Beginning in the 1550s and continuing in subsequent decades, the Mennonites split into more and more factions.

A. In the 1550s, the Waterlanders and Mennonites separated over the application of banning and shunning.
   1. In 1555, Mennonite leader Leenaert Bouwens ordered an upright woman whose husband had been banned to shun all contact with him, which led to a dispute about whether this was right.
   2. Menno eventually sided with Bouwens, precipitating a split with those who favored a more lenient interpretation of banning and shunning, the Waterlanders.
   3. The meaning and content of Christian identity were at stake in such disputes.

B. In 1566–1567, the Mennonites split into Flemish and Frisians over issues involving church structure and congregational autonomy, sharpened by cultural differences.
   1. In 1567, Frisian and Flemish Mennonites each pronounced a collective ban on the other.
   2. Where would the process of separatism within separatism end?

C. Further schisms occurred over disciplinary issues in the 1580s, even as attempts began among the Waterlanders to reunite as many factions as possible.
   1. By 1586, the Flemish had split into the Old and Mild Flemish and, by 1589, the Frisians, into the Old and Young Frisians.
   2. Some Waterlanders began arguing that their disagreements did not justify the groups’ divisions and sought to reconcile as many as possible on the basis of the beliefs they shared in common.

D. The small-scale divisions among Dutch Mennonites were a microcosm of the divisions in sixteenth-century Christianity as a whole.

IV. The major Anabaptist groups in Europe were not unified in beliefs or practices and frequently were hostile toward each other.

A. Members of different Anabaptist groups recognized similarities among their beliefs and practices, but they belonged to separate communities of faith.

B. On numerous occasions, Anabaptists from different traditions condemned each other based on divergent beliefs and practices.
   1. The Mennonites and Swiss Brethren rejected the Hutterites because of their communal ownership of goods, and the Hutterites rejected the Mennonites and Brethren for their lack of the same.
   2. From the late 1550s, the issue of banning and shunning divided Mennonites from the Swiss Brethren.

Essential Reading:
C. Arnold Snyder, Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction, chs. 15, 24.

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. By what authority could disagreements about religious doctrine or practice be adjudicated among Anabaptists or Protestants?
2. What are some of the basic commitments that most Anabaptist groups shared?
Lecture Twenty-Three
The Council of Trent

Scope: What emerged from the calls and plans for a church council was the Council of Trent, the most important ecumenical council between the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s. Largely due to political disruptions, the Council’s work proceeded in three interrupted stages spread over eighteen years (1545–1547, 1551–1552, and 1562–1563). In combining doctrinal definitions and clarifications with internal disciplinary and organizational reforms, the Council’s work coupled Counter-Reformation with Catholic Reform. Against the doctrinal assertions of the Protestant and radical reformers, Trent defined Catholic orthodoxy on justification, the authority of scripture and tradition, the sacraments, and many other doctrines. In response to problems and abuses in the Church, Trent reformed existing institutions and practices, targeting the clergy more than the laity. The Council of Trent is important both as a point of arrival for Catholicism in its response to the Reformation and as a point of departure for a new style of Roman Catholicism in the early modern period and beyond.

Outline

I. After protracted delays and disputes, the Council of Trent finally opened in late 1545 to seek “the extirpation of heresies and the reform of morals.” Its work was interrupted for long periods and was not concluded until 1563.
   A. Pope Paul III and Emperor Charles V finally agreed on the town of Trent in northern Italy as the site for the long-awaited church council.
      1. The papal bull convoking the council was issued in May 1542, but further delays pushed it back to late 1545.
      2. Trent was culturally Italian but located just over the border on imperial soil.
      3. The emperor wanted practical reforms to precede considerations of doctrine; the pope wanted just the reverse.
      4. The council was attended by bishops and archbishops, the heads of religious orders, theologians, and papal representatives.
   B. The first phase of the Council lasted from late 1545 to early 1547 and focused on several fundamental doctrinal issues.
   C. The second phase of the Council lasted from March 1551 until April 1552 and concentrated on the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.
   D. The third and final phase of the Council lasted from January 1562 until December 1563 and was concerned especially with disciplinary and organizational matters.

II. The Council of Trent clarified and defined disputed doctrines regarding justification, the authority of scripture and tradition, the sacraments, and much else.
   A. Because the Council sought “the extirpation of heresies,” it focused on doctrinal issues considered particularly urgent in light of the Reformation.
   B. On justification, the Council declared that faith is absolutely necessary for salvation and requires the grace that only God can give, but that human beings can and must cooperate with God in receiving the grace that he offers.
      1. Justification is a process of cooperation between God and the sinner, not a one-way imputation of righteousness by God to totally corrupt human beings.
      2. The cornerstone Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone was condemned as heretical.
   C. On the authority of scripture and tradition, the Council declared that both were authoritative parts of God’s revelation.
      1. The Council rejected the Protestant idea that scripture alone could be used as an independent criterion to criticize the Church and its tradition; the Church’s interpretation of scripture was alone authoritative.
      2. The Council affirmed the canonicity of the biblical books, including the non-Hebrew books of the Old Testament, now commonly known as the Apocrypha.
3. The Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible was affirmed as “authentic” for “public lectures, disputations, sermons, and expositions.”

D. The Council affirmed the scriptural basis for all seven of the traditional sacraments, which were instituted by Christ himself.
   1. The Council rejected the Protestant diminution in the number of the sacraments.
   2. The Council affirmed the nature of the sacraments as objective channels of God’s grace.

E. Certain doctrinal issues were avoided by the Council because they might have proven too divisive, such as the precise nature of papal authority or definition of the Church.

III. In addressing abuses and problems in the Catholic Church, the Council sought generally to reform existing institutions and practices rather than to eliminate them altogether.
   A. In dealing with “the reform of morals,” the Council sought greater organizational efficiency to better address problems at the local level.
      1. Bishops would oversee this process through diocesan synods and episcopal visitations.
      2. In striving to create more streamlined institutions, the Church participated in a wider early modern process of bureaucratization.
   B. The disciplinary reforms were aimed overwhelmingly at members of the clergy and religious orders.
      1. The Council’s answer to anticlericalism was to establish guidelines for a reformed and educated clergy, including resident bishops and provisions for diocesan seminaries.
      2. The superiors of monasteries, both male and female, were required to see that members observed their specific vows of religious life.
      3. The Council reasoned that upright clergy would inspire the laity to be upright as well.
   C. The Council’s answer to the chaotic splintering in Christianity was a reaffirmation of the hierarchical nature of the Church.
   D. Behind the Council’s disciplinary and moral reforms was an implicit concession that the Church’s shortcomings went a long way toward explaining the success of Protestantism and radical Protestantism.

IV. The Council of Trent was important both as a point of arrival and as a point of departure for a new style of Roman Catholicism.
   A. With the solemnity and gravity of a church council, Trent sealed and solidified the doctrinal divisions that had opened in Western Christianity during the sixteenth century.
   B. Trent provided an institutional platform for the continuation of both Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation by approving the most extensive body of legislation in conciliar history.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. How do the measures of the Council of Trent help reveal the fundamental doctrinal differences that divided Protestants from Catholics?
2. If the Council of Trent had met in the 1520s rather than 1545–1563, how might the course of early modern Christianity have unfolded differently?
Lecture Twenty-Four
Roman Catholicism after Trent

Scope: The decrees of the Council of Trent played an important part in the early modern transformation of Roman Catholicism. The papacy strove to improve the upper echelons of the Church and to make Rome the architectural, spiritual, and cultural capital of Europe in the late sixteenth century, even as it faced tensions with secular rulers in Catholic countries over ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The clergy, including bishops, parish priests, and members of religious orders, underwent a considerable educational and spiritual renewal in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, the laity, toward whom the Tridentine reforms were ultimately directed, were better instructed in their faith and engaged in new and reinvigorated devotional practices, even if not everyone appreciated these efforts of the post-Tridentine era.

Outline

I. In the later decades of the sixteenth century, the papacy sought to remake itself and the city of Rome in a Tridentine image.
   A. The post-Tridentine popes carried out several reforms meant to clean up the image of the papacy and the papal court.
      1. Popes improved the moral tone of the papal court and resident cardinals.
      2. Popes created committees of cardinals (called “congregations”) to address particular needs in the Church.
      3. Popes took a broader view of their responsibilities as pastors over the universal Church.
      4. The architectural rebuilding of Rome was largely the result of papal patronage.
   B. Papal patronage revitalized Rome as the center of Catholicism.
      1. Rome became a major pilgrimage destination for Catholics in the late sixteenth century.
      2. The catacombs were rediscovered, tangible reminders of Rome's heroic early Christian past.
   C. Despite their successes, post-Tridentine popes faced conflicts with Catholic rulers regarding issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.
      1. Popes were dependent on secular rulers in Catholic countries for the implementation of the Tridentine decrees.
      2. Despite his zealous Catholicism, Philip II was concerned that no ecclesiastical measures would infringe on royal rights in Spain.
      3. In France, the tradition of “Gallican liberties,” plus the unrest of the Wars of Religion, led to wariness about the conciliar decrees.

II. Over time, educated, upright bishops and priests were trained and carried out their duties in accordance with the Tridentine decrees.
   A. The Council of Trent placed considerable authority in the hands of bishops as the “front men” in implementing conciliar reforms.
      1. The model post-Tridentine bishop was Carlo Borromeo of Milan (d. 1584), who was active to the point of stirring up opposition.
      2. The success of implementation depended on the initiative of individual bishops, for better and worse.
   B. The diocesan seminaries mandated by Trent eventually ensured a better educated, morally improved corps of Catholic parish priests.
      1. The Catholic answer to anticlericalism was to train good priests, not change the ideals or demands of the priesthood.
      2. The post-Tridentine parish priest typically knew more theology, preached more regularly, was more conscientious, and more skilled in giving spiritual guidance and administering the sacraments than were his late medieval predecessors. He was also typically celibate.
      3. In general, seminaries and other post-Tridentine reforms were implemented sooner in Spain and Italy than in France, the southern Netherlands, or the Catholic areas of central and eastern Europe.
III. In general, the period from the late sixteenth century into the early eighteenth century was a golden age for Catholic religious orders, both male and female.
   A. The most important new male religious order was the Society of Jesus, which continued to grow in numbers and influence into the mid-seventeenth century.
      1. By the 1650s, the Jesuits numbered 15,000 and were teaching over 150,000 students in 550 educational institutions.
      2. Jesuits distinguished themselves intellectually in many fields beside theology and philosophy.
      3. Jesuits played an important role as missionaries, both in rural areas of Europe and abroad (as will be discussed further in the next lecture).
   B. The Reformed Carmelites originated in Spain with the most famous female religious writer of the sixteenth century, Teresa of Avila.
      1. Despite suspicion and harassment, Teresa of Avila successfully rejected the close ties between the urban aristocracy and religious patronage to establish the Reformed Carmelites by the early 1560s.
      2. A male branch of the order was established by another major Catholic mystic and writer, Teresa’s friend, John of the Cross.

IV. Reforms of the clergy were meant above all for the spiritual benefit of the laity, among whom there is evidence both of enthusiastic devotion along with inertia and resentment.
   A. Seen in broad terms, post-Tridentine efforts to create a better educated, more self-conscious Catholic laity can be seen as discontent with mere implicit faith.
      1. Through catechisms, hundreds of which were produced after Trent, as well as sermons, the laity were instructed in their faith.
      2. Religious publications in all genres proliferated in Catholic Europe in the century after the Council of Trent.
      3. The laity was expected to be more introspective in religious life as a result of better education and deeper spirituality.
      4. Post-Tridentine developments did not displace, but rather complemented, central aspects of traditional Catholic devotion.
   B. The measures to create a better informed, more devout Catholic laity were neither universally welcomed nor successful in their effects.
      1. As they had been with Protestantism, efforts to create conscientious Christians were most successful in cities.
      2. An unintended consequence of post-Tridentine exhortation and instruction was the creation of a more obviously two-tier Catholic laity.
      3. Especially in rural areas, much of the laity seemed to resent clerical intrusions on traditional ways.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*.
Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*.

Questions to Consider:
1. How did the measures of the Council of Trent clear the way for a new style of Roman Catholicism?
2. Despite the centralizing, bureaucratizing processes at work in the Catholic Church after Trent, in what ways did the practice of the faith retain its local, variegated character?
Maps

Cities of Europe During the Reformation Era
Timeline

1497...........................The Oratory of Divine Love is founded in Genoa.

1503...........................Erasmus’s *Handbook of a Christian Soldier* is published.

1505...........................Martin Luther joins Observant Augustinians in Erfurt and is ordained a priest two years later.

1511...........................Luther moves from Erfurt to the University of Wittenberg.

1513...........................One in a series of German peasant revolts before the Peasants’ War of 1524-1525.


1517...........................In Wittenberg, Luther posts his *Ninety-five Theses*, which are immediately published.

1519...........................Huldrych Zwingli begins preaching in Zurich (January). Johann Eck pushes Luther toward *sola scriptura* at the Leipzig Disputation (June-July). Charles V is elected Holy Roman Emperor (June).

1520...........................Leo X’s bull *Exsurge domine* threatens Luther with excommunication (June). Luther publishes his three important early treatises (August, October, November).

1521...........................Leo X excommunicates Luther (January); the latter refuses to recant at the Diet of Worms (April) and Charles V condemns him in the Edict of Worms (May). Henry VIII publishes his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* against Luther, after which Leo X granted him the title “Defender of the Faith.”

1522...........................The Augustinian monastery in Antwerp is suppressed for Lutheran heresy. Luther completes his German translation of the New Testament and returns to Wittenberg after his period of hiding in the Wartburg castle.

1523...........................The First (January) and Second (October) Zurich Disputations begin the formal acceptance of Zwingli’s Protestantism and dismantling of Catholicism by the Zurich city council. Two of the Antwerp Augustinians refuse to recant and become the first of Luther’s followers to be executed for heresy, in Brussels (July). Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet presides over reforming initiatives in his diocese of Meaux, in northern France. Clement VII becomes pope after the brief pontificate of Adrian VI.

1524...........................The Peasants’ War begins in Germany. Erasmus publishes his *Freedom of the Will*. Five Swiss cantons reject Zwingli’s reforms and affirm Catholicism. Over 1,000 German Reformation pamphlets are published during the year, the high tide of printed propaganda for the early Reformation.

1525...........................The first adult baptisms in Zurich defy city law and mark the beginning of the Swiss Brethren (January). The Peasants’ War continues and by the fall, is largely defeated. Thomas Müntzer is executed for his role in the Peasants’ War. In Switzerland, the first Anabaptists are executed. Luther publishes his *Bondage of the Will* in response to Erasmus’s *Freedom of the Will*. In France, the Meaux circle is broken up in the absence of Francis I.

1526...........................The publication of William Tyndale’s English translation of the New Testament is completed at Worms in Germany and soon begins to be smuggled into England.

1527...........................Imperial troops sack Rome. Michael Sattler’s *Schleitheim Articles* articulate the emergent separatist pacifism of the Swiss Brethren.

1528...........................Matteo da Bascio founds the Capuchin order, a reform of the Franciscans, in Italy. The Swiss city of Bern accepts Zwinglian reforms.

1529...........................Luther and Zwingli disagree on the correct understanding of the Lord’s Supper at the Marburg Colloquy. Protestant princes and cities protest imperial constraints at the second Diet of Speyer. The city of Basel accepts Zwinglian reforms.
1530...........................Articulation of the Lutheran Augsburg Confession after the imperial Diet of Augsburg. Melchior Hoffman brings Anabaptism to the Low Countries via Emden.

1531...........................Zwingli is killed on the battlefield at Kappel. The Schmalkaldic League is formed as a defensive Protestant political and military alliance in Germany. The first Dutch Anabaptists are executed; Melchior Hoffman declares a moratorium on adult baptisms.

1532...........................The submission of the English clergy to Henry VIII, which prompts Thomas More’s resignation as Lord Chancellor.

1533...........................In England, ecclesiastical appeals to Rome are outlawed.

1533...........................Thomas Cranmer is appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry VIII secretly marries Anne Boleyn. Adult baptisms resume and their number proliferates rapidly in the Netherlands.

1534...........................The Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster is established. The Act of Supremacy declares that the king is supreme head of the Church in England. Ignatius Loyola gathers his first followers in Paris. The Affair of the Placards leads to intensified measures against heresy in France. Paul III becomes pope.

1535...........................The Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster is crushed. Thomas More, John Fisher, and several Roman Catholic priests and monks are executed for refusing the English oath of supremacy. The Ursulines, a female Catholic religious order, is established by Angela Merici.

1536...........................Calvin publishes the first edition (in Latin) of his *Institutes*, and he arrives in Geneva for the first time. The suppression and dissolution of the English monasteries begins. Menno Simons is baptized. Erasmus dies.

1537...........................The papally commissioned *Concilium de emendanda ecclesia* denounces ecclesiastical abuses and urges reforms in the Catholic Church.

1538...........................Calvin is exiled from Geneva and moves to Strasbourg. The shrine of Thomas (Becket) of Canterbury is destroyed in England.

1539...........................*The Act of the Six Articles* in England sharply reiterates Henry VIII’s hostility to Protestantism.

1540...........................The Jesuits receive formal papal approval by Paul III.

1541...........................Lutheran and Catholic theologians agree on a formula of justification at the Diet of Regensburg but remain divided on other doctrines. Calvin returns to Geneva after three years in Strasbourg, first publishes his *Institutes* in French, and Geneva accepts his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*.

1542...........................The Roman Inquisition is established in response to concern about the spread of heresy in Italy.

1544...........................The Peace of Crépy between Charles V and Francis I enables both rulers to devote attention to the suppression of heresy. The Ursulines receive formal papal approval from Paul III. The Jesuits establish their first college in Germany.

1545...........................The Council of Trent opens late in the year.

1546...........................Charles V reorganizes the Inquisition in the Low Countries. Luther dies.

1547...........................Charles V defeats Protestant forces in Germany’s Schmalkaldic War. After the death of Henry VIII, a Protestant regime begins in England under the boy-king Edward VI, while English Catholic exiles flee to the Continent. After the death of Francis I, Henry II establishes the *chambre ardente* in France. The Council of Trent is suspended.

1548...........................Charles V imposes the Augsburg Interim on German Lutherans, which helps precipitate a split between Philippist and “Genuine” (Gnesio-) Lutherans.
1549...........................Reforming measures with a more clearly Reformed Protestant character begin in England. The Jesuit Francis Xavier becomes the first Catholic missionary to Japan.

1550...........................Charles V issues the “Bloody Placard,” the century’s most comprehensive anti-heresy legislation, in the Netherlands.

1551...........................The Council of Trent reconvenes in March and meets until April 1552. Henry II issues the Edict of Chateaubriand, France’s most extensive anti-heresy edict.

1552...........................Thomas Cranmer’s *Book of Common Prayer* is published in England. The German College, under Jesuit control, is established in Rome to train parish priests for Germany.

1553...........................After the death of Edward VI, Mary Tudor becomes queen of England and restores Roman Catholicism.

1554...........................Mary Tudor weds Philip II of Spain and Reginald Pole returns from Italy to become Archbishop of Canterbury; Protestant exiles flee England for the Continent.

1555...........................The Peace of Augsburg establishes that territorial princes shall choose whether Catholicism or Lutheranism shall prevail in their territories. The first organized Calvinist churches are established in France (Paris) and the Low Countries (Antwerp). The execution of unrepentant Protestants begins in England. Mennonites and Waterlanders begin their split over banning and shunning. Paul IV becomes pope.

1556...........................Charles V abdicates as Holy Roman Emperor and retires to a Spanish monastery. Ignatius Loyola dies.

1558...........................In Geneva, John Knox publishes his *First Blast*, along with other treatises. Mary Tudor dies and Elizabeth I becomes queen of England.

1559...........................Under Elizabeth, Protestantism is reintroduced to England. John Knox returns to Scotland, where he leads a Protestant rebellion. Henry II of France dies and is succeeded by Francis II. The first national synod of French Huguenots is held in Paris. Pius IV becomes pope.

1560...........................Francis II of France dies. English military intervention in Scotland against France enables Scotland’s adoption of Protestantism by the Reformation Parliament.

1561...........................French Catholics and Huguenots fail to reach any settlement at the Colloquy of Poissy. Mary Stuart returns from France to Scotland. Frederick III of the Palatinate becomes the first German prince to convert from Lutheranism to Calvinism.

1562...........................The Massacre of Vassy inaugurates the French Wars of Religion. The Council of Trent reconvenes to conclude its work.

1563...........................The Council of Trent comes to a close. The *Heidelberg Catechism* is published.

1564...........................The Tridentine canons and decrees receive formal papal approval. Calvin dies.

1565...........................Carlo Borromeo begins his work as Archbishop of Milan.

1566...........................In the Low Countries, collective pressure forces the Compromise of the Nobility, a mitigation of anti-heresy measures, which opens the way for the Iconoclastic Fury. Pius V becomes pope.

1567...........................The Duke of Alva arrives in the Netherlands to punish the Dutch iconoclasts through the Council of Troubles. In Scotland, Mary Stuart abdicates the throne. The separation between Frisian and Flemish Mennonites is completed in the Netherlands.

1568...........................The harsh measures of Alva’s Council of Troubles provoke the beginning of the Dutch Revolt against Spain, under the leadership of William of Orange. William Allen establishes the English seminary at Douai to train priests for work in England, in anticipation of the country’s eventual return to Catholicism.

1571...........................Emden hosts an important synod of Dutch Calvinist refugees.
1572...........................The Dutch Calvinist Sea Beggars lead an offensive that progressively takes Holland from Spanish control. Catholics kill several thousand Huguenots in France’s St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres. Gregory XIII becomes pope.

1574...........................Henry III becomes king of France. The first English Catholic missionary priests arrive from the Continent.

1576...........................Unpaid Spanish soldiers mutiny and wreak destruction in Antwerp.

1577...........................The Formula of Concord reconciles most Philippist and “Genuine” Lutherans.

1578...........................Gregory XIII reestablishes the English College in Rome for the purpose of training English missionary priests.

1579...........................The Union of Utrecht establishes the northern provinces of the Low Countries as the Dutch Republic.

1581...........................The Dutch Act of Abjuration formally repudiates the authority of Philip II in the Dutch Republic.


1584...........................The death of the Duke of Anjou leaves the Huguenot Henry de Navarre as next in line to the French throne, which reinvigorates the Catholic League. William of Orange is assassinated in Delft.

1585...........................Alessandro Farnese consolidates control of the southern Netherlands for Spain.

1588...........................At Henry III’s behest, the French Guises are assassinated.

1589...........................As a retaliation for the murder of the Guises, Henry III is assassinated in France, leaving Henry de Navarre as heir to the throne.

1593...........................Henry de Navarre converts to Catholicism and assumes the French throne as Henry IV.

1598...........................The Edict of Nantes concludes the French Wars of Religion and establishes restricted toleration of Huguenots in France.

1603...........................With the death of Elizabeth I, the English crown passes from the Tudor to the Stuart line and James I (= James VI of Scotland).

1608...........................To counter aggressive Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire, the Protestant Union is formed under the leadership of Frederick IV of the Palatinate.

1609...........................In response to the establishment of the Protestant Union, the Catholic League takes shape under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. The first Jesuit Reductions are established in South America.

1618...........................The Defenestration of Prague initiates the Thirty Years’ War. In the Dutch Republic, the Synod of Dort resolves the dispute between Calvinism and Arminianism in favor of the former.

1620...........................Catholic forces win a decisive victory under Johann Tilly in the Battle of the White Mountain.

1622...........................Gregory XV endeavors to centralize Catholic missionary efforts by creating the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

1629...........................In France, the Huguenots lose La Rochelle, their final military stronghold. The Edict of Restitution signals the high water mark of the Counter-Reformation in the Thirty Years’ War. Charles I begins his eleven years of “personal rule” in England.

1631...........................Protestant forces win a major victory under Gustavus Adolphus at the Battle of Breitenfeld.
1632...........................Gustavus Adolphus dies.
1635...........................The Peace of Prague concludes the Swedish phase of the Thirty Years’ War.
1642...........................The first civil war, between royalists and parliamentarians, begins in England.
1646...........................A Presbyterian church order is established in England after the parliamentarian victory in the first civil war.
1648.........................The Peace of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years’ War and establishes the enduring religio-political divisions of Europe.
1649...........................Charles I is executed by order of the Rump Parliament; England is proclaimed a Republic.
1654...........................In his role as Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell establishes a tolerant and inclusive state church.
1660...........................The English monarchy and the Church of England are restored to their prerevolutionary forms.
1685...........................Louis XIV revokes the Edict of Nantes, ending toleration for Huguenots in France.
Glossary

Anabaptism: The general term used to designate those Christian groups in the radical Reformation who rejected infant baptism in favor of adult understanding and commitment as a prerequisite for becoming a Christian and for baptism. The most important Anabaptist groups were the Swiss Brethren, the South German/Austrian Anabaptists, the Hutterites, and the Mennonites.

anticlericalism: Critical or hostile attitudes or practices directed against members of the clergy, whether Catholic priests or, after the Protestant Reformation was established, Protestant ministers. Anticlericalism might be subdivided by the specific target of criticism (e.g., antipapalism, antimonasticism), and it was variously directed against clerical abuses, clerical privileges, or both.

apocalypticism: The term used to describe the anticipation of the imminent end of the world, which in Christian teaching, includes the second coming of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the Last Judgment by Christ.

apostolic succession: The Christian notion that Christ’s apostles, who received their authority from him, pass it in turn to their successors, thus preserving his authority in the Church. In Roman Catholicism, these successors are understood to be the Church’s bishops.

banning and shunning: The Anabaptist disciplinary practice of excluding a baptized member of the community from fellowship because of some moral or other infraction, followed by the group’s collective refusal to have any contact with the excluded member.

baptism: The sacrament of initiation into the Christian community practiced by Catholics, Protestants, and Anabaptists (although not by certain other radical Protestants). Magisterial Protestants, like Catholics, baptized infants, a practice Anabaptists rejected in favor of baptizing only adults who had self-consciously committed to becoming Christians.

Calvinism: The branch of Reformed Protestantism that takes its name from John Calvin, the French refugee reformer of Geneva, whence it spread to have a significant influence in France, England, Scotland, Germany, and the Low Countries. Calvinism, characterized by its theological rigor, liturgical austerity, and aspiration to create godly polities, was the most dynamic form of Protestantism in the second half of the sixteenth century.

canonization: In Roman Catholicism, the official papal recognition of a holy man or woman as a saint, that is, an advocate with God in heaven for the supplications and prayers of living Christians.

Catholic reform: The collective designation for those aspects of late medieval and early modern Catholicism primarily concerned with the internal self-renewal and reform of Catholic devotion, practice, and institutions, rather than with opposition to heresy or reaction to the Protestant Reformation.

Church Fathers: The leading Christian theologians of the second through the sixth centuries, the publication and study of whose Greek and Latin writings were central to the Christian humanists’ desire to reform the Church through erudition and education. The writings of the Church Fathers, above all Augustine, played an important role in early modern Christian theology; Protestant and Catholic theologians disputed the correct interpretation of their writings.

Communal Reformation: English translation of the German term Gemeindereformation, used to designate the German Reformation movement in the early 1520s through the end of the Peasants’ War, when it was a genuinely popular social movement with a broad demographic base in both the towns and rural areas of southern and central Germany.

conciliarism: In the domain of ecclesiology, the late medieval position holding that ultimate authority in the Church reposes with church councils rather than with the papacy. Conciliarism reached its apogee in the early fifteenth century and waned from the mid-fifteenth century, although it remained important well into the Reformation era.

confessionalization: The process in the Reformation era whereby secular and ecclesiastical authorities worked together in the effort to create well-informed, conscientious Christians who had specific confessional identities (Lutheran, Calvinist, Roman Catholic) and would also be well-disciplined, obedient political subjects.
**confraternities**: In late medieval and early modern Catholic Europe, the most important collective lay religious institutions, variously constituted mutual aid societies organized for the spiritual and social well-being of their members.

**consistory**: The principal institution responsible for the exercise of moral and religious discipline in Calvinist Geneva, and wherever Calvinism took full root according to the Genevan model. The consistory was composed of the local Calvinist church’s pastors and elders.

**conventicles**: Secret, underground gatherings of like-minded Christians in contexts of persecution, for purposes of worship, conversation, scripture study, and mutual encouragement and support.

**Counter-Reformation**: The collective term for those aspects of early modern Catholicism concerned primarily to oppose, denounce, and undo the Protestant and radical Reformations.

**diocese**: The principal geographical and administrative subdivisions of Latin Christendom in the Middle Ages and of Catholic Europe (and Protestant England) in the Reformation era, overseen by a bishop. Dioceses were subdivided into parishes.

**episcopacy**: The office of bishop in the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, and the Lutheran churches of some countries. The ecclesiological significance of the episcopacy was rejected in Reformed Protestantism and the radical Reformation.

**Eucharist**: The celebratory ritual meal of thanksgiving in collective Christian worship that is based on the Last Supper of Jesus with his apostles. It can also refer specifically to the consecrated bread and wine consumed during this meal. The Eucharist, or Lord’s Supper, was one of the most disputed areas of Christian theology and liturgy in the Reformation era.

**excommunication**: The formal expulsion of a baptized Christian from the community of the Roman Catholic Church and, therefore, from the reception of the sacraments, after due warning and exhortation to rectify the offense or condition for which excommunication is threatened. Excommunication was appropriated in various forms by Protestant groups in the Reformation era (e.g., banning and shunning among Anabaptists).

**heresy**: The deliberate holding of erroneous Christian doctrines, as defined by orthodox authorities. Because orthodoxy was disputed in the Reformation era, heresy was also disputed. Heresy is not to be confused with unbelief; only a baptized Christian can be a heretic.

**humanism**: In the Renaissance, the movement to recover and teach the language, literature, rhetoric, poetry, and history of the ancient Greek and Roman classics to instill virtue and good government. Christian humanism adapted this program to the reform of the Church through the recovery and teaching of the Church Fathers’ writings and the Bible in their original languages.

**iconoclasm**: The violent or controlled destruction of religious images or works of art. In the Reformation era, Protestant iconoclasm was frequently directed against Catholic religious art, both inside and outside churches.

**idolatry**: In Christianity, the worship of anything that is not God. In the Reformation era, Protestants who rejected the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and Catholic ideas about religious images and relics accused Catholics of idolatry in venerating the Eucharist, religious images, and saints’ relics.

**indulgence**: In the late Middle Ages and the Reformation era, in Catholic teaching, the Church’s complete or partial remission of the purgatorial punishment for sins by a person making a proper confession and fulfilling the conditions stipulated by an authorized cleric for attaining the indulgence. Luther’s dissatisfaction with the abuse of indulgences lay behind his Ninety-five Theses.

**Inquisition**: An ecclesiastical tribunal in the Catholic Church specially designated to inquire into and suppress heresy. Not a monolithic institution, the principal inquisitions in late medieval and early modern Europe were the medieval (established in the thirteenth century), the Spanish (est. 1478), and the Roman (est. 1542).

**justification by faith alone**: The phrase describing the central doctrinal assertion of Protestantism that human beings are made acceptable to God strictly through trust in Christ as their savior, a trust produced in them entirely by God’s grace. Thus, humans contribute nothing whatsoever to their own salvation. The doctrine was formally
condemned by the Council of Trent, which insisted that human beings cooperate with God’s grace in the process of salvation.

**liturgy**: Collective Christian worship according to some regular, established pattern or procedure. Liturgical forms varied widely across the various traditions of early modern Christianity.

**Lord’s Supper**: A general name for the celebratory ritual meal of thanksgiving in collective Christian worship that is based on the Last Supper of Jesus with his apostles. (See also **Eucharist**.)

**Lutheranism**: The branch of Protestantism that takes its name from Martin Luther, as distinct from Reformed Protestantism or radical Protestantism. Lutheranism, which remained theologically, liturgically, and aesthetically closer to Roman Catholicism than did Reformed Protestantism, became the official form of Christianity in many German territories and in the Scandinavian countries.

**magisterial Protestantism**: Those forms of Protestantism that were introduced with the sanction, support, and/or coercion of secular magistrates, whether in cities, territories, or nations. Magisterial Protestantism includes Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism and excludes the radical Reformation. In this course, “Protestantism” is generally used as shorthand for “magisterial Protestantism.”

**mendicants**: Literally “beggars,” the term refers to the regular clergy who originally begged alms for their survival as itinerant preachers and ministers, chiefly the members of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, but also including the Carmelites and Augustinians. Synonymous with “mendicant friars” or “friars.”

**papacy**: The office of pope in the Roman Catholic Church, the highest office in its hierarchical structure. Rejection of the papacy and its authority was the only tenet shared by all Protestants in the Reformation era.

**parish**: A geographical and administrative subdivision of a diocese in Catholic Europe, overseen by a parish priest (or by a minister in those areas of Protestant Europe that retained parishes as geographical and administrative designations).

**penance**: In one sense, a synonym for the sacrament of confession in the Roman Catholic Church; the term can also refer to the activities done to fulfill the penalties stipulated for the forgiveness of sins according to the sacrament, as well as to the state of being contrite for, repentant about, one’s sins. Protestants rejected the Catholic meanings linked to the sacrament of penance but generally emphasized the importance of repentance as a condition for amendment of life.

**Petrine supremacy**: The Catholic teaching that links Peter’s preeminence among the apostles to the understanding of him as the first pope and, thus, to the succession of popes that began with Peter and derives its authority from Christ. Hence, the papal see of Rome is called the “See of St. Peter.”

**predestination**: The Christian teaching, importantly influenced by Augustine in the Reformation era, that human beings are destined for salvation or damnation as the result of God’s will, independent of their own choices or actions. Among the major traditions in early modern Christianity, the doctrine was emphasized and elaborated most by Calvin and Calvinist theologians.

**Protestantism**: The broadest designation of all those Christian groups in Latin Christendom who, in the Reformation era, rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. The distinction between magisterial Protestantism and radical Protestantism comprises its fundamental subdivision. In this course, “Protestantism” is generally used as shorthand for “magisterial Protestantism.”

**providence**: The Christian teaching that God actively orders and governs all things and events in his creation, often despite appearances to the contrary. Belief in God’s providence was fundamental to virtually all Christians in the Reformation era.

**radical Reformation**: Those forms of Protestantism that rejected Christianity as it was introduced and supported by secular authorities. Anabaptists are the most significant subgroup in the radical Reformation.

**Reformed Protestantism**: Along with Lutheranism, one of the two major traditions in magisterial Protestantism. Although Calvinism and Zwinglianism are its two most important subtraditions, Reformed Protestantism is an umbrella designation that is bigger than either.
**regulars**: As distinguished from mendicants and secular clergy, these were cloistered monks or nuns in Roman Catholicism who belonged to religious orders that followed a monastic “rule” (*regula*). The rule theoretically kept them apart from the wider world, pursuing lives of prayer, work, and contemplation. Among the most important were the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Carthusians.

**resistance theory**: Protestant political thought that developed in Lutheranism and Calvinism in the sixteenth century concerning the conditions and identities of those who might legitimately resist and/or oppose an ungodly (i.e., Catholic) ruler.

**Roman Catholicism**: The early modern Christian tradition that was institutionally continuous with medieval Latin Christianity, the authority of which was repudiated, in various ways and to various degrees, by all Protestant groups in the Reformation era.

**royal supremacy**: The English law enacted in 1534 by Parliament at Henry VIII’s behest that made the sovereign the supreme head of the Church in England. The royal supremacy emerged from Henry VIII’s desire to have his marriage to Katherine of Aragon annulled so that he could wed his mistress, Anne Boleyn.

**sacraments**: In Catholicism, specifically designated sacred rituals that confer God’s grace on the recipient. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) enumerated seven: baptism, confession (penance), communion (Eucharist), confirmation, marriage, holy orders, and extreme unction. Most Protestants accepted only baptism and communion, although different reformers and groups understood these two in widely divergent ways. The correct understanding of the sacraments was bitterly contested among different Christian groups in the Reformation era.

**saints**: In Roman Catholicism, holy men and women whose presence in heaven has been attested after their deaths by miracles they have worked, who have been officially canonized, and who can intercede with God on behalf of ordinary men and women. Protestants rejected saints’ intercessory role but sometimes adopted the term to refer to living members of their own group.

**secular clergy**: As distinguished from the mendicants and the regular clergy, these were members of the clergy serving in the world (*saeculum*), most often as ordinary parish priests or at lower clerical ranks. They were not members of a religious order and were under the direct authority of a bishop.

**sola fide**: A Latin phrase meaning “by faith alone,” this popular slogan of the Protestant Reformation expressed in a condensed form the assertion that Christians were saved by God solely on the basis of faith, imparted wholly by God’s grace, and not as the result of any effort or action whatsoever on their own part. Good works were part of Christian love and directed toward one’s fellow human beings, but contributed nothing to one’s salvation. The Council of Trent formally condemned this teaching as heretical.

**sola scriptura**: A Latin phrase meaning “by scripture alone,” this popular slogan of the Protestant Reformation articulated in a compressed way the claim that the Bible alone, not the papacy, church councils, or ecclesiastical tradition in general, is the sole authority for Christian faith and life. The Council of Trent formally condemned this teaching as heretical.

**spirituali**: The collective name for the elite, humanistic, reform-minded group of Italian prelates in Italy in the 1530s and 1540s who were sympathetic to the doctrine of justification by faith alone but did not reject papal authority. The Council of Trent’s condemnation of justification by faith alone forced them to choose between the two commitments.

**transubstantiation**: In Catholic teaching, the dogma that with the priest’s words of consecration in the Mass, the appearance of the bread and wine remain, but their substance is miraculously changed into the body and blood of Christ, following his own words to his apostles at the Last Supper (“This is my body”). Protestants rejected the dogma of transubstantiation, although Lutherans retained the teaching of Christ’s real presence in the Eucharist.
Biographical Notes

Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584): Archbishop of Milan from 1565 until his death in 1584, where his diligent reforming activities epitomized the ideal of the pastorally minded, post-Tridentine Catholic bishop. He held regular provincial councils and diocesan synods, carried out systematic visitations of parishes and monasteries, established and supported a major diocesan seminary for the training of priests, and promoted the schools of Christian doctrine, all in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent. His zeal provoked conflict with civil authorities in Milan, though he eventually won their support. Borromeo became the model for other post-Tridentine bishops. He was formally canonized as a saint in 1610.

John Calvin (1509–1564): The leading reformer and theologian in the second generation of the Protestant Reformation, he was born in France but became the resident exile religious leader in Geneva, Switzerland, after his conversion to Protestantism. Trained as a humanist and a lawyer, his uncompromising reforms led to his exile from Geneva in 1538; he spent three years in Strasbourg before being invited back to Geneva in 1541, where he remained until his death. Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, first published in 1536 and revised several times until it reached its final form in 1559, is the single most important Protestant theological work of the Reformation era. Calvinism became the most dynamic, influential form of Protestantism in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Charles V (1500–1558): As the Holy Roman Emperor from 1519 until 1556, he was probably the most important political figure in the early decades of the Reformation era. A staunch defender of Catholicism and opponent of Protestantism, he ruled over vast territories either directly or indirectly, including Spain, the Low Countries, Austria, northern Italy, most of central Europe, and parts of eastern Europe. He issued the Edict of Worms that condemned Luther in 1521, defeated the allied Protestant forces in the Schmalkaldic War of 1547, and imposed the Augsburg Interim on Lutheran towns and territories before concluding the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. His chief political rival was Francis I of France, with whom he was frequently at war until Francis’s death in 1547.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603): Daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, she was the queen of England from 1558 until 1603 and restored Protestantism to England. The sheer longevity of her reign, in contrast to those of her predecessors Edward VI and Mary, was probably the most important factor in transforming England into a Protestant country by the 1580s. Elizabeth pursued a moderate, pragmatic Protestantism that emphasized obedience and sought to avoid the violence that religious differences were provoking on the Continent.

Erasmus (c. 1466–1536): The leading Christian humanist of the early sixteenth century, he sought the gradual renewal of Christendom based on the fusion of classical and biblical erudition, education, and piety in the “philosophy of Christ.” His prodigious literary output included dozens of scholarly, satirical, instructional, and moral works. Erasmus produced editions of many of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers, as well as an edition of the New Testament in the original Greek with his own Latin translation (1516). Other important works included his *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* (1503) and *Praise of Folly* (1511). He criticized clerical ignorance, immorality, and greed; ridiculed lay “superstition”; and rejected scholastic theology. Although originally supportive of Luther, Erasmus’s very different views and approach to theology came to a head in their famous debate over the role of free will in Christian salvation in 1524–1525.

Francis I (1494–1547): The French king who patronized humanism and humanist reform but opposed Protestantism, particularly after the Affair of the Placards in 1534. During the 1520s, his implicit distinction between elite, educated reform and disruptive, seditious heresy shielded the reforming measures under Guillaume Briconnet, Bishop of Meaux. The later years of his reign saw a sharp increase in executions for heresy in France. Francis’s chief political rivals throughout his reign were Charles V and Henry VIII.

Henry IV (de Navarre) (1553–1610): The French king whose conversion from Calvinism to Catholicism in 1593 helped bring an end to the French Wars of Religion with the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The son of Jeanne de Navarre and Antoine de Bourbon, Henry, a committed Protestant and Huguenot military leader in the Wars of Religion, became the next in line to the throne after the death of the Duke of Anjou in 1584. This precipitated opposition from the militant Catholic League, which rejected in principle the notion of a Protestant king, and ushered in the violent religio-political clashes of the later 1580s and early 1590s. When Henry III was assassinated in 1589, Henry de Navarre became a king without a crown, one not secured until he agreed to convert. Despite adopting Catholicism,
during the rest of his reign, Henry’s continued protection and toleration of Protestants, both at his court and further afield, enabled France to recover somewhat from its religious civil wars.

**Henry VIII** (1491–1547): The English king at whose behest the country severed its longstanding institutional links to the Roman Catholic Church and created a separate national church under royal control. Before the late 1520s and his desire to have his marriage to Katherine of Aragon annulled, Henry was a stalwart defender of Catholic orthodoxy. In 1521, he published a treatise against Luther and earned the title “Defender of the Faith” from Pope Leo X. Clement VII’s refusal to grant the annulment precipitated a series of parliamentary acts between 1532 and 1534 that created an English church separate from Roman jurisdiction and subject to the English monarch as “supreme head.” Despite repudiating Rome, Henry remained hostile to Protestantism, an antagonism evinced late in his reign, especially after the Six Articles Act of 1539. In the later 1530s, he oversaw the dissolution of all the English monasteries, the vast holdings of which were taken by the crown and quickly sold to fund war.

**Melchior Hoffman** (1495?–1543): The peripatetic radical Protestant prophet and preacher who brought Anabaptism to the Low Countries when he went to Emden in 1530. Hoffman prophesied the end of the world for 1533, with Strasbourg as the New Jerusalem, where godly magistrates would destroy the godless. All those who had been (re)baptized would be saved. Hoffman’s first Dutch converts in Emden became the nucleus of the Melchiorite Anabaptist movement in the Netherlands, which grew exponentially and was transformed after 1533, most dramatically by those who became Münsterites. Hoffman himself returned to Strasbourg, where he was imprisoned for his Anabaptism and died in obscurity.

**John Knox** (c. 1514–1572): An impassioned, uncompromising Calvinist reformer who played a leading role in the Scottish Reformation, he converted to Protestantism sometime in the early 1540s. He first became a public figure in 1547, when he preached his first sermon, then spent two years as a prisoner on a French galley ship. After his release, he went to England, where he preached and ministered, then fled to the Continent and Geneva as one of the Marian exiles in 1554. Deeply impressed by Calvin and Geneva, he returned to Scotland for several months in 1555–1556, then again in 1559, when he provoked the uprisings that intersected with a series of political events to produce the Scottish parliament’s adoption of Protestantism in 1560. Knox wrote several treatises in 1558 that contributed to Calvinist political resistance theory, as well as a lengthy account of the Reformation in Scotland.

**Ignatius Loyola** (1491?–1556): The founder of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), the most important Catholic religious order of the Reformation era. While convalescing from battle injuries in 1521, Ignatius underwent the first in a series of conversion experiences that led him to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to learn Latin, then to study theology in Paris. There, in 1534, he gathered around him a circle of six students, including Francis Xavier and Diego Laínez, who became the core of the earliest Jesuits. Prevented from going to Jerusalem by war, they instead went to Rome, where the new order received papal approval in 1540. In Rome, Ignatius established the Jesuit Roman College in 1551 and oversaw the rapid numerical and geographical expansion of the early order, which included over 1,000 members at the time of his death. He modeled his *Spiritual Exercises* on his own conversion, and it became the central text in Jesuit spirituality; through the society’s members, the text exercised a widespread influence in Catholic Europe.

**Martin Luther** (1483–1546): The first and most influential reformer and publicist in the first generation of Protestantism, Luther came to reject papal and conciliar authority in favor of the Bible as the sole norm for Christian faith and life. After his early education and university education at the University of Erfurt in central Germany, Luther entered the Observant Augustinian order in 1505, was ordained a priest in 1507, and began teaching at the University of Wittenberg in 1511. Riddled with anxiety about his sinfulness, he eventually found deliverance in the teaching and experience of salvation by “faith alone,” which emerged between 1513 and 1519. In 1517, he posted his famous *Ninety-five Theses*, protesting against indulgences. He was then driven to more and more radical statements in the course of debates with theological adversaries between 1518 and 1521, when he defied both Pope Leo X and Emperor Charles V. He sharply rejected the militancy of the peasants in 1525, remaining traditional and conservative in his social and political views. Luther’s writings, including his translation of the Bible into German, plus hundreds of pamphlets, treatises, songs, and letters, had an enormous influence on the early Protestant Reformation and the consolidation of Lutheranism in Germany.

**Thomas Müntzer** (c. 1490–1525): A radical apocalyptic and militant reformer from central Germany who preached violent revolution during the Peasants’ War of 1525. Originally sympathetic to Luther, Müntzer progressively moved away from and ridiculed him as a panderer to princes. He understood the rising tide of peasant and urban agitation in the early 1520s as a sign of the coming apocalypse, in which God would destroy the ungodly alliance of
oppressive rulers and sycophantic priests and ministers. After a stint as a minister and preacher in the small Thuringian town of Allstedt, Müntzer became increasingly involved in the cause of the peasants. In May 1525, he led several thousand woefully underarmed peasants into battle at Frankenhausen, where they were slaughtered. He was captured and executed. Subsequently, his legacy endured in an attenuated form among certain central and south German Anabaptists.

Philip II (1527–1598): The Spanish king and son of Charles V, he was the most powerful ruler in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century, overseeing a worldwide empire as a result of Spanish colonization (the Philippines are named after him). A devout Catholic and zealous opponent of Protestantism, his refusal to mitigate the anti-heresy measures in the Low Countries precipitated the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566, the Dutch Revolt, and the Spanish loss of the northern Netherlands. Despite his Catholic convictions, Philip was concerned to maintain royal control over many aspects of the Spanish church, as well as over the Spanish Inquisition.

Menno Simons (c. 1496–1561): The most influential Dutch Anabaptist leader in the wake of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster, especially after the early 1540s. Menno was a parish priest in Friesland who became an Anabaptist after finding no basis for infant baptism in either the Bible or in any of the early Protestant reformers. Like other Anabaptist leaders in German-speaking regions, he stressed the importance of adult commitment and moral rectitude as a prerequisite for being Christian. He renounced his position as parish priest in early 1536, was (re)baptized, and lived most of his career as a reformer in the relative safety of north Germany in order to avoid persecution. He remained fundamentally oriented toward the Low Countries, where his followers, eventually known as Mennonites, were more numerous than any other Protestant group until the explosive growth of Dutch Calvinism in the 1560s.

Teresa of Avila (1515–1582): The Spanish founder of the Discalced Carmelites and the most remarkable female Christian writer of the sixteenth century. She entered the well-to-do Carmelite convent in Avila in 1535, where she remained for twenty-seven years. She began pursuing religious life seriously in 1538 and became increasingly involved in mystical prayer after 1555. Disrupting the tradition of aristocratic patronage of the Carmelite monastery in Avila in 1562, she established a new house based on strict poverty and rigorous adherence to the rule of the order. Fourteen more houses were established by the time of her death. Her initiatives and mystical experiences provoked controversy, and she was asked to justify herself to her confessor. Teresa’s extensive literary output, including her autobiography and The Interior Castle, rank among the great works of early modern Catholicism. She was canonized in 1622.

Jan van Leiden (1509–1536): The self-proclaimed prophet-king and ruler of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster in 1534–1535, he had been a tailor and unsuccessful trader before his baptism by Jan Matthijs in late 1533. Sent by Matthijs as an apostolic missionary to Münster in April 1534, after the Anabaptist takeover of the city and Matthijs’s death, Jan van Leiden became the city’s ruler and brutally dispatched anyone who opposed him. Under van Leiden, the “New Jerusalem” practiced communal ownership of goods and polygamy, both of which scandalized European contemporaries. After a siege finally broke the regime in late June 1535, Jan was executed in early 1536.

William of Orange (1533–1584): The Dutch nobleman around whom resistance to Spain coalesced beginning in 1568, which led to the formation of an independent Dutch nation. Although dependent on Calvinist anti-Catholic sentiment and action, William himself sought to maintain a unified, political, anti-Spanish focus to the rebellion, across the northern and southern provinces of the Low Countries. This position proved untenable, with anti-Spanish Calvinism predominating in the new United Provinces of the north and Catholicism and Spanish control prevailing in the south. William was assassinated in 1584. He is justifiably regarded as the “father of his country.”

Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531): The Protestant reformer whose influence was responsible for the abolition of Catholicism and the adoption of Protestantism in the Swiss city of Zurich between 1523 and 1525. Educated in part at the universities of Basel and Vienna, Zwingli was ordained a priest in 1506 and was deeply influenced by Christian humanism; he held Erasmus in high regard. He was appointed preacher in Zurich in 1519. Zwingli considered the civic government and church as two aspects of one and the same Christian community, both of which should be organized based on biblical teachings. His sharp disagreement with Luther over the nature of the Lord’s Supper found dramatic expression in the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, preventing a political alliance between Zwinglian and Lutheran cities and setting the Lutheran and Reformed Protestant traditions on divergent paths.
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The History of Christianity in the Reformation Era
Part III
Professor Brad S. Gregory
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Brad Gregory holds five university degrees, including undergraduate and advanced degrees in both history and philosophy. He received a B.S. in history from Utah State University (1985); B.A. and Licentiate degrees in philosophy from the Institute of Philosophy of the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium (1984, 1987); an M.A. in history from the University of Arizona (1989); and a Ph.D. in history from Princeton University (1996). From 1994–1996, he was a Junior Fellow in the Harvard Society of Fellows. In 1996, he joined the history faculty as an assistant professor at Stanford University, where he has since taught courses on late medieval and early modern Christianity, early modern Europe, and historical methodology, in addition to directing the history department’s honors program. His scholarly interests range widely over the long-term transition from the Middle Ages to the modern era.

Professor Gregory has received numerous awards and fellowships, including the Walter J. Gores Award, Stanford’s highest teaching honor, after just his second year of university teaching (1998), and the Dean’s Award for Distinguished Teaching in the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford (2000). In 1999–2000, he was a faculty research fellow at the Stanford Humanities Center. The author of numerous scholarly articles, Professor Gregory’s first book, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, was published in 1999 by Harvard University Press, from which it received the Thomas J. Wilson Prize as the best first book published by the press during the calendar year. The book has also received the 2000 John Gilmary Shea Prize of the American Catholic Historical Association, the 2000 Phi Alpha Theta Book Award, the 2000 California Book Award silver medal for nonfiction, and second place in the 2000 Catholic Press Association Book Awards.

This is Professor Gregory’s first course for The Teaching Company.
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The History of Christianity in the Reformation Era

Scope:
The century and a half from about 1500 to about 1650 is among the most tumultuous and consequential periods in all of European history. At the center of the upheaval stands religion, particularly the disagreements and divisions in Western Christianity. This course presents an analytical narrative of the religious developments of the Reformation era in their political, cultural, and social contexts, emphasizing the embeddedness of Christian beliefs and practices in the institutional and intellectual life of the period. It treats not only the Protestant Reformation and state-supported Protestantism but also the radical Reformation and varieties of Anabaptism, as well as the persistence and transformation of Roman Catholicism. The overall goal will be to understand historically the theological and devotional aspects of each of these three broad traditions on its own terms and to grasp the overall ramifications of religious conflict for the subsequent course of modern Western history. Geographically, the course ranges across Western Europe, with most attention devoted to England, France, Germany, the Low Countries, Italy, and Spain.

The first six lectures discuss the late Middle Ages and the late medieval Church as the matrix out of which Reformation-era Christianity emerged. After an introductory lecture that provides an overview of the entire course, a second lecture surveys some of the basic demographic, political, and social realities common in this distant, pre-industrial, hierarchical world. The third and fourth lectures discuss some of the most important, interwoven beliefs, practices, and institutions of Latin Christendom on the eve of the Reformation. The countervailing signs of corruption and vitality in the late medieval Church are addressed in Lecture Five, while Lecture Six explores an important strand of reform that would influence sixteenth-century developments in significant ways, namely Christian humanism, above all in the person of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

From here, in Lectures Seven through Twelve, we enter the world of the early Reformation in Germany and Switzerland. Two lectures are devoted to the most important of the Protestant reformers, Martin Luther. The first of these discusses his trajectory from an obscure Augustinian monk and university professor in 1517 to an international figure who defied pope and emperor by 1521. The next lecture addresses the meaning and implications of his basic theological convictions. Lecture Nine looks at Huldrych Zwingli, the Protestant preacher and leader of the Reformation in Zurich, in the broader context of the Swiss Confederation. The spread of the early evangelical movement in the towns of Germany during the early 1520s is the subject of Lecture Ten. Lectures Eleven and Twelve are the first devoted to the Radical Reformation, considering, in turn, the “social Gospel” and revolutionary demands of the “Common Man” during the Peasants’ War of 1524–1525 and the emergence of early Anabaptist separatist groups in Germanic lands after the suppression of the peasants.

Looking beyond central Europe, the next four lectures explore further key developments during the crucial decades of the 1520s and 1530s among Protestants, Catholics, and Anabaptists. Lecture Thirteen discusses the similarities and differences in the spread of early Protestantism to England, France, and the Low Countries. The fourteenth lecture considers Henry VIII’s Reformation in England, an ecclesio-political development that severed the country’s longstanding ecclesiastical ties to Rome. The theological and institutional Catholic reaction to the early Reformation is the subject of Lecture Fifteen; it treats the counter-arguments marshaled against Protestantism and radical Protestantism. Lecture Sixteen tells the remarkable story of early Dutch Anabaptism and the rise and fall of the Kingdom of Münster in 1534–1535; the practices of this group under the radical, violent Anabaptist leader Jan van Leiden reinforced authorities’ suspicion of all forms of religious radicalism.

In Lectures Seventeen through Twenty-Two, we move through the middle decades of the sixteenth century, again by looking at all three traditions but especially Protestantism and the emergence of Calvinism. Lecture Seventeen is devoted to John Calvin himself, including his life, some key emphases in his theology, and the chief Reformation institutions in his adopted city, Geneva. In the following lecture, we move south, to Italy, and discuss aspects of Catholic reform before the Council of Trent, including the founding of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola. Lecture Nineteen considers the growth and embattlement of Protestantism in Germany, France, England, and the Low Countries during the 1540s and the first part of the 1550s. This theme is pursued in more detail in Lecture Twenty, which considers the rapid growth of Calvinism in France and the Netherlands in the late 1550s and early 1560s, and in Lecture Twenty-One, devoted to John Knox and the adoption of Calvinism in Scotland in 1559–1560. Lecture Twenty-Two tells the story of Menno Simons and the difficulties faced by persecuted Mennonites in the Low Countries in the decades following the collapse of the Kingdom of Münster.
The next three lectures are devoted to fundamental developments in Roman Catholicism. The doctrinal and disciplinary aspects of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) are the subject of Lecture Twenty-Three, while Lecture Twenty-Four treats the efforts made to implement the council’s prescriptions among the Catholic clergy and laity. Lecture Twenty-Five discusses the vast missionary efforts that accompanied European trade and conquest both before and after the Council of Trent, in both Asia and the Americas, noting parallels to concurrent efforts made in Catholic Europe.

Lectures Twenty-Six through Twenty-Nine focus on the conflicts and coexistence of Catholics and Protestants in the later sixteenth century in four different countries or regions. The French Wars of Religion (1562–1598) from the Massacre of Vassy to the Edict of Nantes are treated in Lecture Twenty-Six. Next, we turn to the Low Countries and the Dutch Revolt against Spain, chronicling the emergence of an independent United Provinces of the Netherlands and the foundations of a Calvinist Netherlands and a Catholic Belgium in the modern era. Lecture Twenty-Eight examines the religious spectrum of Elizabethan England, including conformist Protestants of the Church of England, godly Puritans who wanted a Christianity more in the continental Calvinist mold, and dissenting Catholics who were loyal to Rome. Moving to central Europe after the Peace of Augsburg (1555), Lecture Twenty-Nine discusses confessionalization, the cooperative efforts between churches and states, whether Lutheran, Catholic, or Calvinist, in the territorial states of the Holy Roman Empire.

The next three lectures pursue these national narratives through the first half of the seventeenth century. Lecture Thirty contrasts the trend toward anti-Calvinist Catholic uniformity in France and the southern Netherlands with the religious pluralism and comparatively broad de facto religious toleration in the United Provinces, noting too the continuing theological debates about grace in Protestant Arminianism, as well as Catholic Jansenism. Lecture Thirty-One chronicles the bloodiest of all the era’s wars of religion, the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), which was fought largely in central Europe but involved nearly every European country at one point or another. The religious tensions in early seventeenth-century England, the English Revolution, and the Restoration of 1660 are treated in Lecture Thirty-Two.

The final four lectures address wide-ranging, comparative, analytical questions about the nature, influence, and legacy of Christianity during the era. The thirty-third lecture attempts to assess the impact of the religious transformations on different aspects of early modern society and culture, including the family and marriage, religious art, and literacy and education. Lecture Thirty-Four seeks to evaluate whether and in what senses the Reformations can be said to have been successful and whether certain traditions were more successful than others. The penultimate lecture offers reflections on large-scale changes in European Christianity, including the era’s volatile combination of shared and incompatible beliefs across distinct communities of faith. The final lecture notes the supreme irony by which the religious commitments and conflicts of the era helped contribute to the rise of secular institutions and ideas, to a world in which Christianity was eventually marginalized but not replaced.
Lecture Twenty-Five
Going Global: Catholic Missions

Scope: In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Catholicism became a global religion through the missionary efforts that accompanied Spanish and Portuguese colonization and trade. In central and South America, missionaries typically pursued strategies that sought to eliminate existing beliefs and practices. In India, Japan, and China, missionaries followed the routes of Portuguese traders and encountered cultures that they admired for their sophistication. In these areas, they frequently pursued accommodationist missionary strategies that sought to build bridges between indigenous beliefs and practices and Christianity.

Outline

I. Catholic missionary activity accompanied the European expansion of trade and colonization that began at the end of the fifteenth century.
   A. The impetus to win converts for Christianity was an ongoing aspect of medieval Christianity, both in Europe and further afield.
   B. In the early modern period, a massive expansion of Catholic missionary activity followed Spanish and Portuguese colonization and trade.
      1. In 1492, Pope Alexander VI recognized the right of Spain and Portugal to colonize newly encountered lands in exchange for promoting and protecting the spread of Catholicism.
      2. Most missionaries were members of male religious orders, especially Franciscans, Dominicans, and from the 1540s, Jesuits.
   C. Although global Catholic missionary activity began long before the Council of Trent, in certain respects, it paralleled the post-Tridentine efforts to create a better informed, more devout Catholic laity.

II. In central and South America, Catholic missionary efforts accompanied Portuguese and especially Spanish colonization and encountered cultures judged less advanced than European culture.
   A. Spanish missions in Mexico and South America followed colonizers concerned with extracting wealth and subjugating native populations.
      1. The brutalities of colonizers harmed missionary efforts.
      2. New World missionaries could and sometimes did make use of force themselves in ways that their Asian counterparts could not.
   B. Numerous missionaries, as well as theorists, in Spain defended the rights of the Indians against the depredations of the colonizers.
      1. Bartolomé de Las Casas was a tireless defender of Indians and a harsh critic of Spaniard atrocities and interference in the missions.
      2. In Spain, Francisco de Vitoria defended the Indians' human rights against Aristotelian arguments that they were “natural slaves.”
      3. In 1537, Pope Paul III officially condemned treatment of the Indians as less than fully human.
      4. The Spanish crown repeatedly condemned abuses, but the distance between Spain and the New World made enforcement impossible.
   C. Missionaries used divergent strategies with widely varying success.
      1. Many missionaries learned and printed prayers and catechisms in native tongues, and showed considerable awareness of the Indians’ customs. They usually favored eradication of, rather than accommodation to, native beliefs and practices.
      2. A stress on conferring baptism, frequently sub-par parish clergy, the persistence of indigenous beliefs and practices, and the lack of development of a native clergy, all contributed to a frequently superficial grasp of Catholicism by indigenous converts.
   D. Beginning in 1609, to avoid colonial interference and superficial Christianization, the Jesuits created missionary-led settlements among the Guarani Indians in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil.
III. In India, Japan, and China, where Catholic missionary efforts accompanied Portuguese trade, indigenous cultures were considered highly sophisticated.

A. The fact that Portugal did not colonize the sophisticated Asian peoples with whom it traded affected European missionary activity.
   1. In Asia, missionaries’ use of force was not an option, nor were traders as prone to atrocities as were colonizers of the Americas.
   2. Many missionaries admired the Asian cultures among which they sought converts to a greater degree than their counterparts did in the New World.

B. Although Goa was a central Portuguese trading center and an important Episcopal see, Catholicism did not make major inroads in India.

C. In Japan, Catholicism enjoyed a widespread growth in the late sixteenth century before it was severely persecuted and left greatly diminished in the early seventeenth century.
   1. The Jesuit Francis Xavier, the most famous missionary of the era, brought Catholicism to Japan in 1549 and immediately had significant success.
   2. From the 1550s into the 1580s, Catholic missionary efforts were highly successful, receiving political support, making thousands of converts, and establishing churches and seminaries.
   3. Beginning in the 1580s, but much more so in the early seventeenth century, a dramatic reversal ensued: the missionaries were expelled, Catholicism was prohibited, and a massive persecution of Catholics drove underground the small number who eventually remained.

D. In China, Catholicism enjoyed moderate success, largely through accommodationist missionary strategies. Such strategies, however, ultimately led to controversies that harmed the mission.
   1. The real founder of the Chinese mission was the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci, who entered the country in 1582 and learned the language and culture.
   2. Ricci and the Jesuits in general permitted accommodation to certain Confucian customs in order to promote conversions.
   3. Other missionaries, including Spanish Dominicans from the Philippines, condemned accommodation and sparked the Chinese Rites controversy, which harmed the mission.

IV. Catholic missionary activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries transformed Catholicism into a global religion.

A. In 1622, Pope Gregory XV created the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which sought to coordinate missionary efforts, recover control of the missions from Spain and Portugal, and foster training of indigenous priests.

B. Despite the elements from indigenous cultures and religions, the official institutions and culture of Catholicism abroad remained strongly European.

Essential Reading:
Jean Delumeau, Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire, pt. 1, ch. 4.

Supplementary Reading:
Jonathan Spence, The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci.

Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways did evangelization in colonial Spain differ from evangelization in Asia?
2. What particular challenges did missionaries face in promoting Catholicism in Asia and the Americas that were not faced by their post-Tridentine European counterparts?
Lecture Twenty-Six
The French Wars of Religion

Scope: The French Wars of Religion, a series of eight wars between Catholics and Huguenots, took place between 1562 and 1598. Huguenot influence remained strong during the 1560s, then suffered a terrible blow in the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres of 1572. After Henry III’s assassination in 1589, the Catholic League’s resistance to the Protestant Henry of Navarre blocked his accession, which was cleared only by the new king’s conversion to Catholicism in 1593. This paved the way for the end of the Wars of Religion. The Edict of Nantes (1598) granted Huguenots a protected religious minority status under specified conditions in France.

Outline

I. The French Wars of Religion pitted Huguenots against Catholics in a series of eight wars in which religion and politics were deeply intertwined.
   A. Dynastic politics intersected with religious conflict among the leading families of France, the three most important of which were associated with different religio-political factions.
      1. The Valois were the reigning royal family until 1589 and generally pursued a policy of moderate Catholic conciliation.
      2. The Bourbons championed Calvinism.
      3. The Guises defended an uncompromising Catholicism.
   B. Each of the individual wars, which overlapped with popular violence and attracted international support, generally ended with temporary truces and terms that satisfied neither Catholics nor Huguenots.
      1. The Huguenots were aided by certain German Protestant states, while the arch-Catholics were aided by Spain.
      2. Besides overt military conflict, the wars were characterized by ongoing, local, episodic violence. Catholics and Protestants tended to exhibit distinctive ritual forms of popular religious violence.
   C. In the decade after the Massacre of Vassy in 1562, Huguenots largely maintained their strength and established many more new churches.

II. The St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre of 1572 was the first great watershed of the Wars of Religion and an enormous blow against the Huguenots.
   A. The massacre was prompted by the Paris wedding of Catherine de Medici’s daughter, Marguerite of Valois, and Henry of Navarre.
      1. The wedding was intended to help overcome the religious violence by uniting two prominent members of the warring factions.
      2. Most of the important Huguenot leaders were in Paris for the wedding, which took place on August 18, 1572.
   B. In Paris, the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres combined political assassination with widespread popular violence.
      1. After the Huguenot leader Gaspard de Coligny was wounded in an assassination attempt on August 22, the royal council decided to preempt anticipated retaliation by killing several dozen Huguenot leaders early on the morning of August 24.
      2. Word spread in the streets of Paris, precipitating a widespread orgy of killing of Huguenots in the city that left some 2,000 dead.
      3. The St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre should not be seen as a sensational aberration but as the culmination of an escalation of mutual violence that stretched back to the late 1550s.
   C. In the weeks after the violence in Paris, similar massacres broke out in other cities in France, killing probably about 3,000 more people.
   D. As a whole, the massacres of 1572 severely damaged the cause of French Protestants and had widespread, long-lasting impact.

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1. Thousands of Huguenots returned to Catholicism, shrinking the numbers of French Protestants dramatically.
2. Those Huguenots who remained Protestant were steeled in their resolve. The most important French treatises of Calvinist resistance theory were written in the wake of the massacres.
3. Warfare between Catholics and Huguenots resumed.

III. After the Huguenot Henry of Navarre became the presumptive heir to the throne in 1584, the Catholic League emerged as a major force, creating a three-way power struggle.
A. Henry III had been king since 1574 but had fathered no children by the time his brother Francis, the Duke of Anjou, died in 1584. This left Henry of Navarre as the closest heir to the throne.
B. With a Protestant in line for the throne, the Catholic League revived with a vengeance.
   1. The Catholic League contended that the king of France must be Catholic and insisted that Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, Henry of Navarre’s uncle, should be heir to the throne.
   2. The Catholic League viewed Henry III with suspicion for being soft on the Huguenots, and in 1584, entered into an alliance with Philip II of Spain, France’s traditional political enemy.
   1. The Guises led the League with many adherents in French cities across a significant social swath of the Catholic population.

IV. Henry of Navarre became king only after converting to Catholicism, which helped end the Wars of Religion with the Edict of Nantes in 1598.
A. Humiliatingly forced out of Paris by the Catholic League, Henry III had the Duke and Cardinal of Guise assassinated in December 1588 and allied with Henry of Navarre in the spring of 1589.
B. In August 1589, Henry III was in turn assassinated, which left Henry of Navarre as king, despite enormous resistance from the Catholic League.
C. Henry battled against the League, which began to break apart. In July 1593, he converted to Catholicism and entered Paris in March 1594.
   1. Although some local resistance by the Catholic League persisted, Henry’s conversion undermined its basic raison d’être.
   2. After decades of war, the conversion of the once-Protestant, now-Catholic king helped to stabilize the country.
D. In 1598, the Edict of Nantes provided a framework for the coexistence of Catholics and a Huguenot minority in France.
   1. Huguenots were granted freedom of worship in the approximately 200 towns that they controlled in 1597 and on their nobles’ estates, access to education and royal offices, and a number of garrisons.
   2. Catholicism was recognized as the official religion of France, and Catholics were granted freedom of worship in Huguenot towns.
   3. The Edict envisioned that eventually Catholicism would be restored to the whole of France.
E. The Wars of Religion left France exhausted and damaged by nearly four decades of war. They demonstrated the value of absolute monarchy as a central unifying institution in a religiously divided country.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Philip Benedict, Rouen during the Wars of Religion.
Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways are the Wars of Religion in France similar to the Schmalkaldic War in Germany during the late 1540s? How are they different?
2. How do the French Wars of Religion represent a continuation of the logic of religious conflict in France from the 1520s to the early 1560s?
Lecture Twenty-Seven
Religion and Politics in the Dutch Revolt

Scope: After the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566, Philip II sent the Duke of Alva to the Low Countries to punish its perpetrators. Alva’s harsh retribution provoked resistance led by William of Orange. This precipitated an anti-Spanish revolt that took much of the northern provinces from Spanish control. Beginning in the late 1570s, much of Flanders and Brabant was reclaimed by Calvinists as well. Although William of Orange strove to preserve a united Low Countries, an anti-Calvinist backlash in the southern provinces helped the success of a Spanish counteroffensive under the Duke of Parma. The north repudiated Philip I and Spain and declared itself a new nation, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, protecting Calvinism as the official public church.

Outline

I. The three distinct axes of politics and war (Dutch-Spanish), religious allegiance (Catholic-Calvinist), and doctrinal rigor (strict-liberal) combined to shape the most consequential years of the Dutch Revolt.

II. Philip II of Spain sent the Duke of Alva to punish the perpetrators of the Iconoclastic Fury, which prompted Dutch resistance to Spanish oppression, led by William of Orange.
   A. Despite the dissipation of the Calvinist rebellion by the spring of 1567, the Duke of Alva administered severe punitive measures.
      1. Alva oversaw the Council of Troubles (“Council of Blood”), which executed over 1,100 people between 1567 and 1573.
      2. The Dutch widely resented the taxes imposed by Alva.
   B. Alva's repression deeply affected Dutch Calvinism.
      1. Thousands of Calvinists returned to Roman Catholicism.
      2. Thousands of Calvinists fled The Netherlands, especially to England and Germany, where the refugee community in Emden was especially important and hosted a crucial synod in 1571.
      3. Those Calvinists who remained in the Low Countries were forced underground. They maintained ties to the exile communities.
   C. Beginning in 1568, resistance to Alva emerged under the leadership of the exiled nobleman William of Orange, who conducted unsuccessful invasions of the Low Countries in 1568 and 1571.
      1. William of Orange's campaign against Alva was cast in the patriotic, political language of resistance to Spanish tyranny.
      2. Because early resistance to the Spanish was not primarily religious in character, many Catholics who resented Alva were sympathetic to William of Orange.

III. Between 1572 and the early 1580s, militant Calvinists and William of Orange’s troops retook much of the Low Countries from the Spanish.
   A. In April 1572, Dutch Calvinist pirates known as the “Sea Beggars” began recapturing towns in Holland and were soon aided by William of Orange’s sizeable army, itself assisted by Calvinist exile communities.
      1. Although freedom of worship for Catholics was proclaimed in Holland in 1572, the Sea Beggars massacred many Catholic clergy.
      2. William of Orange acknowledged his debt to militant Calvinists by joining the congregation in Delft in 1573, yet he kept his deeper commitment to religious toleration.
   B. By mid-1573, most of the significant towns of Holland were under Dutch control.
      1. The takeover relied on siege warfare and Sea Beggar aggression, although urban magistrates remained wary of Calvinist ambitions.
      2. Catholic ecclesiastical property and possessions were taken and much of the money was used for the war effort against Spain.
   C. Beginning in 1577, city governments supported a more aggressive Calvinism in Brabant and Flanders.
      1. The Calvinist takeover was aided by the mutinies of unpaid Spanish soldiers, most dramatically in Antwerp.
2. William of Orange worried that militant Calvinism would alienate Catholics and political moderates from the anti-Spanish cause.

IV. The consolidation of Dutch gains in the north led to the creation of the United Provinces of the Netherlands in 1579. In the south, Calvinist militancy led to a Catholic backlash, helping Spanish repossess by 1585.

A. In 1579, the Union of Utrecht provided for the political unification of the seven northern provinces against Spain and soon led to the elimination of public Catholic worship.
   1. A coalescence of the political and religious axes in the north made it impossible to be openly Catholic and anti-Spanish.
   2. The northern polarization between Catholics and anti-Catholics ended the dreams of William of Orange of a religiously broad middle path uniting the Netherlands.
   3. In 1581, the United Provinces formally repudiated the authority of Philip II and Spain.

B. Beginning in the late 1570s, the Spanish army regrouped and recaptured the southern provinces, with significant popular support.
   1. Alessandro Farnese, the Duke of Parma, reestablished Spanish control in the south by 1585.
   2. Significant disaffection with Calvinist militancy led many moderates and Catholics to favor Spanish control and Catholicism over Calvinism.
   3. The reestablishment of Catholicism under Spanish control in the south precipitated a massive Protestant migration to the Dutch Republic.

C. Despite continued conflicts between the Dutch Protestant north and the Spanish Catholic south, the basic religio-political template of the modern Netherlands and Belgium was in place by the late 1580s.

V. Calvinism became the official, but not the imposed, church of the Dutch Republic, where a de facto religious pluralism soon prevailed.

A. Many urban magistrates in the Dutch Republic had not opposed Catholicism in order to impose a rigorous Calvinism, but instead favored a pragmatic policy of religious toleration.
   1. Calvinism became the only publicly recognized church in the Dutch Republic, but private worship by other groups, including Catholics and Mennonites, was permitted.
   2. The magistrates’ attitudes and policies often frustrated committed Calvinists, with whom they frequently clashed over the appointment of ministers, schools, and relief for the poor.

B. The contrast between religious rigor and latitude in Dutch Calvinism was reflected in the distinction between full members and a larger number of “sympathizers.”

Essential Reading:
Geoffrey Parker, The Dutch Revolt, chs. 2–5.

Supplementary Reading:
Benjamin J. Kaplan, Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578–1620.

Questions to Consider:
1. How did the geo-political realities of the Low Countries permit a different solution to the conflict between Catholics and Calvinists than in the French Wars of Religion?
2. On balance, does the Dutch Revolt seem more of a political than a religious movement, or is trying to distinguish the two an idle occupation?
Scope: From the outset of her regime, Queen Elizabeth I wanted to reestablish a Protestant Church of England in a manner that would prove as politically undistruptive and socially integrative as possible. Numerous traditionalist aspects of the English church and its worship offended Puritans, those committed Protestants who thought that the Reformation had not been completed in England and should be based on continental Calvinist models. Their desires for further reforms produced conflict with the ecclesiastical status quo. Catholics rejected the Protestant church settlement outright, whether they were part of the survivalist remnant from Mary’s reign or among the committed missionaries and those whom they reconciled to the Church. By the end of Elizabeth’s reign, Catholics had become a small religious minority in England. The longevity of the Elizabethan regime was crucial to the process by which England eventually became a Protestant country. Seen as a whole, Elizabethan Christianity consisted of both Protestants and Catholics, who existed on spectrums ranging from strong commitment to indifference.

Outline

I. The Elizabethan religious settlement was undeniably Protestant in its doctrine, yet retained traditionalist elements in its worship and discipline.
   A. Queen Elizabeth sought to make her religious settlement socially and politically integrative in the hope of avoiding religious civil war.
   B. In the 1560s and 1570s, the religious changes of the Elizabethan regime had not widely affected the population at large.
      1. The swings in English ecclesiastical polity between 1530 and 1560 led many to suspect that another shift was around the corner.
      2. A lack of trained ministers hampered attempts to instill Protestantism among the people.

II. Puritans were Protestants in the English Church who thought that the Elizabethan regime had unacceptably compromised true religion for the sake of political expediency and social tranquility.
   A. Many of the Marian exiles, exposed to Calvinism on the Continent during the 1550s, wanted a purer, more rigorous Protestantism in England after their return.
   B. Puritans differed from their conformist Elizabethan contemporaries not by their doctrine, but by the degree of their commitment and zeal.
   C. Puritans’ desire was to bring the Reformation to completion in the English church, a goal with both constructive and critical aspects.
      1. Puritans pushed for a liturgy based on scripture and for more preaching in worship, education, and catechetical instruction. They established a significant presence in certain Oxford and Cambridge colleges.
      2. Puritans sought to eliminate traditional clerical vestments, traditional liturgical postures and gestures, religious images and statues in churches, and the use of the prayer book.
   D. Puritans’ fervor was often socially and politically divisive, even though they were in no sense deliberately subversive crypto-radicals.
   E. The Puritans’ actions for change led to tension with the established church, which can be divided into two stages of an Elizabethan Puritan movement.
      1. In the 1560s to the mid-1570s, Puritans sought changes in worship but not fundamental changes in ecclesiastical structure.
      2. In the 1570s and 1580s, the Presbyterian movement sought an abolition of bishops and their replacement by Calvinist consistorys.
      3. By the early 1590s, Elizabeth had snuffed out Puritanism as a semi-organized movement.
   F. Puritans continued to lead devout lives from the 1590s on, offering mutual support in domestic, voluntary settings.
III. During Elizabeth’s long reign, the number of English Catholics dwindled despite a vigorous missionary effort, but Catholics persisted as a religious minority.

A. A significant Catholic remnant early in Elizabeth’s reign had waned by its end as Marian priests died off and Protestantism put down roots.
   1. Catholicism remained most vigorous in northern England.
   2. Several hundred committed clergy and laity became exiles for their Catholicism in Flanders and northern France.

B. Recusants were those English Catholics who refused to attend Protestant worship, in defiance of the law.
   1. Pope Pius IV condemned Catholic participation in English services as sinful and threatening.
   2. Those who remained Catholic yet attended Protestant services to avoid the recusancy fines were known as “church papists.”

C. Beginning in 1574, English priests trained on the Continent were sent to England to reconcile men and women to the Catholic Church.
   1. The English Catholic seminary at Douai-Rheims was founded by William Allen in 1568 and became an important training center for missionary priests.
   2. In 1578, the English College in Rome was established to train missionary priests; in 1580, the first Jesuit missionaries went to England.
   3. In a politically volatile climate, the English government made severe new laws against the missionary priests and those who aided them in the 1580s, leading to the execution of some 180 Catholics between 1581 and 1603.

D. By the end of Elizabeth’s reign, Catholicism had become a minority sect, largely limited to pockets in the north and to the country estates of the Catholic gentry and aristocracy.

IV. Zealous Puritans criticized the Elizabethan church and committed Catholics rejected it, but ingrained habits of obedience to authority helped hold it together.

A. Neither Protestantism nor Catholicism was a homogeneous whole in Elizabethan England.

B. The longevity of Elizabeth’s reign (1558–1603) was crucial to the process by which England eventually became a Protestant country.

C. The large majority of men and women probably practiced a sort of low-intensity, conformist Protestantism.

Essential Reading:
Christopher Haigh, English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors, chs. 14–16, conclusion.

Supplementary Reading:
Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement.
Alan Dures, English Catholicism, 1558–1642: Continuity and Change.

Questions to Consider:
1. What similarities exist between English Catholic recusants and French or Dutch Calvinists who abstained from Catholic worship?
2. How would the experience of English Puritans have been different from that of Genevan Calvinists?
Lecture Twenty-Nine
Confessionalization in Germany

Scope: Confessionalization refers to the process whereby states and churches worked together to create and strengthen distinct Christian traditions, whether Lutheran, Calvinist, or Catholic, in the territories of early modern Germany. Analogous processes were at work in other European countries beginning in the sixteenth and lasting into the eighteenth centuries. Although the Peace of Augsburg gave German Lutheranism political recognition, a deep rift between “Philippists” and “Genuine Lutherans” had opened in the late 1540s and persisted until the Formula of Concord in 1577. Meanwhile, Lutheran pastors had difficulties inculcating orthodox beliefs and behaviors among rural populations. A number of Lutheran princes converted to Calvinism and introduced it in their territories beginning in the 1560s. German Catholicism, which reached its nadir around 1550, rebounded in the later sixteenth century. Confessionalization reveals the deepening dependence of churches on states in the sixteenth century. It institutionalized and hardened the divisions among Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics, even though it was always an incomplete process subject to local variations and the limitations of early modern institutions.

Outline

I. Confessionalization is the process by which distinct but parallel Christian traditions and identities—Lutheran, Calvinist, or Catholic—were created and strengthened across the population as a whole in particular territories.
   A. A symbiotic relationship between territorial states and confessional churches was typically important to the process of confessionalization.
   B. The political patchwork of the Holy Roman Empire facilitated confessional pluralism, in contrast to what took place in monarchical regimes, such as those in England or France.
   C. Confessionalization was a long-term process lasting from the sixteenth century through the seventeenth and into the eighteenth.

II. Despite political recognition in the Peace of Augsburg (1555), Lutheranism was beset by serious problems in Germany in the late sixteenth century.
   A. Beginning during the Augsburg Interim, a serious breach opened among German Lutherans between “Philippists” and “Genuine Lutherans.”
      1. The more moderate Philippists favored accommodation with Catholicism, whereas the hard-line Genuine Lutherans favored resistance, although they differed in other respects as well.
      2. In 1577, the Formula of Concord, an agreement subscribed to by a majority of the Lutheran territories from the two sides, provided the basis for subsequent Lutheran orthodoxy.
   B. The inculcation of Lutheran beliefs and practices was more successful in cities than for the majority living in rural villages.
      1. Despite intensive preaching and catechetical instruction, visitation records reveal widespread ignorance of basic Lutheran teachings, considerable religious apathy, and glaring behavioral vices.
      2. The records show anticlericalism directed at Lutheran pastors.
      3. Widespread evidence also exists for the persistence of many traditional Catholic practices and sensibilities condemned by official Lutheran teaching.
   C. Clerical pedagogical techniques, as well as lay disaffection with the Reformation, help to account for the tepid response to Lutheranism among ordinary folk in rural areas.
      1. Lutheran pastors’ emphasis on the written and spoken word as the sole means for teaching Christianity was ill-suited to those whose communicative orientation was still largely oral and visual.
      2. Lay support for the Reformation waned once it became clear that the “priesthood of all believers” was not going to translate into any drastic social or political improvements.
III. Beginning in the 1560s, a number of Lutheran princes embraced Calvinism and sought to impose it in their territories.

A. In Germany’s “second Reformation,” more than a dozen princes adopted Calvinism and introduced it in their respective territories.

B. The first Lutheran prince to turn Calvinist was Frederick III of the Palatinate, in 1561; his territory remained the most important German Calvinist region in subsequent decades.
   1. The University of Heidelberg became a center of Calvinist learning.
   2. The Palatinate’s ecclesiastical ordinances, as well as the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), were influential models adopted by other German Calvinist princes.

C. The introduction of Calvinism in Germany violated the terms of the Peace of Augsburg, was resented by princes who remained Lutheran, and spurred the conflict between Philippists and Genuine Lutherans.

IV. After the Peace of Augsburg, Catholicism recovered in Germany.

A. Catholicism reached a low ebb in Germany sometime around 1550.

B. Beginning in the 1550s and accelerating in the 1580s, three main factors played an important part in the process of Catholic recovery in Germany.
   1. The German College was established in Rome in 1552 to train “new model” parish priests for work in Germany.
   2. The Jesuits established their first college in Germany in 1544 and, by the 1630s, Germany and Austria had 3,000 Jesuits and 65 of their colleges.
   3. Bavaria became the model of a German Catholic confessional state under a succession of dukes committed to promoting a vital Catholicism.

V. Confessionalization reveals state dominance of churches, the hardening of confessional divisions, and the limits of institutional power in early modern Europe.

A. The process of confessionalization reinforced the dependence of churches on state power, extending the domestication of the early Reformation after 1525. Whether Lutheran, Calvinist, or Catholic, pastors and priests can work openly only if rulers permit them to.

B. Confessionalization institutionalized and hardened the divisions among Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism in Germany.

C. Confessionalization remained an incomplete and slow process, subject to significant local variations and the limitations of early modern institutions.

Essential Reading:
R. Po-chia Hsia, Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550–1750.

Supplementary Reading:
Gerald Strauss, Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation.

Questions to Consider:
1. What sorts of parallels can be observed in the process of confessionalization in Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic territories in Germany after the Peace of Augsburg?
2. In what ways did Lutheran confessionalization differ from the early evangelical movement of the 1520s?
Lecture Thirty

France and the Low Countries in the 1600s

Scope:

In the 17th century, the southern Netherlands, United Provinces, and France resolved problems posed by Christian pluralism in different ways. The Low Countries split along religio-political lines, with a dominant post-Tridentine Catholicism under Spanish control in the southern provinces. Magistrates in the United Provinces protected the state’s official Calvinism but followed a pragmatic policy of toleration of religious minorities for economic reasons. In France, the Huguenots endured a gradual erosion of their privileges culminating in the Edict of Nantes' revocation by Louis XIV in 1685. Among both Reformed Protestants and Catholics, questions about grace and free will refused to go away and showed their continuing vitality in Dutch Arminianism and French Jansenism in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Outline

I. After 1585, the southern Netherlands returned to Spanish control and in the next decades, experienced post-Tridentine Catholic confessionalization.
   A. The Spanish archdukes controlled the implementation of post-Tridentine Catholicism in the southern Netherlands.
      1. They patronized traditional shrines and promoted religious orders.
      2. In the seventeenth century, the secular clergy’s education, pay, and pastoral care improved as Flanders recovered from the effects of the war between Spain and the Netherlands.
      3. The laity generally complied with liturgical observances and participated in traditional devotions, but members often resented the stricter moral demands being made on them.
   B. The problem of Protestant-Catholic coexistence was solved in the Low Countries by a religio-political bifurcation, Calvinists and Mennonites migrated to the United Provinces; the south became resolutely Catholic.

II. In the United Provinces, a de facto religious pluralism emerged.
   A. Despite its importance in the Dutch Revolt, Calvinism grew slowly and its adherents remained a small minority in the United Provinces until well into the seventeenth century.
      1. The number of Calvinists remained small in part because ministers and congregations refused to compromise rigor and discipline for the sake of an inclusive state church.
      2. Calvinists remained only a “dominant minority” because influential Dutch magistrates, motivated partly by economic concerns, tolerated different religious groups, including Jews, as long as they were socially and politically compliant.
   B. Dutch Catholics remained numerous throughout the early modern period, especially in the southern part of the United Provinces.
      1. In many towns, Catholic masses in private homes were an open secret.
      2. Beginning in 1582, a Holland mission began supplying priests trained at Cologne or Louvain.
   C. Dutch Mennonites prospered and increasingly assimilated into the wider society during the seventeenth-century “Golden Age,” especially in Holland’s cities.
      1. Some Mennonite ministers considered affluence a greater threat to religious identity than the persecution of their sixteenth-century predecessors had been.
      2. Mennonite martyrologists hoped that the legacy of heroic Anabaptist martyrs could inspire comfortable urban Mennonites and reunite as many Anabaptist groups as possible.
   D. In all of Europe, the seventeenth-century United Provinces most nearly prefigured the toleration of religious pluralism that characterizes modern Western states.

III. In France, the situation of the Huguenots grew gradually worse during the seventeenth century, until finally Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685.
   A. Huguenot privileges were eroded between the military loss of La Rochelle in 1629 and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.
1. With a respite from French military conflicts in 1659, Louis XIV’s measures progressively restricted Huguenot activities and privileges in the 1660s and 1670s.

2. After the revocation in 1685 and a de facto policy of pressured conversion to Catholicism, some 200,000 Huguenots secretly emigrated from France.

B. Huguenots and Catholics in France developed sharper confessional identities and associated less with each other as the seventeenth century wore on.

1. French Huguenots developed the siege mentality of a cultural elite, which heightened their sense of Calvinist election.

2. A powerful post-Tridentine Catholicism increasingly permeated the overwhelming Catholic majority, from powerful bishops through parish clergy to members of the laity.

IV. Theological controversy concerning grace and predestination remained alive among Protestants and Catholics in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in Dutch Arminianism and French Jansenism.

A. Within Reformed Protestantism, Arminianism claimed a role for human cooperation in the process of Christian salvation.

1. Arminianism takes its name from Jacob Arminius (1560–1609), a theologian who had studied in Geneva but came to dispute Calvin’s understanding of predestination and free will.

2. In the 1610s, the dispute between Arminians and Calvinists in Holland became politicized and divisive. It was settled in favor of Calvinism at the Synod of Dort in 1618.

B. In Catholicism, Jansenism placed greater emphasis on predestination, human sinfulness, and moral rigorism, and less on human cooperation with divine grace, than did most Catholic theologians.

1. Jansenism takes its name from Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), a Louvain theologian who wrote a monumental exposition of Augustine’s theology in the late 1620s.

2. Jansenism found its strongest following in France, most famously in the Port-Royal convent near Paris and in the person of Blaise Pascal.

Essential Reading:


Supplementary Reading:


Questions to Consider:
1. How did the different political standing of Dutch Calvinists and French Huguenots in the seventeenth century affect their respective experiences?

2. How do the examples of the Low Countries and France illustrate the phenomenon of state control over churches, similar to that seen with confessionalization in Germany?
Lecture Thirty-One
The Thirty Years’ War: Religion and Politics

Scope: The Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), the most destructive of all the early modern European wars of religion, arose out of longstanding religious and political tensions in the Holy Roman Empire, then passed through four distinct stages. Up through 1629, a militant Counter-Reformation Catholicism under Ferdinand II dominated Protestant forces, but a dramatic reversal occurred under the leadership of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus from 1630 to 1632. The last years of the war were the most destructive, with France’s decision utterly to exhaust an already weak Empire. The Peace of Westphalia, which ended the war in 1648, ended the Holy Roman Empire as a major political force, established the basic religio-political map of modern Europe, and left France as Europe’s dominant political power.

Outline

I. The complex political and religious tensions of the Holy Roman Empire were the matrix for the origin of the Thirty Years’ War.

A. Political tensions between emperors and territorial princes, as well as religious differences among Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics, were a volatile combination in the early seventeenth century.

B. Two opposed confederations combining religious commitment with political power emerged in central Europe at the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century.
   1. In 1608, the Calvinist Frederick IV of the Palatinate formed a Protestant Union against increasingly aggressive Counter-Reformation Catholicism in central Europe.
   2. In 1609, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria headed a Catholic League meant to counter the Protestant Union and to protect Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire.

C. The election of the intensely Catholic Ferdinand of Austria as king of Calvinist Bohemia in 1617 provoked the defenestration of Prague, the event that touched off the Thirty Years’ War.
   1. When Ferdinand II was elected emperor in 1619, Frederick V of the Palatinate, the new head of the Protestant Union, was proclaimed king of Bohemia against Ferdinand’s claims.
   2. No one expected that a local conflict would eventually swell into the most devastating of all the wars of early modern Europe.

II. The political and military complexities of the Thirty Years’ War fall into four distinct phases before the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

A. During the Bohemian phase of the war (1618–1625), militant Catholicism was in the driver’s seat under the guidance of Ferdinand II.
   1. Ferdinand II received military support from Catholic allies; Frederick V was hampered by problems in the Protestant Union.
   2. In late 1620, Catholic commander Johann Tilly defeated Protestant forces in the Battle of the White Mountain, after which Frederick V was deposed as King of Bohemia and lost the Palatinate as well.

B. The Danish phase of the war (1625–1629) was the high water mark of Counter-Reformation Catholicism during the Thirty Years’ War.
   1. Ferdinand II, seeking a Catholic recovery of the entire Empire, was aided by Tilly’s and von Wallenstein’s military successes.
   2. The Edict of Restitution (1629) mandated the restoration of Catholic properties and reiterated the illegal status of Calvinism under the terms of the Peace of Augsburg.

C. The Swedish phase of the war (1630–1635) achieved a dramatic Protestant success under the leadership of Gustavus Adolphus.
   1. The Lutheran king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, advanced into Germany against Ferdinand II’s forces and increased the size of his army as he went, aided by Dutch money.
   2. At the behest of Richelieu, minister to Louis XIII, the French subordinated religious sympathies to political concerns by providing Gustavus Adolphus with money for his campaign.
   3. At the Battle of Breitenfeld (1631), Gustavus Adolphus inflicted a massive defeat on the Catholic army under Tilly. But he died in battle the following year, weakening Sweden’s position.
4. With both sides weakened, the Peace of Prague was concluded in 1635, bringing the Swedish phase of the war to a close.

D. France’s military involvement in the French phase of the war (1635–1648) inflicted massive destruction on central Europe.
   1. At Richelieu’s behest, the French struck militarily against an already weakened Empire, with huge armies plundering and spreading disease among central European armies and people.
   2. The religious motives, important early in the war, receded.
   3. The Empire lost an estimated seven million people during the war.

E. In 1648, the Peace of Westphalia brought the war to an end and established the basic religio-political configuration of modern Europe.
   1. The various treaties involved in the Peace of Westphalia established a framework for international relations and diplomacy in Europe that lasted into the nineteenth century.
   2. In addition to relatively minor territorial gains and losses, the Peace of Westphalia canceled the Edict of Restitution of 1629, legalized Calvinism in the Empire, and reaffirmed the main clause of the Peace of Augsburg that permitted Lutheranism.

III. The Thirty Years’ War was significant for at least five reasons.

A. The war's last years reveal the ascendancy of secular political interests over religious motives, epitomized by Richelieu’s aid to Sweden.
   1. Extending the trend of increasing state control of churches, rulers tended to subjugate religious concerns to the state’s interests.
   2. Pope Innocent X’s denunciation of the Peace of Westphalia was politely ignored, epitomizing the eclipse of the papacy as a major political player in Europe by the mid-seventeenth century.

B. The sheer scale and horror of destruction in the Thirty Years’ War made clear in an unprecedented way the costs of religious war.

C. The disruption of the Thirty Years’ War deeply derailed the process of confessionalization in central European territories, whether Lutheran, Calvinist, or Catholic.

D. With the destruction of the Thirty Years’ War, the Holy Roman Empire ceased to be a major political entity in European politics.
   1. To a greater extent than ever, individual princes were sovereign in their respective territories after the Thirty Years’ War.
   2. The Thirty Years’ War proved crucial to preventing any significant measures toward national unification in Germany for over two centuries.

E. As a result of the war, France was unquestionably the most powerful state in Europe.

Essential Reading:
Ronald G. Asch, The Thirty Years’ War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–1648.

Supplementary Reading:
Geoffrey Parker, The Thirty Years’ War.

Questions to Consider:
1. How was the Thirty Years’ War different than the Schmalkaldic War or the French Wars of Religion?
2. In what sense was the Thirty Years’ War the product of unresolved religious and political differences implicit in the Peace of Augsburg and the Empire in the later sixteenth century?
Lecture Thirty-Two
Revolution and Restoration in England

Scope: Puritans’ alarm at developments under James I and even more so under Charles I, found expression beginning in the Parliament that Charles called in late 1640. The contingencies of events and interaction of religious and political factions precipitated civil war between royal and parliamentary armies in which the latter emerged triumphant. During the upheaval of these years and the collapse of traditional monarchical and ecclesiastical institutions, religious dissent and radicalism thrived. After Cromwell’s death, Charles II was restored and the Church of England was reestablished in 1660, ending the revolutionary period.

Outline

I. Seen from a Puritan perspective, the reign of James I (1603–1625) and the first part of the reign of Charles I gave cause for alarm.
   A. During the 1610s and 1620s, Arminianism penetrated England from Holland, which angered Calvinistic Puritans.
   A. Charles I married a French Catholic princess, filled vacant bishoprics with Arminians, attacked Calvinism, and openly tolerated Catholics at his court.
   B. Religious resentments simmered during eleven years of royal “personal rule” (1629–1640), in which the king did not call a single Parliament.
   C. During the 1630s, Puritans were especially angered by the liturgical changes of Archbishop William Laud who emphasized ritual and ceremony in worship and the sacramental rather than the scriptural.

II. Charles I’s actions, combined with Puritan resentments, helped trigger the early English Revolution and the first of two civil wars.
   A. In 1637, Charles I tried to impose a new prayer book on the Scots, precipitating a Scottish rebellion that forced him to call a Parliament in the spring of 1640, although he dismissed it after just three weeks.
   B. When a Scottish army invaded England, Charles I called another Parliament in November 1640, which impeached Laud and abolished hated institutions of Charles I’s reign.
   C. In 1641, Presbyterians who wanted to abolish the office of bishops divided against moderates who sought to reform it.
   D. In the fall of 1641, a rebellion in Ireland sparked a widening of differences in Parliament into the split between royalists and parliamentarians, precipitating the first civil war (1642–1646).

III. The 1640s and 1650s in England saw two civil wars, a short-lived republic, and the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.
   A. The first civil war ended in 1646 with the parliamentarians routing the royalists and taking Charles I into custody.
   B. In 1646, Parliament established a Presbyterian church order, abolishing the offices of bishop and archbishop.
      1. The new church order did not replace the existing episcopal church structure in the later 1640s and 1650s.
      2. The breakdown of ecclesiastical order permitted the emergence of other Christian groups, known collectively as “Independents.” They were especially prominent in London and in the parliamentary army.
   C. The tremendous unrest of the years from 1647 to 1649 culminated in the execution of Charles I, the abolition of the monarchy, and the abolition of the House of Lords.
   D. The House of Commons became the sole supreme authority and established England as a republic.
   E. England’s central political leader from 1649 until his death in 1658 was Oliver Cromwell.
      1. In 1654, after becoming “Lord Protector,” Cromwell created his own state church, which was much broader and more tolerant than the Presbyterian church order of 1646.
2. One result of Cromwell’s apocalypticism was the readmission of Jews to England for the first time since the late thirteenth century.

IV. The combination of unrest, the collapse of censorship and traditional institutions, and Cromwell’s policies of toleration permitted unprecedented proliferation of religiously and politically radical groups in the 1640s-50s.

A. The Baptists rejected infant baptism in favor of believers’ baptism and had about 250 congregations in England by the late 1650s.
   1. The Calvinist/Arminian dispute divided the Baptists into Particular (Calvinist) Baptists and General (Arminian) Baptists.
   2. The Baptists’ strong apocalypticism waned as they became more assimilated into English society in the 1650s.

B. The Quakers, established by George Fox, are the only sect from mid-seventeenth-century England that has survived to the present.
   1. The Quakers eschewed liturgy and ritual, emphasizing the “inner light” in contrast to the “external word.”
   2. Quakers refused to swear oaths, pay tithes, or defer to social superiors; thus, they were viewed as subversive radicals.

C. The Ranters were the most radical, subversive group of all, advocating complete political egalitarianism and Christian moral permissivism.
   1. The Ranters espoused a kind of Christian pantheism coupled with the view that they were themselves gods.
   2. The Ranters’ radical morality held that sins were real only if individuals thought they were real, permitting believers to dispense with all moral restraints.

D. Despite their small numbers in the overall population, the proliferation of sects inspired alarm in many English contemporaries.
   1. Thomas Edwards described the profusion of sects as gangrene, a disease eating away at English society.
   2. The disruption of the English Revolution was a major influence on the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes, whose *Leviathan* appeared in 1651.

V. The Restoration of 1660 brought back the twin traditional pillars of English society, the monarchy and the English church.

A. The breakdown in religious order and proliferation of sects during the English Revolution helped to discredit radicalism.

B. The clash of religious convictions during the 1640s and 1650s helped to foster this-worldly concerns after the Restoration. Beginning in the 1650s, the English fought a series of economically motivated naval wars with the Dutch.

Essential Reading:


Supplementary Reading:
Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution*.


Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways does the English Revolution encapsulate the clash of religion and politics in the Reformation era?
2. Was there a fundamental continuity between Elizabethan Puritans and their successors in the early 1640s, or were the latter different than their Elizabethan forebears in their views of politics and the English church?
Lecture Thirty-Three
The Impact of the Reformations:
Changes in Society and Culture

Scope: The religious changes of the Reformation era had a deep, long-term influence on many aspects of early modern society and culture, including marriage and the family, religious art and architecture, and literacy and education. The Protestant and radical Protestant rejection of clerical celibacy and monasticism made marriage the only legitimate calling for men and women, even as they denied its sacramental status. Catholic authorities affirmed marriage as a sacrament but placed less emphasis on its religious significance than did Protestants, given that it remained less meritorious than celibacy. Post-Tridentine Catholicism enthusiastically embraced religious art and architecture for devotional and didactic purposes, whereas Reformed Protestantism rejected it as idolatry, and Lutheranism moderately affirmed it. Finally, both Protestant and Catholic authorities vigorously promoted education and literacy as a means to producing self-conscious, well-behaved Christians.

Outline

I. The upheavals of the Reformation era had a widespread, long-term impact on many dimensions of early modern society and culture, including marriage, women, and the family; religious art and architecture; and literacy and education.

II. The Protestant and Radical Reformations brought profound changes in the conceptualization of marriage, women, and family life.

A. Protestant reformers rejected clerical celibacy, emphasized the importance of marriage while declaring it non-sacramental, and stressed mutual obligations and responsibilities of husbands, wives, and children in the family.
   1. By eliminating clerical celibacy and monasticism, Protestantism exalted marriage as the only legitimate calling for men and women alike.
   2. Marriage was God’s provision for human lust, mutual companionship, and the stable rearing of children. Divorce became possible under certain circumstances, although as a relatively rare last resort.
   3. The patriarchal family was a domestic incubator of religious instruction and disciplined, moral behavior. All family members had reciprocal responsibilities and duties toward one another.
   4. The ecclesiastical oversight of marriage before the Reformation was assumed by marriage courts under secular jurisdiction.

B. Anabaptists generally emphasized that commitment to Christ outweighed commitment to one’s spouse, subordinating marriage as a covenant to participation in the community of believers.
   1. Anabaptists echoed medieval monasticism in emphasizing commitment to Christ above all else.
   2. Anabaptists conceived marriage as a spiritual covenant, not primarily as an outlet for lust.
   3. Anabaptists avoided the control of marriage by secular authorities.

C. Following St. Paul and tradition, Catholic authorities declared the superiority of celibacy to marriage, affirmed marriage as a sacrament, and eliminated clandestine marriages.
   1. Reacting to Protestant attacks on clerical celibacy, the Council of Trent affirmed its superiority to marriage and sought to eliminate abuses in its practice. Marriage was neither the only legitimate, nor the highest, calling for either men or women.
   2. The goodness and sacramental status of marriage was affirmed, but Catholic teaching placed less emphasis on the religious importance of marriage than did Protestants.
   3. Like Protestants, the Council of Trent opposed traditionally valid clandestine marriages, giving parents more control over their children’s marriages.
III. Reformed Protestantism rejected religious art as idolatrous, early modern Catholicism embraced it with renewed vigor, and Lutheranism occupied an intermediate position between the two.

A. The Reformed Protestant tradition, including Zwingli, Calvin, and others, rejected religious images as idols to be eliminated from any role in Christian worship.
   1. Religious images were rejected based on the prohibition of idols in the Ten Commandments and God’s transcendent unrepresentability.
   2. Wherever Reformed Protestantism was adopted, church interiors were whitewashed and images were removed. Austere worship was spatially focused on the pulpit and a central communion table.
   3. Rejecting religious images is related to the practice of iconoclasm.
   4. The shift away from religious art for public worship may have contributed to increasing depictions of secular subjects in painting.
   5. In general, most Anabaptists seem to have shared this negative view of religious images.

B. Baroque art and architecture flowered in Post-Tridentine Catholicism, which harnessed both for didactic and devotional purposes.
   1. The Council of Trent and post-Tridentine writers affirmed the legitimacy of religious art and the veneration of images but articulated a new concern with doctrinal clarity and accuracy, as well as decorum and decency.
   2. Continuing a venerable tradition, images were viewed not as idols but as means of instruction, inspiration, and devotion. As such, visual media were no more suspect than aural/oral media.
   3. The spatial openness of Baroque churches reflected the desire to focus lay attention on the Eucharistic sacrifice and on preaching.
   4. Patronage for ecclesiastical art, produced primarily for urban churches, came from the papacy and other prelates, religious orders, and the Catholic nobility.
   5. An enormous quantity of inexpensive religious art was produced for private devotion by the laity, providing a link between high and popular art.

C. The Lutheran attitude toward religious art was cautious rather than hostile, which underpinned a restrained continuation of certain forms of ecclesiastical art.
   1. Although wary of the possibility of abuse and misunderstanding, Luther himself did not regard religious images as inherently idolatrous.
   2. Woodcuts were used on a vast scale for didactic and polemical purposes in the early evangelical movement of the 1520s. They persisted to a lesser extent in subsequent decades.
   3. Lutheran ecclesiastical art was far less abundant than either late medieval or early modern Catholic art, which diminished opportunities for painters and sculptors.

IV. As means to religious ends, both the Protestant and Catholic Reformations promoted basic literacy to improve religious knowledge and moral behavior and advanced education to provide competent ministers and priests.

A. As a result of the invention of printing, the influence of Renaissance humanism, and the growing demand for educated professionals, literacy and schooling were already on the rise in the decades before the Reformation.
   1. “Literacy” meant a spectrum of skills ranging from deciphering texts aloud to composing complex writings in scholarly languages.
   2. Literacy rates throughout the era were higher in cities than in rural areas, higher among men than among women, and higher among the socioeconomically privileged than among the poor.
   3. The increase in literacy rates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would probably have happened to some extent without the Reformations.

B. The Protestant emphasis on the Bible and the word of God dovetailed with educational and catechetical efforts that led to increased literacy.
   1. In both Lutheran and Reformed Protestant regions, large numbers of schools were established that taught basic reading, while academies and universities trained ministers.
   2. The Protestant emphasis on reading the Bible coexisted with leaders’ unease about divergent individual interpretations.
   3. In general, literacy grew slowly, making significant headway especially through the seventeenth century.
C. Extensive Catholic educational efforts spanned the most elementary instruction through university teaching and led to increased literacy rates as well.

1. The Congregation for Christian Doctrine offered elementary education and basic religious instruction. It spread widely after its foundation in Milan in 1536.

2. The Jesuits eventually operated hundreds of colleges throughout Europe and in Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

3. Catholic authorities stressed devotional reading rather than direct reading of scripture, apprehensive about wayward biblical interpretations by the laity.

Supplementary Reading:
R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500–1800*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Did the affirmation of clerical celibacy necessitate a relative neglect of the religious significance of the family in Roman Catholicism?

2. How might the radical differences between Catholics and Reformed Protestants on religious images have affected their respective religious experiences and sensibilities?
Lecture Thirty-Four
Were the Reformations a Success?

Scope: Determining the success of the Reformations depends on the criteria applied. Modern criteria differ from those of early modern Protestant, Catholic, and Anabaptist leaders, those most responsible for spurring the Reformations. We find different results for the success of the Reformations depending on how broadly we cast our sights. At the broadest level of Western Christendom as a whole, the divisions in doctrine and worship were desired by no one and mark the Reformations as a great failure. In each of the three broad traditions, Protestant leaders had less success than Catholic leaders because of the former’s greater emphasis on verbally based religious knowledge, as opposed to the wider range of forms in Catholic devotion and piety. Catholic leaders could often accommodate themselves to traditional beliefs and practices, whereas Protestant leaders sought to eradicate them. In a sense, Anabaptists were the most successful, because adult commitment was a prerequisite rather than a desired product, but it came at the expense of relinquishing “Christian society.” The greatest success of the Reformations lies at the narrowest level, that of the devout minorities that each engendered.

Outline

I. Assessing the “success” of the Reformations in early modern Christianity depends on the criteria, including the geographical area and timespan, by which they are measured.
   A. The Protestant and radical Reformations could be considered successful if judged by modern criteria, such as resistance to established authority and the eventual rise of individual freedom of conscience and worship, but these were neither the criteria nor the objectives of early modern reformers.
   B. Insofar as the ultimate goal of the Reformations was the eternal salvation of Christian men and women, their success is unmeasurable.
   C. Here, I will use the basic criteria of most Protestant, Anabaptist, and Catholic leaders—the ones above all responsible for making the Reformations—and assess success in terms that they would have understood.
      1. We will examine success at three levels, from broadest to narrowest: Western Christendom as a whole, each of the three main traditions, and devout individuals in each of the three traditions.
      2. Other early modern groups (e.g., peasants, magistrates) would probably evaluate the success of the Reformations by different criteria than those of religious leaders.
      3. The success of the Reformations varied significantly, even radically, at the local level.

II. Viewed at the scale of Christendom as a whole, and of the unity of Christian doctrine and practice, the Reformations must be seen as a huge failure in the divisions they engendered.
   A. Given that all the religious leaders of the era sought a vigorous Christendom unified in doctrine and worship, none of them got what they wanted. The plural “Reformations” rather than the singular “Reformation” bespeaks a lack of success.
   B. Endless doctrinal controversies and the recurrence of religious wars from the 1520s through the 1640s testify to lack of success in reforming Christendom as a whole.

III. Each of the broad traditions enjoyed varying, but certainly limited success, in its attempts to shape committed, conscientious Christians.
   A. Protestant leaders, concerned to instill doctrinal knowledge and mold moral behavior among all men and women in Protestant regions, seem to have had less success than their Catholic and Anabaptist counterparts.
      1. Visitation records show that even decades after sermons and catechetical drill, large numbers of rural men and women remained ignorant of the basics of their faith.
      2. Protestantism was more successful in towns and cities, with their compact and more educated populations, as well as greater numbers of clergy.
      3. Because Protestant leaders sought both to instill religious knowledge and to eradicate traditional beliefs and practices deemed superstitious, they faced a doubly difficult challenge.
4. The emphasis on words in Protestantism—God’s word, preaching, printed pamphlets and treatises, verbally based worship—probably hindered its success in a largely preliterate society.

B. Catholic leaders, while concerned to instill knowledge and to mold moral behavior, were more flexible and more accommodationist than their Protestant counterparts and, therefore, more successful, although far from entirely so.
   1. In many remote rural areas of Catholic Europe (e.g., southern Italy, the Pyrenees, large areas of France), post-Tridentine missionary and catechetical efforts had little effect deep into the seventeenth century.
   2. Because Catholic leaders sought to reform and redirect much traditional piety rather than to uproot it altogether, they were more successful than their Protestant counterparts.
   3. Catholic worship remained less monodimensionally dependent on words and literacy than did Protestantism, which probably contributed to the relatively greater success of Catholic Reform.

C. The self-selecting nature of Anabaptism made it more successful than either the Protestant Reformation or Catholic Reform but without much impact on the population at large.
   1. Anabaptists usually knew their faith and behaved in self-consciously Christian ways, because only those with the requisite knowledge and commitment received baptism to begin with.
   2. Not all Anabaptists were equally devout. Some recanted their faith under pressure, while many joined Anabaptist groups but later left.
   3. The greater success of Anabaptism was coupled with an enormous restriction of scope. Leaders rejected the very notion of “Christian society” as traditionally understood.

IV. Those who best exemplified the success of Reformation objectives were the devout minorities who made faith their chief priority.
   A. Devout minorities, such as some of the Anabaptists, English Puritans, or Catholic members of religious orders, exemplify the success of the Reformations, albeit in a restricted sphere. They were the self-conscious, active, committed Christians whom leaders sought to create.
   B. Devout minorities, by their example and activity, exercised a vastly disproportionate influence in their respective traditions.

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. If we see that in certain respects, the Reformations succeeded and in others, they failed, how is our understanding increased?
2. Should the success of historical movements be assessed according to their impact on individuals, ideas, institutions, or society as a whole? Within what timeframe?
Lecture Thirty-Five  
Reflections on Religious Change and Conflict

Scope: When we look at Christianity in the Reformation era as a whole, and endeavor to assess its character in comparison to late medieval Christianity, three broad changes are evident. First, what had been a singular (although far from homogeneous) Church became a plurality of competing churches. Second, religious doctrine became relatively more important. Third, an increasing emphasis was placed on self-conscious individual spirituality and religious awareness. Perhaps the biggest challenge to understanding early modern Christianity is simultaneously understanding each of its constituent traditions on their own terms.

Outline

I. Three major, long-term changes in Christianity during the Reformation era include the emergence of multiple churches, a shift in emphasis from practices to doctrines, and greater stress on individual spirituality and religious self-awareness.
   A. An inclusive late medieval Christendom gave way to divergent Christian churches, distinguished by beliefs, practices, and membership.
      1. It is possible to exaggerate this shift if one wrongly considers that the late medieval Church was a uniform, homogeneous whole.
      2. The disagreements among early modern Christian groups differ from the disagreements among late medieval Church groups.
   B. During the Reformation era, the average man or woman experienced a shift, from Christianity as primarily something one practices to Christianity as fundamentally a body of doctrines one believes.
      1. Even in Catholicism, mere implicit faith becomes less acceptable after the Council of Trent.
      2. Doctrinal disputes contribute to this increasing emphasis on the importance of right doctrine in Christian life.
      3. The legacy of early modern efforts at religious instruction may be seen in the educated disdain today of those who cannot articulate what they believe and why.
   A. In the Reformation era, an increasing emphasis is placed on the self-consciousness of the individual in relationship to God.

II. The foundational beliefs that divergent Christian groups shared in common, and the nature of those beliefs, is essential for understanding the nature of the divisions among the groups.
   A. Protestants, Anabaptists, and Catholics all believed that the Bible was the word of God in a strong, incontrovertible sense.
   B. Protestants, Anabaptists, and Catholics all believed that God disposed events according to his will through his providence, which made possible radical disjunctions between appearances and reality.
   C. Protestants, Anabaptists, and Catholics all believed that they would be rewarded with eternal salvation or condemned to eternal damnation.
   D. Protestants, Anabaptists, and Catholics all believed that only through God’s definitive self-revelation and incarnation in Jesus Christ had salvation become possible.
      1. Because Christian teachings were understood as God’s teachings, they could not be taken lightly.
      2. One could be saved only through the proper adherence to God’s teachings and the correct following of Christ.
   E. The nature of the disputed issues meant that they were inherently explosive and divisive, touching as they did fundamental questions of truth, meaning, purpose, and destiny.
      1. Early modern doctrinal controversies were disputes about God’s teachings, with eternal ramifications.
      2. Early modern Christianity was so volatile, because it embedded incompatible beliefs in a wider framework of shared convictions.
I. Understanding early modern Christianity means understanding its constituent traditions—Protestantism, radical Protestantism, and Roman Catholicism—each on their own terms.
   A. Seen as a whole, the essence of Christianity in the Reformation era may be described as “disagreement.”
   B. The nature of the disagreement among Christian groups in the Reformation era remains elusive until and unless the constituent parties to the disagreement are understood simultaneously on their own terms.
   C. Christianity in all its forms in the Reformation era is also a story of spiritual experience, shared religious encouragement, and journeys of souls toward God.

Supplementary Reading:
Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, conclusion.

Questions to Consider:
1. How do the modern legacies of the specific Christian traditions forged or transformed during the Reformation era prevent a sympathetic understanding of Christianity in the era as a whole?
2. In order for early modern Christianity to have unfolded in fundamentally different ways than it did, what differences would one have to find in sixteenth-century Europe?
Lecture Thirty-Six
Expectations and Ironies

Scope: Viewed as a whole, the Reformation era contributed to transformations in the Western world of which most early modern Christians would have disapproved: a multiplicity of churches, doctrinal pluralism, an increasingly secular political order, and the diminishing influence of religion in public life emerged. Yet Christianity was not overthrown or disproved by modern thought or institutions, but were domesticated and marginalized for the sake of social and political coexistence.

Outline

I. In incontestable ways, the expectations for the future of early modern Protestants, Anabaptists, and Roman Catholics were profoundly mistaken.
   A. Catholic authorities mistakenly expected that sixteenth-century Protestantism would be successfully controlled.
   B. Protestants and radical Protestants wrongly expected that the Roman Catholic Church would soon collapse and usher in the apocalypse.

II. The pervasive religious disagreement and conflict in Christianity in the Reformation era produced several important, unintended consequences.
   A. Multiple attempts to reform or reestablish the one Christian Church led to the formation of a multiplicity of mutually exclusive churches.
      1. Virtually all early modern Christians believed, following St. Paul, that only one body of Christian faithful could and should exist.
      2. The result of disagreements about the content of Christian truth yielded multiple Christian churches, an outcome that almost no early modern Christians sought or approved.
   B. Doctrinal disagreement led to doctrinal pluralism, raising the prospect of doctrinal relativism and questioning the value of doctrine itself.
      1. Virtually all early modern Christians were doctrinal absolutists, because God’s truth was neither doubtful nor negotiable.
      2. Doctrinal pluralism, the outcome of disagreement on doctrinal absolutism, would have pleased few early modern Christians.
      3. Doctrinal pluralism is different than doctrinal relativism and need not lead to the latter, although it can.
      4. That the clash of commitments about God’s teachings would contribute to an eventual erosion of their significance is the last thing any devout sixteenth-century Christian would have wanted.
   A. Religious intolerance contributed to the rise of a secular political order.
      1. The continuing doctrinal controversy and recurrent religious wars helped to make non-religious principles the only reliable basis for the stable ordering of society.
      2. Christians’ unwillingness to compromise on religion led to its eventual elimination from the public concerns of the secular state.
      3. Modern “freedom of religion” for the individual, and its elimination as the basis for collective life, would have been deplored by almost all Christians in the Reformation era.
   D. The uncompromising prioritization of religious concerns above all else helped to undermine concern for religion.
      1. The religious conflicts of the Reformation era proved vulnerable to attack by secular ideologies in subsequent centuries.
      2. Christian groups damaged their respective causes and contributed to long-term processes of secularization.
III. Intellectually and institutionally, the post-Enlightenment West did not replace or overthrow Christianity but, rather, marginalized it.

A. The traditional evaluation of the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, and the modern world in comparison to the Reformation era is problematic.
   1. Teleological condescension of modernity toward early modernity is both common and often cast in crudely dichotomous terms.
   2. The history of the twentieth century in particular can hardly sustain any strong form of post-Enlightenment triumphalism.

B. Modern intellectual and institutional developments displaced Christianity and religion in general, through counter-dogmas, relativization, and privatization.
   1. In the modern Western world, religion continues to thrive but not as the basis for collective social and political life.
   2. The claim that the transition from religious belief to unbelief is a product of education per se is false, because highly educated religious believers continue to exist.

C. Modern intellectual and institutional developments have influenced the Christian traditions of the Reformation era in numerous ways.

Supplementary Reading:
Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, ch. 22.
Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, conclusion.

Questions to Consider:
1. Do you think that Christians today are more like one another than they are like their respective predecessors from the Reformation era?
2. If sixteenth-century reformers could have known how their disagreements would, over the long term, help produce a world so antithetical to their beliefs and values, do you think they would have done anything differently?
Maps

Cities of Europe During the Reformation Era
Timeline

1497...........................The Oratory of Divine Love is founded in Genoa.
1503...........................Erasmus’s *Handbook of a Christian Soldier* is published.
1505...........................Martin Luther joins Observant Augustinians in Erfurt and is ordained a priest two years later.
1511...........................Luther moves from Erfurt to the University of Wittenberg.
1513...........................One in a series of German peasant revolts before the Peasants’ War of 1524–1525.
1517...........................In Wittenberg, Luther posts his *Ninety-five Theses*, which are immediately published.
1519...........................Huldrych Zwingli begins preaching in Zurich (January). Johann Eck pushes Luther toward *sola scriptura* at the Leipzig Disputation (June–July). Charles V is elected Holy Roman Emperor (June).
1520...........................Leo X’s bull *Exsurge domine* threatens Luther with excommunication (June). Luther publishes his three important early treatises (August, October, November).
1521...........................Leo X excommunicates Luther (January); the latter refuses to recant at the Diet of Worms (April) and Charles V condemns him in the Edict of Worms (May). Henry VIII publishes his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* against Luther, after which Leo X granted him the title “Defender of the Faith.”
1522...........................The Augustinian monastery in Antwerp is suppressed for Lutheran heresy. Luther completes his German translation of the New Testament and returns to Wittenberg after his period of hiding in the Wartburg castle.
1523...........................The First (January) and Second (October) Zurich Disputations begin the formal acceptance of Zwingli’s Protestantism and dismantling of Catholicism by the Zurich city council. Two of the Antwerp Augustinians refuse to recant and become the first of Luther’s followers to be executed for heresy, in Brussels (July). Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet presides over reforming initiatives in his diocese of Meaux, in northern France. Clement VII becomes pope after the brief pontificate of Adrian VI.
1524...........................The Peasants’ War begins in Germany. Erasmus publishes his *Freedom of the Will*. Five Swiss cantons reject Zwingli’s reforms and affirm Catholicism. Over 1,000 German Reformation pamphlets are published during the year, the high tide of printed propaganda for the early Reformation.
1525...........................The first adult baptisms in Zurich defy city law and mark the beginning of the Swiss Brethren (January). The Peasants’ War continues and by the fall, is largely defeated. Thomas Müntzer is executed for his role in the Peasants’ War. In Switzerland, the first Anabaptists are executed. Luther publishes his *Bondage of the Will* in response to Erasmus’s *Freedom of the Will*. In France, the Meaux circle is broken up in the absence of Francis I.
1526...........................The publication of William Tyndale’s English translation of the New Testament is completed at Worms in Germany and soon begins to be smuggled into England.
1527...........................Imperial troops sack Rome. Michael Sattler’s *Schleitheim Articles* articulate the emergent separatist pacifism of the Swiss Brethren.
1528...........................Matteo da Bascio founds the Capuchin order, a reform of the Franciscans, in Italy. The Swiss city of Bern accepts Zwinglian reforms.
1529...........................Luther and Zwingli disagree on the correct understanding of the Lord’s Supper at the Marburg Colloquy. Protestant princes and cities protest imperial constraints at the second Diet of Speyer. The city of Basel accepts Zwinglian reforms.

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1530...........................Articulation of the Lutheran Augsburg Confession after the imperial Diet of Augsburg. Melchior Hoffman brings Anabaptism to the Low Countries via Emden.

1531...........................Zwingli is killed on the battlefield at Kappel. The Schmalkaldic League is formed as a defensive Protestant political and military alliance in Germany. The first Dutch Anabaptists are executed; Melchior Hoffman declares a moratorium on adult baptisms.

1532...........................The submission of the English clergy to Henry VIII, which prompts Thomas More’s resignation as Lord Chancellor.

1533...........................In England, all ecclesiastical appeals to Rome are outlawed, Thomas Cranmer is appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry VIII secretly marries Anne Boleyn. Adult baptisms resume and their number proliferates rapidly in the Netherlands.

1534...........................The Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster is established. The Act of Supremacy declares that the king is supreme head of the Church in England. Ignatius Loyola gathers his first followers in Paris. The Affair of the Placards leads to intensified measures against heresy in France. Paul III becomes pope.

1535...........................The Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster is crushed. Thomas More, John Fisher, and several Roman Catholic priests and monks are executed for refusing the English oath of supremacy. The Ursulines, a female Catholic religious order, is established by Angela Merici.

1536...........................Calvin publishes the first edition (in Latin) of his *Institutes*, and he arrives in Geneva for the first time. The suppression and dissolution of the English monasteries begins. Menno Simons is baptized. Erasmus dies.

1537...........................The papally commissioned *Concilium de emendanda ecclesia* denounces ecclesiastical abuses and urges reforms in the Catholic Church.

1538...........................Calvin is exiled from Geneva and moves to Strasbourg. The shrine of Thomas (Becket) of Canterbury is destroyed in England.

1539...........................*The Act of the Six Articles* in England sharply reiterates Henry VIII’s hostility to Protestantism.

1540...........................The Jesuits receive formal papal approval by Paul III in Rome.

1541...........................Lutheran and Catholic theologians agree on a formula of justification at the Diet of Regensburg but remain divided on other doctrines. Calvin returns to Geneva after three years in Strasbourg, first publishes his *Institutes* in French, and Geneva accepts his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*.

1542...........................The Roman Inquisition is established in response to concern about the spread of heresy in Italy.

1544...........................The Peace of Crépy between Charles V and Francis I enables both rulers to devote attention to the suppression of heresy. The Ursulines receive formal papal approval from Paul III. The Jesuits establish their first college in Germany.

1545...........................The Council of Trent opens late in the year.

1546...........................Charles V reorganizes the Inquisition in the Low Countries. Luther dies.

1547...........................Charles V defeats Protestant forces in Germany’s Schmalkaldic War. After the death of Henry VIII, a Protestant regime begins in England under the boy-king Edward VI, while English Catholic exiles flee to the Continent. After the death of Francis I, Henry II establishes the *chambre ardente* in France. The Council of Trent is suspended.

1548...........................Charles V imposes the Augsburg Interim on German Lutherans, which helps precipitate a split between Philippist and “Genuine” (Gnesio-) Lutherans.

1549...........................Reforming measures with a more clearly Reformed Protestant character begin in England. The Jesuit Francis Xavier becomes the first Catholic missionary to Japan.
1550 Charles V issues the “Bloody Placard,” the century’s most comprehensive anti-heresy legislation, in the Netherlands.

1551 The Council of Trent reconvenes in March and meets until April 1552. Henry II issues the Edict of Chateaubriand, France’s most extensive anti-heresy edict.

1552 Thomas Cranmer’s *Book of Common Prayer* is published in England. The German College, under Jesuit control, is established in Rome to train parish priests for Germany.

1553 After the death of Edward VI, Mary Tudor becomes queen of England and restores Roman Catholicism.

1554 Mary Tudor weds Philip II of Spain and Reginald Pole returns from Italy to become Archbishop of Canterbury; Protestant exiles flee England for the Continent.

1555 The Peace of Augsburg establishes that territorial princes shall choose whether Catholicism or Lutheranism shall prevail in their territories. The first organized Calvinist churches are established in France (Paris) and the Low Countries (Antwerp). The execution of unrepentant Protestants begins in England. Mennonites and Waterlanders begin their split over banning and shunning. Paul IV becomes pope.

1556 Charles V abdicates as Holy Roman Emperor and retires to a Spanish monastery. Ignatius Loyola dies.

1558 In Geneva, John Knox publishes his *First Blast*, along with other treatises. Mary Tudor dies and Elizabeth I becomes queen of England.

1559 Under Elizabeth, Protestantism is reintroduced to England. John Knox returns to Scotland, where he leads a Protestant rebellion. Henry II of France dies and is succeeded by Francis II. The first national synod of French Huguenots is held in Paris. Pius IV becomes pope.


1561 French Catholics and Huguenots fail to reach any settlement at the Colloquy of Poissy. Mary Stuart returns from France to Scotland. Frederick III of the Palatinate becomes the first German prince to convert from Lutheranism to Calvinism.

1562 The Massacre of Vassy inaugurates the French Wars of Religion. The Council of Trent reconvenes to conclude its work.

1563 The Council of Trent comes to a close. The *Heidelberg Catechism* is published.

1564 The Tridentine canons and decrees receive formal papal approval. Calvin dies.

1565 Carlo Borromeo begins his work as Archbishop of Milan.

1566 In the Low Countries, collective pressure forces the Compromise of the Nobility, a mitigation of anti-heresy measures, which opens the way for the Iconoclastic Fury. Pius V becomes pope.

1567 The Duke of Alva arrives in the Netherlands to punish the Dutch iconoclasts through the Council of Troubles. In Scotland, Mary Stuart abdicates the throne. The separation between Frisian and Flemish Mennonites is completed in the Netherlands.

1568 The harsh measures of Alva’s Council of Troubles provoke the beginning of the Dutch Revolt against Spain, under the leadership of William of Orange. William Allen establishes the English seminary at Douai to train priests for work in England, in anticipation of the country’s eventual return to Catholicism.

1571 Emden hosts an important synod of Dutch Calvinist refugees.
1572.......................The Dutch Calvinist Sea Beggars lead an offensive that progressively takes Holland from Spanish control. Catholics kill several thousand Huguenots in France’s St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres. Gregory XIII becomes pope.

1574.......................Henry III becomes king of France. The first English Catholic missionary priests arrive from the Continent.

1576.......................Unpaid Spanish soldiers mutiny and wreak destruction in Antwerp.

1577.......................The Formula of Concord reconciles most Philippist and “Genuine” Lutherans.

1578.......................Gregory XIII reestablishes the English College in Rome for the purpose of training English missionary priests.

1579.......................The Union of Utrecht establishes the northern provinces of the Low Countries as the Dutch Republic.

1581.......................The Dutch Act of Abjuration formally repudiates the authority of Philip II in the Dutch Republic.


1584.......................The death of the Duke of Anjou leaves the Huguenot Henry de Navarre as next in line to the French throne, which reinvigorates the Catholic League. William of Orange is assassinated in Delft.

1585.......................Alessandro Farnese consolidates control of the southern Netherlands for Spain.

1588.......................At Henry III’s behest, the French Guises are assassinated.

1589.......................As a retaliation for the murder of the Guises, Henry III is assassinated in France, leaving Henry de Navarre as heir to the throne.

1593.......................Henry de Navarre converts to Catholicism and assumes the French throne as Henry IV.

1598.......................The Edict of Nantes concludes the French Wars of Religion and establishes restricted toleration of Huguenots in France.

1603.......................With the death of Elizabeth I, the English crown passes from the Tudor to the Stuart line and James I (= James VI of Scotland).

1608.......................To counter aggressive Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire, the Protestant Union is formed under the leadership of Frederick IV of the Palatinate.

1609.......................In response to the establishment of the Protestant Union, the Catholic League takes shape under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. The first Jesuit Reductions are established in South America.

1618.......................The Defenestration of Prague initiates the Thirty Years’ War. In the Dutch Republic, the Synod of Dort resolves the dispute between Calvinism and Arminianism in favor of the former.

1620.......................Catholic forces win a decisive victory under Johann Tilly in the Battle of the White Mountain.

1622.......................Gregory XV endeavors to centralize Catholic missionary efforts by creating the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

1629.......................In France, the Huguenots lose La Rochelle, their final military stronghold. The Edict of Restitution signals the high water mark of the Counter-Reformation in the Thirty Years’ War. Charles I begins his eleven years of “personal rule” in England.

1631.......................Protestant forces win a major victory under Gustavus Adolphus at the Battle of Breitenfeld.

1632.......................Gustavus Adolphus dies.
1635..................The Peace of Prague concludes the Swedish phase of the Thirty Years’ War.
1642..................The first civil war, between royalists and parliamentarians, begins in England.
1646..................A Presbyterian church order is established in England after the parliamentarian victory in the first civil war.
1648..................The Peace of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years’ War and establishes the enduring religio-political divisions of Europe.
1649..................Charles I is executed by order of the Rump Parliament; England is proclaimed a Republic.
1654..................In his role as Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell establishes a tolerant and inclusive state church.
1660..................The English monarchy and the Church of England are restored to their prerevolutionary forms.
1685..................Louis XIV revokes the Edict of Nantes, ending toleration for Huguenots in France.
Glossary

**Anabaptism**: The general term used to designate those Christian groups in the radical Reformation who rejected infant baptism in favor of adult understanding and commitment as a prerequisite for becoming a Christian and for baptism. The most important Anabaptist groups were the Swiss Brethren, the South German/Austrian Anabaptists, the Hutterites, and the Mennonites.

**anticlericalism**: Critical or hostile attitudes or practices directed against members of the clergy, whether Catholic priests or, after the Protestant Reformation was established, Protestant ministers. Anticlericalism might be subdivided by the specific target of criticism (e.g., antipapalism, antimonasticism), and it was variously directed against clerical abuses, clerical privileges, or both.

**apocalypticism**: The term used to describe the anticipation of the imminent end of the world, which in Christian teaching, includes the second coming of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the Last Judgment by Christ.

**apostolic succession**: The Christian notion that Christ’s apostles, who received their authority from him, pass it in turn to their successors, thus preserving his authority in the Church. In Roman Catholicism, these successors are understood to be the Church’s bishops.

**banning and shunning**: The Anabaptist disciplinary practice of excluding a baptized member of the community from fellowship because of some moral or other infraction, followed by the group’s collective refusal to have any contact with the excluded member.

**baptism**: The sacrament of initiation into the Christian community practiced by Catholics, Protestants, and Anabaptists (although not by certain other radical Protestants). Magisterial Protestants, like Catholics, baptized infants, a practice Anabaptists rejected in favor of baptizing only adults who had self-consciously committed to becoming Christians.

**Calvinism**: The branch of Reformed Protestantism that takes its name from John Calvin, the French refugee reformer of Geneva, whence it spread to have a significant influence in France, England, Scotland, Germany, and the Low Countries. Calvinism, characterized by its theological rigor, liturgical austerity, and aspiration to create godly polities, was the most dynamic form of Protestantism in the second half of the sixteenth century.

**canonization**: In Roman Catholicism, the official papal recognition of a holy man or woman as a saint, that is, an advocate with God in heaven for the supplications and prayers of living Christians.

**Catholic reform**: The collective designation for those aspects of late medieval and early modern Catholicism primarily concerned with the internal self-renewal and reform of Catholic devotion, practice, and institutions, rather than with opposition to heresy or reaction to the Protestant Reformation.

**Church Fathers**: The leading Christian theologians of the second through the sixth centuries, the publication and study of whose Greek and Latin writings were central to the Christian humanists’ desire to reform the Church through erudition and education. The writings of the Church Fathers, above all Augustine, played an important role in early modern Christian theology; Protestant and Catholic theologians disputed the correct interpretation of their writings.

**Communal Reformation**: English translation of the German term *Gemeindereformation*, used to designate the German Reformation movement in the early 1520s through the end of the Peasants’ War, when it was a genuinely popular social movement with a broad demographic base in both the towns and rural areas of southern and central Germany.

**conciliarism**: In the domain of ecclesiology, the late medieval position holding that ultimate authority in the Church reposes with church councils rather than with the papacy. Conciliarism reached its apogee in the early fifteenth century and waned from the mid-fifteenth century, although it remained important well into the Reformation era.

**confessionalization**: The process in the Reformation era whereby secular and ecclesiastical authorities worked together in the effort to create well-informed, conscientious Christians who had specific confessional identities (Lutheran, Calvinist, Roman Catholic) and would also be well-disciplined, obedient political subjects.
**confraternities**: In late medieval and early modern Catholic Europe, the most important collective lay religious institutions, variously constituted mutual aid societies organized for the spiritual and social well-being of their members.

**consistory**: The principal institution responsible for the exercise of moral and religious discipline in Calvinist Geneva, and wherever Calvinism took full root according to the Genevan model. The consistory was composed of the local Calvinist church’s pastors and elders.

**conventicles**: Secret, underground gatherings of like-minded Christians in contexts of persecution, for purposes of worship, conversation, scripture study, and mutual encouragement and support.

**Counter-Reformation**: The collective term for those aspects of early modern Catholicism concerned primarily to oppose, denounce, and undo the Protestant and radical Reformations.

**diocese**: The principal geographical and administrative subdivisions of Latin Christendom in the Middle Ages and of Catholic Europe (and Protestant England) in the Reformation era, overseen by a bishop. Dioceses were subdivided into parishes.

**episcopacy**: The office of bishop in the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, and the Lutheran churches of some countries. The ecclesiological significance of the episcopacy was rejected in Reformed Protestantism and the radical Reformation.

**Eucharist**: The celebratory ritual meal of thanksgiving in collective Christian worship that is based on the Last Supper of Jesus with his apostles. It can also refer specifically to the consecrated bread and wine consumed during this meal. The Eucharist, or Lord’s Supper, was one of the most disputed areas of Christian theology and liturgy in the Reformation era.

**excommunication**: The formal expulsion of a baptized Christian from the community of the Roman Catholic Church and, therefore, from the reception of the sacraments, after due warning and exhortation to rectify the offense or condition for which excommunication is threatened. Excommunication was appropriated in various forms by Protestant groups in the Reformation era (e.g., banning and shunning among Anabaptists).

**heresy**: The deliberate holding of erroneous Christian doctrines, as defined by orthodox authorities. Because orthodoxy was disputed in the Reformation era, heresy was also disputed. Heresy is not to be confused with unbelief; only a baptized Christian can be a heretic.

**humanism**: In the Renaissance, the movement to recover and teach the language, literature, rhetoric, poetry, and history of the ancient Greek and Roman classics to instill virtue and good government. Christian humanism adapted this program to the reform of the Church through the recovery and teaching of the Church Fathers’ writings and the Bible in their original languages.

**iconoclasm**: The violent or controlled destruction of religious images or works of art. In the Reformation era, Protestant iconoclasm was frequently directed against Catholic religious art, both inside and outside churches.

**idolatry**: In Christianity, the worship of anything that is not God. In the Reformation era, Protestants who rejected the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and Catholic ideas about religious images and relics accused Catholics of idolatry in venerating the Eucharist, religious images, and saints’ relics.

**indulgence**: In the late Middle Ages and the Reformation era, in Catholic teaching, the Church’s complete or partial remission of the purgatorial punishment for sins by a person making a proper confession and fulfilling the conditions stipulated by an authorized cleric for attaining the indulgence. Luther’s dissatisfaction with the abuse of indulgences lay behind his *Ninety-five Theses*.

**Inquisition**: An ecclesiastical tribunal in the Catholic Church specially designated to inquire into and suppress heresy. Not a monolithic institution, the principalquisitions in late medieval and early modern Europe were the medieval (established in the thirteenth century), the Spanish (est. 1478), and the Roman (est. 1542).

**justification by faith alone**: The phrase describing the central doctrinal assertion of Protestantism that human beings are made acceptable to God strictly through trust in Christ as their savior, a trust produced in them entirely by God’s grace. Thus, humans contribute nothing whatsoever to their own salvation. The doctrine was formally
condemned by the Council of Trent, which insisted that human beings cooperate with God’s grace in the process of salvation.

**liturgy**: Collective Christian worship according to some regular, established pattern or procedure. Liturgical forms varied widely across the various traditions of early modern Christianity.

**Lord’s Supper**: A general name for the celebratory ritual meal of thanksgiving in collective Christian worship that is based on the Last Supper of Jesus with his apostles. (See also **Eucharist**.)

**Lutheranism**: The branch of Protestantism that takes its name from Martin Luther, as distinct from Reformed Protestantism or radical Protestantism. Lutheranism, which remained theologically, liturgically, and aesthetically closer to Roman Catholicism than did Reformed Protestantism, became the official form of Christianity in many German territories and in the Scandinavian countries.

**magisterial Protestantism**: Those forms of Protestantism that were introduced with the sanction, support, and/or coercion of secular magistrates, whether in cities, territories, or nations. Magisterial Protestantism includes Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism and excludes the radical Reformation. In this course, “Protestantism” is generally used as shorthand for “magisterial Protestantism.”

**mendicants**: Literally “beggars,” the term refers to the regular clergy who originally begged alms for their survival as itinerant preachers and ministers, chiefly the members of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, but also including the Carmelites and Augustinians. Synonymous with “mendicant friars” or “friars.”

**papacy**: The office of pope in the Roman Catholic Church, the highest office in its hierarchical structure. Rejection of the papacy and its authority was the only tenet shared by all Protestants in the Reformation era.

**parish**: A geographical and administrative subdivision of a diocese in Catholic Europe, overseen by a parish priest (or by a minister in those areas of Protestant Europe that retained parishes as geographical and administrative designations).

**penance**: In one sense, a synonym for the sacrament of confession in the Roman Catholic Church; the term can also refer to the activities done to fulfill the penalties stipulated for the forgiveness of sins according to the sacrament, as well as to the state of being contrite for, repentant about, one’s sins. Protestants rejected the Catholic meanings linked to the sacrament of penance but generally emphasized the importance of repentance as a condition for amendment of life.

**Petrine supremacy**: The Catholic teaching that links Peter’s preeminence among the apostles to the understanding of him as the first pope and, thus, to the succession of popes that began with Peter and derives its authority from Christ. Hence, the papal see of Rome is called the “See of St. Peter.”

**predestination**: The Christian teaching, importantly influenced by Augustine in the Reformation era, that human beings are destined for salvation or damnation as the result of God’s will, independent of their own choices or actions. Among the major traditions in early modern Christianity, the doctrine was emphasized and elaborated most by Calvin and Calvinist theologians.

**Protestantism**: The broadest designation of all those Christian groups in Latin Christendom who, in the Reformation era, rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. The distinction between magisterial Protestantism and radical Protestantism comprises its fundamental subdivision. In this course, “Protestantism” is generally used as shorthand for “magisterial Protestantism.”

**providence**: The Christian teaching that God actively orders and governs all things and events in his creation, often despite appearances to the contrary. Belief in God’s providence was fundamental to virtually all Christians in the Reformation era.

**radical Reformation**: Those forms of Protestantism that rejected Christianity as it was introduced and supported by secular authorities. Anabaptists are the most significant subgroup in the radical Reformation.

**Reformed Protestantism**: Along with Lutheranism, one of the two major traditions in magisterial Protestantism. Although Calvinism and Zwinglianism are its two most important subtraditions, Reformed Protestantism is an umbrella designation that is bigger than either.
regulars: As distinguished from mendicants and secular clergy, these were cloistered monks or nuns in Roman Catholicism who belonged to religious orders that followed a monastic “rule” (regula). The rule theoretically kept them apart from the wider world, pursuing lives of prayer, work, and contemplation. Among the most important were the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Carthusians.

resistance theory: Protestant political thought that developed in Lutheranism and Calvinism in the sixteenth century concerning the conditions and identities of those who might legitimately resist and/or oppose an ungodly (i.e., Catholic) ruler.

Roman Catholicism: The early modern Christian tradition that was institutionally continuous with medieval Latin Christianity, the authority of which was repudiated, in various ways and to various degrees, by all Protestant groups in the Reformation era.

royal supremacy: The English law enacted in 1534 by Parliament at Henry VIII’s behest that made the sovereign the supreme head of the Church in England. The royal supremacy emerged from Henry VIII’s desire to have his marriage to Katherine of Aragon annulled so that he could wed his mistress, Anne Boleyn.

sacraments: In Catholicism, specifically designated sacred rituals that confer God’s grace on the recipient. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) enumerated seven: baptism, confession (penance), communion (Eucharist), confirmation, marriage, holy orders, and extreme unction. Most Protestants accepted only baptism and communion, although different reformers and groups understood these two in widely divergent ways. The correct understanding of the sacraments was bitterly contested among different Christian groups in the Reformation era.

saints: In Roman Catholicism, holy men and women whose presence in heaven has been attested after their deaths by miracles they have worked, who have been officially canonized, and who can intercede with God on behalf of ordinary men and women. Protestants rejected saints’ intercessory role but sometimes adopted the term to refer to living members of their own group.

secular clergy: As distinguished from the mendicants and the regular clergy, these were members of the clergy serving in the world (saeculum), most often as ordinary parish priests or at lower clerical ranks. They were not members of a religious order and were under the direct authority of a bishop.

sola fide: A Latin phrase meaning “by faith alone,” this popular slogan of the Protestant Reformation expressed in a condensed form the assertion that Christians were saved by God solely on the basis of faith, imparted wholly by God’s grace, and not as the result of any effort or action whatsoever on their own part. Good works were part of Christian love and directed toward one’s fellow human beings, but contributed nothing to one’s salvation. The Council of Trent formally condemned this teaching as heretical.

sola scriptura: A Latin phrase meaning “by scripture alone,” this popular slogan of the Protestant Reformation articulated in a compressed way the claim that the Bible alone, not the papacy, church councils, or ecclesiastical tradition in general, is the sole authority for Christian faith and life. The Council of Trent formally condemned this teaching as heretical.

spirituali: The collective name for the elite, humanistic, reform-minded group of Italian prelates in Italy in the 1530s and 1540s who were sympathetic to the doctrine of justification by faith alone but did not reject papal authority. The Council of Trent’s condemnation of justification by faith alone forced them to choose between the two commitments.

transubstantiation: In Catholic teaching, the dogma that with the priest’s words of consecration in the Mass, the appearance of the bread and wine remain, but their substance is miraculously changed into the body and blood of Christ, following his own words to his apostles at the Last Supper (“This is my body”). Protestants rejected the dogma of transubstantiation, although Lutherans retained the teaching of Christ’s real presence in the Eucharist.
Biographical Notes

Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584): Archbishop of Milan from 1565 until his death in 1584, where his diligent reforming activities epitomized the ideal of the pastorally minded, post-Tridentine Catholic bishop. He held regular provincial councils and diocesan synods, carried out systematic visitations of parishes and monasteries, established and supported a major diocesan seminary for the training of priests, and promoted the schools of Christian doctrine, all in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent. His zeal provoked conflict with civil authorities in Milan, though he eventually won their support. Borromeo became the model for other post-Tridentine bishops. He was formally canonized as a saint in 1610.

John Calvin (1509–1564): The leading reformer and theologian in the second generation of the Protestant Reformation, he was born in France but became the resident exile religious leader in Geneva, Switzerland, after his conversion to Protestantism. Trained as a humanist and a lawyer, his uncompromising reforms led to his exile from Geneva in 1538; he spent three years in Strasbourg before being invited back to Geneva in 1541, where he remained until his death. Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, first published in 1536 and revised several times until it reached its final form in 1559, is the single most important Protestant theological work of the Reformation era. Calvinism became the most dynamic, influential form of Protestantism in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Charles V (1500–1558): As the Holy Roman Emperor from 1519 until 1556, he was probably the most important political figure in the early decades of the Reformation era. A staunch defender of Catholicism and opponent of Protestantism, he ruled over vast territories either directly or indirectly, including Spain, the Low Countries, Austria, northern Italy, most of central Europe, and parts of eastern Europe. He issued the Edict of Worms that condemned Luther in 1521, defeated the allied Protestant forces in the Schmalkaldic War of 1547, and imposed the Augsburg Interim on Lutheran towns and territories before concluding the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. His chief political rival was Francis I of France, with whom he was frequently at war until Francis’s death in 1547.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603): Daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, she was the queen of England from 1558 until 1603 and restored Protestantism to England. The sheer longevity of her reign, in contrast to those of her predecessors Edward VI and Mary, was probably the most important factor in transforming England into a Protestant country by the 1580s. Elizabeth pursued a moderate, pragmatic Protestantism that emphasized obedience and sought to avoid the violence that religious differences were provoking on the Continent.

Erasmus (c. 1466–1536): The leading Christian humanist of the early sixteenth century, he sought the gradual renewal of Christendom based on the fusion of classical and biblical erudition, education, and piety in the “philosophy of Christ.” His prodigious literary output included dozens of scholarly, satirical, instructional, and moral works. Erasmus produced editions of many of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers, as well as an edition of the New Testament in the original Greek with his own Latin translation (1516). Other important works included his *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* (1503) and *Praise of Folly* (1511). He criticized clerical ignorance, immorality, and greed; ridiculed lay “superstition”; and rejected scholastic theology. Although originally supportive of Luther, Erasmus’s very different views and approach to theology came to a head in their famous debate over the role of free will in Christian salvation in 1524–1525.

Francis I (1494–1547): The French king who patronized humanism and humanist reform but opposed Protestantism, particularly after the Affair of the Placards in 1534. During the 1520s, his implicit distinction between elite, educated reform and disruptive, seditious heresy shielded the reforming measures under Guillaume Briconnet, the bishop of Meaux. The later years of his reign saw a sharp increase in the number of executions for heresy in France. Francis’s chief political rivals throughout his reign were Charles V and Henry VIII.

Henry IV (de Navarre) (1553–1610): The French king whose conversion from Calvinism to Catholicism in 1593 helped bring an end to the French Wars of Religion with the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The son of Jeanne de Navarre and Antoine de Bourbon, Henry, a committed Protestant and Huguenot military leader in the Wars of Religion, became the next in line to the throne after the death of the Duke of Anjou in 1584. This precipitated opposition from the militant Catholic League, which rejected in principle the notion of a Protestant king, and ushered in the violent religio-political clashes of the later 1580s and early 1590s. When Henry III was assassinated in 1589, Henry de Navarre became a king without a crown, one not secured until he agreed to convert. Despite adopting Catholicism,
during the rest of his reign, Henry’s continued protection and toleration of Protestants, both at his court and further afield, enabled France to recover somewhat from the destruction of its religious civil wars.

**Henry VIII (1491–1547):** The English king at whose behest the country severed its longstanding institutional links to the Roman Catholic Church and created a separate national church under royal control. Before the late 1520s and his desire to have his marriage to Katherine of Aragon annulled, Henry was a stalwart defender of Catholic orthodoxy. In 1521, he published a treatise against Luther and earned the title “Defender of the Faith” from Pope Leo X. Clement VII’s refusal to grant the annulment precipitated a series of parliamentary acts between 1532 and 1534 that created an English church separate from Roman jurisdiction and subject to the English monarch as “supreme head.” Despite repudiating Rome, Henry remained hostile to Protestantism, an antagonism evinced late in his reign, especially after the Six Articles Act of 1539. In the later 1530s, he oversaw the dissolution of all the English monasteries, the vast holdings of which were taken by the crown and quickly sold to fund war.

**Melchior Hoffman (1495?–1543):** The peripatetic radical Protestant prophet and preacher who brought Anabaptism to the Low Countries when he went to Emden in 1530. Hoffman prophesied the end of the world for 1533, with Strasbourg as the New Jerusalem, where godly magistrates would destroy the godless. All those who had been (re)baptized would be saved. Hoffman’s first Dutch converts in Emden became the nucleus of the Melchiorite Anabaptist movement in the Netherlands, which grew exponentially and was transformed after 1533, most dramatically by those who became Münsterites. Hoffman himself returned to Strasbourg, where he was imprisoned for his Anabaptism and died in obscurity.

**John Knox (c. 1514–1572):** An impassioned, uncompromising Calvinist reformer who played a leading role in the Scottish Reformation, he converted to Protestantism sometime in the early 1540s. He first became a public figure in 1547, when he preached his first sermon, then spent two years as a prisoner on a French galley ship. After his release, he went to England, where he preached and ministered, then fled to the Continent and Geneva as one of the Marian exiles in 1554. Deeply impressed by Calvin and Geneva, he returned to Scotland for several months in 1555–1556, then again in 1559, when he provoked the uprisings that intersected with a series of political events to produce the Scottish parliament’s adoption of Protestantism in 1560. Knox wrote several treatises in 1558 that contributed to Calvinist political resistance theory, as well as a lengthy account of the Reformation in Scotland.

**Ignatius Loyola (1491?–1556):** The founder of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), the most important Catholic religious order of the Reformation era. While convalescing from battle injuries in 1521, Ignatius underwent the first in a series of conversion experiences that led him to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to learn Latin, then to study theology in Paris. There, in 1534, he gathered around him a circle of six students, including Francis Xavier and Diego Laínez, who became the core of the earliest Jesuits. Prevented from going to Jerusalem by war, they instead went to Rome, where the new order received papal approval in 1540. In Rome, Ignatius established the Jesuit Roman College in 1551 and oversaw the rapid numerical and geographical expansion of the early order, which included over 1,000 members at the time of his death. He modeled his *Spiritual Exercises* on his own conversion, and it became the central text in Jesuit spirituality; through the society’s members, the text exercised a widespread influence in Catholic Europe.

**Martin Luther (1483–1546):** The first and most influential reformer and publicist in the first generation of Protestantism, Luther came to reject papal and conciliar authority in favor of the Bible as the sole norm for Christian faith and life. After his early education and university education at the University of Erfurt in central Germany, Luther entered the Observant Augustinian order in 1505, was ordained a priest in 1507, and began teaching at the University of Wittenberg in 1511. Riddled with anxiety about his sinfulness, he eventually found deliverance in the teaching and experience of salvation by “faith alone,” which emerged between 1513 and 1519. In 1517, he posted his famous *Ninety-five Theses*, protesting against indulgences. He was then driven to more and more radical statements in the course of debates with theological adversaries between 1518 and 1521, when he defied both Pope Leo X and Emperor Charles V. He sharply rejected the militancy of the peasants in 1525, remaining traditional and conservative in his social and political views. Luther’s writings, including his translation of the Bible into German, plus hundreds of pamphlets, treatises, songs, and letters, had an enormous influence on the early Protestant Reformation and the consolidation of Lutheranism in Germany.

**Thomas Müntzer (c. 1490–1525):** A radical apocalyptic and militant reformer from central Germany who preached violent revolution during the Peasants’ War of 1525. Originally sympathetic to Luther, Müntzer progressively moved away from and ridiculed him as a pandarer to princes. He understood the rising tide of peasant and urban agitation in the early 1520s as a sign of the coming apocalypse, in which God would destroy the ungodly alliance of...
oppressive rulers and sycophantic priests and ministers. After a stint as a minister and preacher in the small Thuringian town of Allstedt, Müntzer became increasingly involved in the cause of the peasants. In May 1525, he led several thousand woefully underarmed peasants into battle at Frankenhausen, where they were slaughtered. Shortly thereafter, he was captured and executed. In subsequent years, his legacy endured in an attenuated manner among certain central and south German Anabaptists.

**Philip II** (1527–1598): The Spanish king and son of Charles V, he was the most powerful ruler in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century, overseeing a worldwide empire as a result of Spanish colonization (the Philippines are named after him). A devout Catholic and zealous opponent of Protestantism, his refusal to mitigate the anti-heresy measures in the Low Countries precipitated the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566, the Dutch Revolt, and the Spanish loss of the northern Netherlands. Despite his Catholic convictions, Philip was concerned to maintain royal control over many aspects of the Spanish church, as well as over the Spanish Inquisition.

**Menno Simons** (c. 1496–1561): The most influential Dutch Anabaptist leader in the wake of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster, especially after the early 1540s. Menno was a parish priest in Friesland who became an Anabaptist after finding no basis for infant baptism in either the Bible or in any of the early Protestant reformers. Like other Anabaptist leaders in German-speaking regions, he stressed the importance of adult commitment and moral rectitude as a prerequisite for being Christian. He renounced his position as parish priest in early 1536, was (re)baptized, and lived most of his career as a reformer in the relative safety of north Germany in order to avoid persecution. He remained fundamentally oriented toward the Low Countries, where his followers, eventually known as Mennonites, were more numerous than any other Protestant group until the explosive growth of Dutch Calvinism in the 1560s.

**Teresa of Avila** (1515–1582): The Spanish founder of the Discalced Carmelites and the most remarkable female Christian writer of the sixteenth century. She entered the well-to-do Carmelite convent in Avila in 1535, where she remained for twenty-seven years. She began pursuing religious life seriously in 1538 and became increasingly involved in mystical prayer after 1555. Disrupting the tradition of aristocratic patronage of the Carmelite monastery in Avila in 1562, she established a new house based on strict poverty and rigorous adherence to the rule of the order. Fourteen more houses were established by the time of her death. Her initiatives and mystical experiences provoked controversy, and she was asked to justify herself to her confessors. Teresa’s extensive literary output, including her autobiography and *The Interior Castle*, rank among the great works of early modern Catholicism. She was canonized in 1622.

**Jan van Leiden** (1509–1536): The self-proclaimed prophet-king and ruler of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster in 1534–1535, he had been a tailor and unsuccessful trader before his baptism by Jan Matthijs in late 1533. Sent by Matthijs as an apostolic missionary to Münster in April 1534, after the Anabaptist takeover of the city and Matthijs’s death, Jan van Leiden became the city’s ruler and brutally dispatched anyone who opposed him. Under van Leiden, the “New Jerusalem” practiced communal ownership of goods and polygamy, both of which scandalized European contemporaries. After a siege finally broke the regime in late June 1535, Jan was executed in early 1536.

**William of Orange** (1533–1584): The Dutch nobleman around whom resistance to Spain coalesced beginning in 1568, which led to the formation of an independent Dutch nation. Although dependent on Calvinist anti-Catholic sentiment and action, William himself sought to maintain a unified, political, anti-Spanish focus to the rebellion, across the northern and southern provinces of the Low Countries. This position proved untenable, with anti-Spanish Calvinism predominating in the new United Provinces of the north and Catholicism and Spanish control prevailing in the south. William was assassinated in 1584. He is justifiably regarded as the “father of his country.”

**Huldrych Zwingli** (1484–1531): The Protestant reformer whose influence was responsible for the abolition of Catholicism and the adoption of Protestantism in the Swiss city of Zurich between 1523 and 1525. Educated in part at the universities of Basel and Vienna, Zwingli was ordained a priest in 1506 and was deeply influenced by Christian humanism; he held Erasmus in high regard. He was appointed preacher in Zurich in 1519. Zwingli considered the civic government and church as two aspects of one and the same Christian community, both of which should be organized based on biblical teachings. His sharp disagreement with Luther over the nature of the Lord’s Supper found dramatic expression in the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, preventing a political alliance between Zwinglian and Lutheran cities and setting the Lutheran and Reformed Protestant traditions on divergent paths.
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