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**Reform, Revolution and Confessionalization Some Social Effects
of the Reformation on Church & Society in the Holy Roman Empire**

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GEORGE FOX EVANGELICAL SEMINARY

REFORM, REVOLUTION AND CONFESSIONALIZATION
SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION ON CHURCH & SOCIETY IN
THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

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SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION ON CHURCH
& SOCIETY IN THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

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We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this thesis and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Master of Arts in Theological Studies.

(Daniel L. Brunner)

(Kent L. Yinger)

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Mark 12.29-31 | Proverb 3.5-6 | Matthew 13.52

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AR** Ozment, Steven. *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of the Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- ARS** Yoder, John Howard. *Anabaptism and Reformation in Switzerland: An Historical and theological Analysis of the Dialogues Between Anabaptists and Reformers*. Translated by David Carl Stassen & C. Arnold Snyder. Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2004.
- EBio** Léon-E. Halkin. *Erasmus: A Critical Biography*. Translated by John Tonkin. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993.
- EE** Dolan, John P. *The Essential Erasmus*. New York: New American Library, Inc., 1964.
- EW** Erasmus, Desiderius. *Collected Works of Erasmus*. 86 Vols. Charles Trinkaus eds, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1971- .
- LBio** Oberman, Heiko A. *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*. New York: DoubleDay, 1992.
- LW** Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works*. 55 vols. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964.
- RNH** Hillerbrand, Hans J. *The Reformation: A Narrative History Related by Contemporary Observers and Participants*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1964.
- RPC** Schilling, Heinz. *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought. Vol. 40. New York: E. J. Brill, 1992.
- RRR** Oberman, Heiko A. *The Reformation: Roots and Ramifications*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994.
- RW** Petegree, Andrew ed. *The Reformation World*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- SDR** Hsia, R. Po-Chia. *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750*, Christianity and Society in the Modern World, Hugh McLeod & Bob Scribner, eds., New York: Routledge, 1989.
- SSA** *The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism: The Grebel Letters and Related Documents*. Leland Harder, ed. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1985.
- WA** Luther, Martin, *D. Martin Luther's Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Abteilung Werke*. Vols. 1- Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883-
- WABr** Luther, Martin, *D. Martin Luther's Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Briefwechsel*. Vols. 1-18. Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1930-85.
- Z** Zwingli Huldreich. *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*. Berlin: C.A. Schwetschke und sohn, 1905-.

ABSTRACT

In literature about the Reformation it is not always clear what effects Reformation ideas had beyond their theological significance. Recent research on the Reformation and Post-Reformation periods is providing some helpful insights as to how these theological ideas were implemented and led to concrete social effects. This investigation draws on that research in an attempt to track how several of the ideas of the initial reformers had lasting social effects and what some of those effects were. As part of this historical-theological analysis it will be shown how confessionalization was as effect of the Reformation but was also a courier and solidifying agent of many of the other social effects.

INTRODUCTION

Ideas have consequences both unintended and intended. The outbreak of the Reformation on Medieval Europe vividly showed the power of theologically charged ideas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In literature about the Reformation, however, it is not always clear what effects these ideas had beyond their theological significance. The first attempts to make these effects explicit appeared as interpretations of the Reformation from various perspectives. However, research done in the last thirty years is shedding some light as to how the Reformation went from theological ideas to implementation and finally to social effects.¹ This investigation, drawing on that research, will track how several of the ideas of the reformers had lasting social effects and what some of those effects were. It will be demonstrated that several of their ideas allowed for a process known as confessionalization to take place. Confessionalization is itself an effect of the Reformation; however, this process also became the courier and solidifying agent of many of the effects of the reformers' ideas.

Our investigation will be accomplished in three parts. The first part will focus on the initial reformers and how their Reformation ideas and the implementation of reform

¹ Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1920), 699-750. Despite its mature age the rubric Smith uses to review interpretations of the Reformation is still helpful. He cites that the sixteenth and seventeenth century interpretations were predominately theological and political. The eighteenth century in addition to the former interpretations saw the emergence of rationalistic critiques. The negative reviews were abandoned by the more liberal and romantic evaluations influenced by the French Revolution. Finally, he covers what he calls the economic and evolutionary interpretations of such figures as Karl Marx and Adolf von Harnack. While abandoning the coerced class struggle paradigm of Marx, many researchers are now taking a look at the Reformation from the perspective of social history, which in some works is attempting to give room for both theological and social causes and effects. An example of this latter attempt is Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, Vol. 40. (New York: E. J. Brill, 1992). See also the works of Andrew Petegree, ed., *The Reformation World*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), Scott H. Hendrix, *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization*, (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004); Heiko A. Oberman, *The Two Reformations: The Journey from the Last Days to the New World*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

played out in their relationships with one another. This will reveal tensions and agreements that would continue to have influence well into the Post-Reformation. The second part will show how these tensions and agreements caused by their Reformation ideas precipitated into the process of confessionalization which eventually coalesced into the Thirty Years War. Part three, taking a thematic approach, will review the effects caused by some of these ideas particularly as they were carried out through the process of confessionalization.

A few bits of prolegomena will help us in our investigation.² A good place to start is with the make up of the Holy Roman Empire. By the sixteenth century the Holy Roman Empire covered a majority of what is now central Europe. This area was split up into territories each with its own prince. Seven of these princes had electoral power and together they would elect an emperor. Switzerland, while still affiliated with the Empire, had accomplished a level of independence and was made up of various cantons which we will term the Swiss Confederacy. Both the Holy Roman Empire and the Swiss Confederacy had territories or provinces that were ruled by bishops or archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church. In addition burgeoning trade was producing a new class, the bourgeois.

Another helpful aside is the milieu of the previous age. The Middle and Late Middle Ages were a time of confusion. The Black Death and famines had swept through Europe killing many and forcing Europeans into a new resourcefulness. Even more pressing were the constant shifts of power between monarch and pope. By the time of the

² This sections draws on concepts found in Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of the Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

Reformation the Great Papal Schism had left people wondering which pope or anti-pope really had the keys to salvation prompting theories about what the roles of the Church and state should be in society. Apocalyptic interpretations of history were common. Protests against Church abuses were grounded in appeals to the early Church (*ecclesia primitiva*) and the life of Christ. Attempts at reform did not seem to last. People were ready for change.

PART I

THOUGHTS OF REFORM FROM THE REFORM-MINDED

This part of the investigation will focus mainly on the interactions surrounding two sets of reform-minded groups, Luther/Erasmus and Zwingli/Anabaptists. Their interactions with other contemporaries will also be used as supporting evidence. The goal of this effort is to highlight in their interactions some of the tensions and debates that became important and would continue in the centuries after their passing. The method chosen is similar to that of John Howard Yoder in his *Anabaptism and Reformation in Switzerland: An Historical and Theological Analysis of the Dialogues Between Anabaptists and Reformers*. It is similar in that it is an attempt at a theological and historical analysis of these reformers in dialogue with one another. Like Yoder, at the end of each section a spotlight will be placed on some of the concepts and tensions that come to the fore in each set. It is the contention of this section that these issues are what affected social revolution, reform and confessionalization in European society.

While we review this material it is good to keep in mind that the reformers, like many human beings, may have changed or developed their thought to suit new circumstances. That is to say there is an assumption that human thought while able to be dogmatic is also liable to change. For example, while some of the reformers' impetuses and motivations for protest and reform may initially have been theologically motivated, they were not above accommodating to their contexts in order to further what they saw as necessary reforms.³ Therefore the possibility that some reformers began to take on

³ Steve Ozment, *Protestants: The Birth of a Revolution*, (New York: Double Day, 1993), 22-23.

additional formulations of reform and/or how it should be implemented should at least be kept as an open possibility.

Chapter 1

Luther & Erasmus

“Now every Tom, Dick and Harry claims credence who testifies that he has the spirit of the Gospels.”

-Erasmus in De libero arbitrio⁴

“Now, too, we see the whole world seeking its own advantage in the Gospel. This has brought on the rise of many sects, whose only aim is their own advantage and aggrandizement, together with the extermination of others.”

–Martin Luther in his explanation of the Sermon on the Mount⁵

The interactions between Martin Luther and Desiderius Erasmus could be described as a love-hate relationship.⁶ Erasmus, a man formed by the ideals of humanism but committed to Christ, espoused moderation. Luther, on the other hand, adamantly protested what he saw as a compromise of the Gospel. It is important to understand this difference. It is clear that both saw the need for reform. It is not clear that Erasmus saw the same threat to the gospel as did Luther. Each had their respective reasons for wanting reform.

Some Reformation Ideas-Reconciling Abuses

Of importance for both of these men were their early experiences in the monastery.⁷ Erasmus never seemed to warm up to monastery life. Even before he had the

⁴ Desiderius Erasmus, *De Libero Arbitrio* in *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*, Translated & edited by E. Gordon Rupp & Philip S. Watson, Library of Christian Classics Vol. 17, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 45.

⁵ LW, 32:388-389

⁶ LW, 48:117-119. One of Luther's first letters to Erasmus in 1519 is very amiable; however, by the time Luther writes *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525) one can sense his frustration with Erasmus.

⁷ Luther's main work against monasticism was his 1521 *De Votis Monasticis Iudicium* (*Judgment on the Monastic Vows* or *Martin Luther's Judgment on Monastic Vows*). Dorothea Wendebourg reviews Luther's pre-reformation and reformation attitudes on the matter in Dorothea Wendebourg, "Luther on Monasticism," *Lutheran Quarterly* 39 (2005): 125-152.

opportunity to leave it he would criticize it.⁸ Throughout his career he censured the monastic orders as morally decrepit, opportunistic and parasitic sapping the spiritual, educational and financial resources out of every community they were in.⁹ Erasmus, however, always seemed to stop short of public condemnation.¹⁰

Luther's struggle with monastic life was much more personal until his Reformation career began. Then, along with Erasmus, he joined the already established chorus of criticisms against the monastic orders and papal abuses.¹¹ Luther's accusation was that the men and women in the orders were not instructed that spiritual acceptance and status was not based on taking vows. To purport that it did was a sham and travesty.¹² It was also during his monastic life that Luther made his pilgrimage to Rome and was shocked by the profane and ill-conduct of the papal court.¹³ Erasmus, who had seen the Roman courts only a few years earlier, was equally disgusted with the "loathsome

⁸ James D. Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries*. Berkley (University of California Press, 1996), 17-26. This may be in part because he was forced into it. Both Erasmus and his brother Pieter were pushed towards it after their parents died while in custody of three guardians. However, it is likely that the Brethren of the Common Life were one of the inspirations for his love of humanism despite disparaging remarks made about them later in his life.

¹⁰ James D. Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries*. Berkley (University of California Press, 1996), 24-25. Most of Erasmus criticisms of both Luther and others came in the form of personal letters to close friends. Erasmus seemed cautious about disclosing his true thoughts openly, which can be seen in his pseudonymous writings against both the monastic orders and scholastic theologians in *Antibarbari*.

¹¹ For a treatment on these criticisms in regard to Luther see *LBio*, 51-81.

¹² *Judgment of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows* in *LW*, 44: 281-281, 400.

¹³ *LBio*, 146-149.

blasphemies against Christ and His apostles.”¹⁴ Not surprisingly, wherever the Reformation took hold monastic communities fell off.¹⁵

For Luther the protest was primarily theological and pastoral with deep concerns that people were given either a false security or no security at all by the religious atmosphere in which the church indulged.¹⁶ The lack of the Word of God had caused all sorts of human innovations in theology and praxis leading to the abuses he observed all around him. The abuses were evidence that the Word had been abandoned and the understanding of justification by faith had been lost amidst purely human traditions. For Erasmus the diagnosis was a lack of piety and imitation of Christ. Both of their solutions included a return to the Word of God.

Implementation

Erasmus' implementation for reform fell more along the lines of how he envisioned the Christian life to be led in humanistic terms.¹⁷ These ideas were influenced not only by the classical philosophers who valued virtue but also by the Greek and Latin

¹⁴ *LBio*, 149. This disparaging portrayal was actually shared by Pope Adrian IV at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1523. For his entire confession see *RNH*, 428-429.

¹⁵ Dorothea Wendebourg, “Luther on Monasticism,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 19 (2005): 140-141. This is partly due to the ‘universalization’ of spirituality that Luther enjoined to Christians, however, Wendebourg gives examples of a positive side to Luther’s attitude toward the monastic life and highlights how it may have influenced his use of the Psalms and the morning and evening prayers found in the Small Catechism (136, 139).

¹⁶ Kenneth Strand, “Meet Martin Luther: An Introductory Biographical Sketch,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 18-19.

¹⁷ *AR*, 290-317. Humanism or study of the “good letters” (*bonae literae*) was, in the late fourteenth century, the renaissance of literature and languages (Greek, Hebrew, Latin) of classic pagan and Christian sources. In time this led to a renewed interest in philosophy, art, poetry and the desire to institute the teaching of the liberal arts in all levels of society.

Church Fathers.¹⁸ Out of his piety and love for literature Erasmus would offer his

Philosophia Christi.¹⁹ Halkin explains,

The piety which Erasmus advocated for his readers was ‘a piety illuminated by pious doctrine’: *pia doctrina et docta pietas*.^[10] The antithetical structure of the phrase expressed its double requirement and explained well what the philosophy of Christ really was. Nothing was more opposed to true piety than ‘the mask of piety’, a piety without sincerity, without depth and without resources: the Christian should reflect on Holy Scripture with a pious spirit.²⁰

This method sought to form not only a robust intellectual life but a life of love.

Imitation of Christ was central.²¹ This, from his perspective, was in stark contrast to the theological wrangling of the Scholastics and the obscurantism of popular religion which he saw as superstitious. It is much better that one imitate the life of the saints than argue over whether we should pray to them.²² With such reasoning he would avoid an outright condemnation of accepted practices and yet highlight what he felt was the real problem; ignorance which led to superstition, scholasticism which led to arrogance and overzealousness which led to a complete breakdown of morals. Erasmus, like Augustine chose rhetoric and persuasion over compulsion and the sword.²³ His promotion of peace

¹⁸ *EBio*, 6; 46-47; 52. Among the church Fathers he enjoyed were Jerome, Origen and Augustine. This did not mean he was completely uncritical. See for example his comments on one of his favorite authors; Cicero, after whose paganism some humanists were following (217-218).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 126. See also 273-288 and James D. Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 53-73.

²⁰ *EBio*, 126. Halkins note [10] cites *EW*, 6:73, 1.9 and Desiderius Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami*, P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, H. W. Garrod, eds. (Oxford: Clarendoniano, 1906-1958), 858, 3.362, lines 4-5.

²¹ *EBio*, 57-58. Halkin highlights *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier* in *EW*, 66: 61-62. Even humanism was seen as useless if it wasn't for the sake of Christ and for developing a life of love (221-230).

²² This is one of Erasmus argument in *On the Mending of the Church*. See *EE*, 381.

²³ *EE*, 376-378.

over war was out of imitation of Christ and was one of his unique contributions.²⁴

Erasmus often appealed to the idea of a council to solve issues of ambiguity, contention or non-essentials (*adiaphora*).²⁵ Erasmus chose to implement his reforms by his irenic example, the promotion of Christian humanism and the eloquence of his pen.

Once the Reformation idea of *sola scriptura* had galvanized an audience it became important to Luther, as it would be for others, that reforms be implemented. Therefore, he provided sermon material for pastors and sought the success of the Wittenberg University, all the while rooting out scholastic influences and replacing them with studies more pleasing to his palate. This was consonant with his view that reform was a natural consequence of preaching the Word of God.²⁶ Both Erasmus and Luther argued for the Scriptures to be read by the common people.²⁷ Erasmus, in order to spur this on, produced a critical edition of the Greek New Testament which resulted in a flurry of criticism and praise.²⁸ Luther would later use the critical edition for his own translation

²⁴EBio, 279. See Erasmus response to Luther 1519 letter in EW, 6:391 where he encourages Luther writing “And I think one gets further by courtesy and moderation than by clamor. That was how Christ brought the world under his sway. . . We must take pains to do and say nothing out of arrogance and faction; for I think the spirit of Christ would have it so.”

²⁵ For example see his arguments for his aforementioned translation of *logo* in *Language and Method*, 10-11. This also comes out clearly in his most mature thoughts on reform in *On the Mending the Peace of the Church* where he appeals to tradition (particularly the Greek Fathers) and the use of councils to settle disputes.

²⁶ WA, 8:680-683, 32:388-389; WA, 6:409, 415.

²⁷ Erasmus in the preface of *Novum Instrumentum* writes, “I wish all women would read the Gospels and letters of Paul. I wish they would be translated into all languages. I wish the peasants would sing them behind the plough, the weaver his loom, the pilgrim on his way,” in *RNH*, 423

²⁸ There were two editions by Erasmus both of which were heavily anticipated by both peers and critics. For his peers its publication displayed the glory of the humanist program and they hoped it would trump the error-ridden Vulgate the scholastics loved so dearly. For his critics it proved his association with Rome’s detractors. The first edition was published in 1515 and a firestorm of praise and criticism ensued. His translation of John 1:2 (*sermo* versus *verbum* to translate the Greek word *logos*) occasioned a sustained attack that prompted a subsequent defense (*Annotationum in Evangelium Joannis* and *Apologia de ‘In principio erat sermo’*) where he explained his methodology and reasons for changing the Vulgate tradition.

of the Bible into German. It would seem both Erasmus and Luther saw the avenue of reform through persuasion through Word, theological debate, and empowering the laity.

Until 1520 Luther was satisfied with confronting his issues with Rome internally and with a measure of caution. Two events, however, would heighten his sense of urgency. The first was his reading of Ulrich Van Hutten's edition of Lorenzo Valla's literature identifying the *Donation of Constantine* as a forgery.²⁹ In the background of these events was Luther's eschatological understanding of his day. Through the mystic, church father and Cistercian reformer, Bernard of Clairvaux, Luther would adopt a periodization of history that seemed to color his reading of the times. In this paradigm there were three tiers to Church history. The first age was the era of the Holy Fathers and Martyrs where the Church suffered persecution. The second was the age of the heretics whose attack was more hidden and was to be found on the level of doctrine. The last stage would not involve an external threat but would be found in the Church itself.³⁰ From Luther's perspective there would be a counterreformation before the Great Reformation. This Great Reformation could only be accomplished by God and what we

The second edition was published in 1519. For more on this and his method in translation and theology see Majorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

²⁹ The *Donation of Constantine* or *Constitutum Constantini* was supposedly a document that recorded how the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, had gifted his entire empire and its authority to then Pope Sylvester in the fourth century. This document was used as a legal argument by ecclesial authorities and canon lawyers for the submission of the empire to Church rule. Of course the document became increasingly important in the ongoing debates between popes, anti-popes, emperors and the College of Cardinals in the political and ecclesial turmoil during the Middle Ages. Valla's *The Falsely-Believed and Forged Donation of Constantine* exposed the document as a forgery in the Late Middle Ages. See Valla, Lorenzo. *On the Donation of Constantine*, Translated by G. W. Bowersock, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) and Salvatore I. Camporeale, "Lorenzo Valla's 'Oratio' on the Pseudo-Donation of Constantine: Dissent and Innovation in Early Renaissance Humanism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, no. 1 (January 1996).

³⁰ *LBio*, 68-69.

now know as the Reformation was for him the beginning of the very end of times. Here his ecclesiology suggests that he saw a visible church that was always prone to falls and apostasies because it could stray from the Word. The invisible church would always be ruled by the Spirit and sustained by the Word.³¹ This was patently different from the ideas of reform surrounding him, particularly in regard to the transformation of society. His ethics, then, were interim ethics, which saw the lives of Christians as being a leaven to a world but unable to establish a full transformation until the Coming of Christ. Luther's idea of reform was one of his unique contributions.³² Under this understanding Luther saw it necessary to be a forceful preacher of the Word. Therefore, he was not a reformer per se; he was an evangelist.³³ Up until 1520, Luther seemed to see the Church in the second period transitioning into the third. The sale of indulgences was a key sign to this transition.³⁴

The second event came when a tract from the curial theologian Sylvester Prierias made it into Luther's hands. Oberman narrates,

The crucial theological argument upon which Prierias' 1519 response to Luther hinged was the same as in 1518: the Church means the Church of Rome, headed by the pope, who is infallible and thus more authoritative than councils and even Holy Scriptures themselves. There is no authority higher than the pope; and he cannot be deposed, 'even if he were to give so much offense as to cause peoples in multitudes. . . to go to the Devil in Hell,'^[36] as Prierias quoted from canon law.

³¹ Ibid., 158; 160. Headley suggests the term *duplex ecclesia* to describe Luther's stance showing a development from his earlier writings to his later writings but always in contrast to the humanist and Anabaptist formulations of the fall of the Church.

³² Ibid., 79-81.

³³ Ibid., 79.

³⁴ Ibid., 70-72. Oberman cites WA, 3:417, 1-425; WA, 3:425, 7ff.

Luther was appalled at this papal doctrine: “I think,” he wrote to his friend Spalatian, “that everyone in Rome has gone crazy; they are ravingly, mad and have become inane fools and devils.”^[37]³⁵

What seemed like something that could easily have been disputed in ecclesial meetings and academic halls became a cosmic duel between the evangelist and the Antichrist.³⁶ Shortly after, Luther would give his first public manifesto in the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* where he openly criticized the pope and referred to him as the Antichrist.³⁷ This new attitude would become more pronounced even in his interactions with Erasmus.

For Luther, then, nothing less than a theological and ecclesial reform needed to take place. The gospel was at stake and that meant pulling on all the resources necessary, whether that be theological treatises, sermons, political powers or even martyrdom. From Erasmus’ perspective, the situation, while grave, was perhaps not as severe Luther had perceived it after 1520. He continued to try and influence his relationships to see if change could be accomplished. This fundamental difference is likely one of the reasons why the two disagreed so heavily over *how* Luther conducted himself. Erasmus

³⁵ Ibid., 42-43.

³⁶ *LBio*, 42-43. Oberman in note [36] *WA*, 6:336, lines 9-10, Decretum Gratiani I, Dist. 50, cap. 6 in *Corpus iuris canonici*, E. Friedberg, ed., Vol. I (Graz, 1959), col. 146 and in [37] cites *WABr*, 2:120, 6-8. See also 2:120, 13-15 and 2:48, 22-27.

³⁷ In his *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* Luther also shows his disgust not only with the “impossibility” of the *Donation* but that so many believed it. The larger section criticizes the attempts of the pope to claim supremacy over imperial authority citing that “It is not proper for the pope to exalt himself above temporal authorities, except for spiritual offices such as preaching and giving absolution. In other matters the pope is subject to the crown, as Paul and Peter teach in Romans 13 and I Peter 2. . .” See *LW*, 44:164-166. He sees this attempt of the Papacy to co-opt temporal roles as an activity of Satan attempting to usher in the Antichrist and exalt the Pope as god (165, second paragraph). The way the sentence is phrased seems to suggest that it is a veiled attempt at identifying the Pope with the Antichrist. For other references to the Pope as Antichrist in the same work see, 193-194.

sympathized with Luther but grew increasingly critical and uncomfortable with his language.³⁸

Tensions

This last subsection is one that can be occasioned by two questions: How should reform be implemented and/or accomplished? What are the implications for the Reformation idea of *sola scriptura*?³⁹ This first question prompts us to deal with the question of urgency and the second will provide us the opportunity to observe an instance of the interaction between reform and society.

Although Luther expressed more urgency than Erasmus he seemed to disdain the urgency suggest by others. An example was his relationship with a fellow Wittenberg reformer. On March 10, 1522 Luther delivered his second Invocavit sermon after his return from Wartburg. It was one of eight which addressed the reforms that had been made in his absence. While he had been gone, the more enthusiastic Andreas Karlstadt had reformed the Mass on Christmas Day (1521), had the town council enact a welfare system that he and Luther had earlier advocated and was pushing for a legal means to remove all images. Impatience, however, had won over some Wittenberg students and they went about smashing images.⁴⁰ Luther's statements in his March 10th sermon show his reticence,

³⁸ *EBio*, 149-150. Erasmus made frequent references to his discomfort with Luther's "spirit." Halkin cites *EW*, 9:23, 44, 47-48; 10:380.

³⁹ *LBio*, 50-81. Here Oberman details the influences of mysticism, chiliasm fed into the various ideas of reform in the medieval age. He points out that reform was an agreed need but method by which it should be accomplished was by no means uniform, 51.

⁴⁰ Hans J. Hillerbrand in his article "Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt, Prodigal Reformer," *Church History* 35, no. 4 (December 1966): 385-387. These measures were done on the heels of Andreas

In short, I will preach it, teach it, write it, but I will constrain no man by force, for faith must come freely, without compulsion. Take myself as an example. I opposed indulgences and the papists, but never with force. I simply taught, preached, and wrote God's Word; otherwise I did nothing. And while I slept, or drank Wittenberg beer with my friends Philip and Amsdorff, the Word so greatly weakened the papacy that no prince or emperor ever inflicted such losses upon it. I did nothing; the Word did everything. Had I wanted to foment trouble, I could have brought great bloodshed upon Germany; indeed I could have started such a game that even the emperor would not have been safe. But what would it have been? Mere fool's play. I did nothing. I let the Word do its work.⁴¹

—Luther

Luther was not the only one who took issue with how others wanted to press the issue of change. An incident between Erasmus and his friend John Colet exhibits a similar tension. Oberman narrates,

In the late summer of 1515, Desiderius Erasmus, by then renowned as a humanist and social critic, dramatically encountered an explosive convergence between theoretical and practical reform. Traveling with his friend John Colet—on one of those expeditions he later dignified as a *peregrinatio*—they took the road to Canterbury to see the famous cathedral. There both men marveled at the extravagant devotion people lavished on the statue of St. Thomas Becket and at the kisses with which they covered his feet. The reactions of Colet and Erasmus were diametrically opposite. Colet, an Oxford New Testament specialist, regarded this reverence for images as abominable (*indigna*), whereas Erasmus—although agreeing that it was superstition—thought it necessary to be patient until such abuses could be eliminated without commotion (*sine tumultu*). He expressed deep difference from Colet in a smooth alliterative formula: ‘in tolendo quam in tollerando’ (I see a greater evil in removal than in toleration). . . . The contrasting solutions of Colet (reform by removal) and Erasmus (reform through restraint and reeducation) were not only to divide the Anglican Church but also to shape the course of the continental Reformation as well.⁴²

As Oberman provocatively suggests, the issue of urgency highlighted a fundamental difference in the implementation of reform. These disagreements

Karlstadt's publication of *On the Removal of Images*. A year later his relationship with Luther would fall through over the subject of the Lord's Supper and he would resign his post. See also Calvin Augustine Pater, “Karlstadt as the Father of the Baptist Movements: The Emergence of Lay Protestantism,” (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 4-5.

⁴¹ LW, 51:77-78.

⁴² Heiko A. Oberman, *The Two Reformations: The Journey from the Last Days to the New World*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 86-87.

foreshadowed problems that would occur throughout the Reformation and well into the Post-Reformation period. This disagreement was also apparent between Erasmus and Luther.

One of their areas of contention *was* the implementation of reform, particularly with regard to tone and rhetoric. The debate concerning free will is a case in point. Under pressure from all sides and after evading a direct confrontation with Luther for many years, Erasmus would finally engage him over a subject he thought would be a non-essential (*adiaphora*) issue. The issue of free will was, to him, a point of mystery since he felt Scripture was not as clear as Luther had asserted in the past. He could not have been more wrong. For Luther the debate over free will was the jugular.⁴³ Erasmus began the match cordially in 1524 with *De libero arbitrio, diatribe sive collation*. Luther countered with *De servo arbitrio* and did so with such ferocity that Erasmus was put-off. Erasmus responded twice more *Hyperaspistes diatribae* (1526, 1527) but these Luther ignored.

In this debate Erasmus often chided Luther for what he saw in his writings as inflammatory and arrogant assertions. Luther railed against Erasmus for being too soft on the things that mattered (i.e. the gospel).⁴⁴ Erasmus, however, was not beyond his own

⁴³ See, the introduction to Luther's response in *LW*, 33:6-13 and also "I contrived for the sake of civility that the interpretation was on both sides of the question ambiguous, so that with things being equal, you might demonstrate some fact that might incline us, vacillating in the middle, toward your side. With similar modesty I called it *Diatriba* not *Assertio*, not because I hesitate about the received judgment, but because of what you have dangerously published before the multitude," in Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus' Civil Dispute with Luther*, Harvard Historical Monographs, Vol. 71, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 26. Boyle cites *Hyperaspistes* in Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, J. Clericus, ed. (Leident, 1703-1706), 10:1304ff.

⁴⁴ *LW*, 33: 19-24. *Concerning Unfree Choice (De servo arbitrio)* was Luther's response to Erasmus' *A Diatribe Concerning Free Choice (De libero arbitrio diatribe sive collatio)* and contains a scathing rebuke towards Erasmus' attitude on the subject. A propagator of Luther's reforms Ulrich von Hutten also criticized Erasmus for what he saw as soft and hypocritical stances in his *Expostulatio*. Erasmus reply in *Spnogia* was plain enough "I would not refuse if the case called for it [martyrdom], but I

form of brutal satirical prose which he used when dealing with the “papists.”⁴⁵ Erasmus states clearly his problem with Luther’s paradoxes which he recognized as Stoic devices.⁴⁶ Equally troubling was Luther’s use of hyperbole.⁴⁷ Erasmus identified in Luther’s bombastic style a danger that violence in language could lead to violence in society.⁴⁸ Luther’s perception of Erasmus was not any better and their relationship would continue to sour.

With this in mind, we return to the question asked early about the implications of *sola scriptura* particularly within the domain of implementation of reform. To understand this we look more closely at Luther and his doctrine of the two kingdoms.

In Luther’s thought there are two realms. The temporal is the kingdom of the devil/world and the spiritual is the kingdom of Christ. The temporal realm is

am of no mind to die for the paradoxes of Luther. . .” See, Roland Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1969), 168; 177.

⁴⁵ A good example of his satirical work is his *The Praise of Folly*. For other examples of Luther and Erasmus’ rhetorical interplay see *EW*, 71:96-97 and Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus’ Civil Dispute with Luther*, Harvard Historical Monographs, Vol. 71, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

⁴⁶ Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, “Stoic Luther: Paradoxical Sin and Necessity,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 73 (1982): 69. Although some of Luther’s ideas could be termed paradoxes Boyle notes that many of them are actually antitheses. See also Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus’ Civil Dispute with Luther*, Harvard Historical Monographs, Vol. 71, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 43-66; 95.

⁴⁷ Erasmus response to Luther, “it is always hyperbole after hyperbole, just as on thing leads to another” and again “But such is your genius that you speak nothing apart from hyperboles in the tragic style. . .Nor with any other device do you strive more to appear singularly learned than with paradoxes and hyperboles, whereas nothing is more adaptable to sedition”, quoted in Boyle, Marjorie O’Rourke. “Stoic Luther: Paradoxical Sin and Necessity.” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 73 (1982): 69-93. Boyle cites *Hperaspistes* in Desiderious Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, J. Clericus, ed. (Leident, 1703-1706), 1366A, 1289C.

⁴⁸ According to Boyle, “Erasmus’ criticism of this style, which by doing violence to language would promote violence to society, thus coincides with the original meaning of paradox as a departure from the consensus, adherence to which he considered necessary to the common weal.” Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, “Stoic Luther: Paradoxical Sin and Necessity,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 73 (1982), 80-81 and also Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

characterized by reason and unbelief, the spiritual by freedom and equality. Freedom in this instance allows the Christian to serve others. Each realm is governed by its own set of laws. The temporal laws are those established for “life and property and external affairs on the earth.”⁴⁹ Consequently two governments also exist in these two realms. The spiritual realm is before God and its government is seen in the preaching of the Word and the proper administration of the sacraments. The temporal realm is before humanity and therefore is ruled by political authorities. The role of these temporal authorities is to restrain sin and protect property and persons. One exception to this rule was blasphemy which could be punished.⁵⁰ Although the Christian has no need of temporal law, he said, they should obey it for the sake of all.⁵¹ For a representative of one realm to usurp the role of the other is “always the devil’s work, [and] occurs when any human authority tries to legislate and enforce true Christian faith, there by usurping the Spirit’s work and denying both divine freedom and human conscience.”⁵² His earlier formulations show how all spiritual powers belong to every Christian and disproportion in authority was due only to the various stations or offices of life in the temporal realm.⁵³

⁴⁹ WA 2:261.

⁵⁰ LW, 35:164 in *How Christians Ought to Regard Moses*. For an explanation of this exception see David M. Whitford, “Cura Religionis or Two Kingdoms: The Late Luther on Religion and the State in the Lectures on Genesis,” *Church History* 73, no. 1 (March 2004): 57-58.

⁵¹ WA, 2:250-252, 256, 261

⁵² Oliver O’Donovan and Joan Lockwood O’Donovan, eds. *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 582.

⁵³ Ibid., 582, see the larger context also 581-608. This resource provides not only a review of his thought but the main sections of his work pertaining to the subject. The works they include are WA, 2:247-278 from *Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei/ Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should be Obeyed* (1523), WA, 32: 316-395 from *The Sermon on the Mount* and WA, 15:294-312

What is important to note about this formulation is how it played out in history. Early in 1525 various peasant groups offered up various versions of the *Twelve Articles*. In them they demanded equal access to temporal goods, social equality and to be ruled by the Word of God.⁵⁴ Luther sympathetically warned them in his *An Admonition to Peace Concerning the Twelve Articles* in April 1525 but it did not stop the situation from worsening; violence had broken out. Luther's second response was not as sympathetic. He would admonish princes to take violent action to suppress the uprising in his *Against the Murderous and Plundering Hordes of the Peasants*. Another tract later addressed those upset with his tactic but he was nonetheless as explicit and had no intention of retracting. If the unruly peasants would not listen to reason it was time for the fist. His reasoning was that they had used the gospel as pretense for temporal goods. The gospel was not to be used to rule the world.⁵⁵ Later, he used similar reasoning against the Anabaptists who tried to argue that the sword should not be used against any heretics. Luther claimed that because Anabaptists were against civil government they were subject to the sword.⁵⁶ In another instance Luther rejects the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse's plans

from *Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher/Trade and Usury* with translations provided from *LW*, however, they do not cite exact page number in *LW*.

⁵⁴ *RNH*, 389-391.

⁵⁵ *LW* 51:77-78 in *Sermon on the Mount* where he explains his stance against both the peasants and Thomas Münster. For a reference to the ruling the world by the gospel see *Temporal Authority* in *WA*, 2:251.

⁵⁶ David M. Whitford, "Cura Religionis or Two Kingdoms: The Late Luther on Religion and the State in the Lectures on Genesis," *Church History* 73, no. 1 (March 2004): 55-56. Whitford cites here *LW* 13:61 from his comments on Psalm 82:4.

to institute reforms within his own lands based on the fact that the plan that was drawn up by Lambert of Avignon included coercive measures.⁵⁷

Luther's response to peasants was also a further detriment to his relationship with Erasmus. By the time of Erasmus' first reply to Luther's *De servo arbitrio* (*Hyperaspistes*, 1526), the Peasant War of 1525 had already happened and Erasmus did not fail to make his opinions known:

We have the fruit of your spirit: it has come down to a bloody slaughter, and we fear yet worse disasters unless God favours us and averts them. You say that such conflict is inherent in the word. I think it makes some difference how God's word is preached, supposing for the moment that it is God's word you are teaching. You do not acknowledge these rebels, I imagine, but they acknowledge you, and it is already clear that many who boast that they are evangelical have been the cruelest instigators of revolution. If their attempt had succeeded perhaps there would be some who would have supported what they repudiate now that it has failed. To be sure, through your savage booklet against the peasants you deflected suspicion away from yourself, but even so you could not keep people from believing that you provided the occasion for these uprisings in your pamphlets, especially the ones written in German, against those who are oiled and shaved, against monks and bishops, in favour of evangelical freedom, against human tyranny. I still do not have so low an opinion of you, Luther, as to think you intended your designs to come to this, but nevertheless, long ago when you began this whole story, I conjectured from the violence of your pen that this is how it would end; and this is why in my first letter to you I advised you to be upright in dealing with this business and take care not to write anything in an uncontrolled or divisive fashion.⁵⁸

Undergirding Luther's response was his understanding of the times and of the relationship between the Church and the world. This is why he expressed condemnation of both the pope, German Peasant War and the apocalyptic leader Thomas Müntzer, because they had attempted to usurp temporal authority using spiritual justifications.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 62. Note 63 cites *WABr*, 3:157-158.

⁵⁸ Desiderius Erasmus, *Hyperaspistes I* in *EW*, 71:114-115. The booklet Erasmus refers to is probably Luther's *Against the Murderous and Plundering Hordes of the Peasants* where he enjoined the princes to put down the rebellion. This was after his more sympathetic appeal in the *Admonition to Peace Concerning the Twelve Articles* failed to stem peasant violence. See *RNH*, 374-275.

Luther's desire was to reform the Church and return it to its spiritual function in a temporal realm. The basic problem, as Abraham Friesen points out, is that the peasants and Müntzer did not share Luther's view. For the peasants, they still thought of their society as *Corpus Christendom* and saw Luther's ideas as necessarily and directly affecting their social situation. Müntzer knowingly disagreed with Luther and thought he found an ally in the peasants.⁵⁹ Luther's response to the peasants and the consequent actions of the princes effectively stomped out the revolt. Müntzer as well as many of the peasants saw Luther's actions as betrayal.⁶⁰

The cry of many peasants, however, was that the abuses they suffered gave them justification to challenge existing circumstances so that they could be allowed to live under the rule of the Word of God. This theme for them was a logical consequence of the teachings of many reformers including Luther and Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli.⁶¹ The Word of God had become the source of social protest and revolution. Luther, preaching on the Sermon of the Mount, would comment,

⁵⁹ Abraham Friesen, *Reformation and Utopia: The Marxist Interpretation of the Reformation and Its Antecedents*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1974), 31; 34-45.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 27-75. Here Friesen evaluates the similarities and differences between Luther, Müntzer and the peasants and finds a variety of motives, disagreements and misunderstandings. Tom Scott also demonstrates that a variety of causes, influences and alliances could be found as caustic in addition to Luther's role in Tom Scott, "Reformation and Peasants War in Waldshut and Environs: A Structural Analysis. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 70 (1979): 140-169. See also, Tom Scott, "The Peasants' War: A Historiographical Review: Part I," *The Historical Journal* 22, no. 3 (September 1979): 693-720.

⁶¹ Ibid., 140; 142; 146-148; 149-151; 153. Scott's evaluation shows that some of the peasants were more directly influenced by the Swiss reforms in Zürich than Lutheran impulses in northern German territories. The nature of the requests, especially as represented in the Twelve Articles are not especially revolutionary but express a humble request to be treated justly and according to God's word. See, *RNH*, 389-391. For the reception and diffusion of the Articles among various peasant groups see Tom Scott, "The Peasants' War: A Historiographical Review: Part I," *The Historical Journal* 22, no. 3 (September 1979): 712-719.

They [the apostles] imagined He [Christ] would institute a new realm and empire and set them up in it to rule as lords and to conquer their enemies and the wicked world. . . The pope has longed for this, too. . . . Now, too, we see the whole world seeking its own advantage in the Gospel. This has brought on the rise of many sects, whose only aim is their own advantage and aggrandizement, together with the extermination of others. So it was with Thomas Münster and the peasants. . .⁶²

After the incidents that took place earlier in 1525 Luther was pressed by three other issues that would make him consider a more prominent role for secular authority.

The first was the perceived abysmal conditions found throughout Saxony parishes. A second issue was the controversy over the role of secular authorities to enforce the Edict of Worms at the Diet of Nuremburg 1523 which a recess proved to stall. The third was the Diet of Augsburg called in 1530 by Charles V hoping to re-establish religious unity within his empire by getting rid of religious diversity and retracting the earlier recess.⁶³

The Reformation was in danger of being crushed. Luther's responses suggest that his doctrine of the two kingdoms may have gone through various developments.⁶⁴ At this point he had to consider a more fundamental role for secular authorities, particularly princely involvement and thus the Princely Reformation had begun.⁶⁵

⁶² LW, 32:388-389.

⁶³ David M. Whitford, "Cura Religionis or Two Kingdoms: The Late Luther on Religion and the State in the Lectures on Genesis," *Church History* 73, no. 1 (March 2004): 54-55.

⁶⁴ Oliver O'Donovan and Joan Lockwood O'Donovan, eds. *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 581-584. For a recent view that suggests Luther remained consistent in his understanding see David M. Whitford, "Cura Religionis or Two Kingdoms: The Late Luther on Religion and the State in the Lectures on Genesis," *Church History* 73, no. 1 (March 2004): 41-63.

⁶⁵ Here we can cite several examples of this transition. The first is Luther's letter to Elector John of Saxony where he is saddened by the state of the churches in Saxony and asks him to see himself as an instrument of God and help solve the problem by establishing visitations and correctives. See Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 250-251. Strauss cites a letter from Luther to Nikolaus Hausmann a

Chapter 2

Zwingli & the Anabaptists

“These watchmen are the legitimate government, but it is no other than the one with the sword; i.e., the one we call secular government, whose office consists in directing all things in accord with God’s will, and where that is not possible, in accord with God’s command. It should therefore abolish all things that are based neither on the divine Word or command nor human righteousness and declare them illegal and unjust even for human righteousness.”

-Huldrych Zwingli, Sermon On Divine and Human Justice, 1523.⁶⁶

“Moreover, the gospel and its adherents are not to be protected by the sword, nor are they thus to protect themselves, which, as we learn from our brother, is thy opinion and practice.”

-Conrad Grebel in a letter to Thomas Müntzer, 1524.⁶⁷

While Luther and Erasmus’ relationship went from one of admiration to tense rhetoric, another humanist, the Swiss Huldrych Zwingli, was drinking deep of Erasmus’ philosophy of Christ.⁶⁸ The meeting between the Swiss and the Dutchman in 1515/16 would solidify Zwingli’s own path towards reformation.⁶⁹ Even before this meeting,

reformer in the city of Zwickau in September 1525 and the letter to John of Saxony in October 1525 from *WABr.*, no. 926, 937. 1525 is usually view as the transition from the communal reformation to the princely or city reformation because of the increase involvement of princes caused by the German Peasants War and the First Diet of Speyer in 1526, see C. Scott Dixon’s essay “The Princely Reformation,” in *RW*, 155-156. Another influence may have been Melanchthon who saw a more central role for the princes in establishing reform. See, *RW*, 151-152.

⁶⁶ SSA, 218.

⁶⁷ Conrad Grebel in *Anabaptism in Outline: Selected Primary Sources*, Walter Klassen, ed. (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1981), 267.

⁶⁸ W. P. Stephens, “Huldrych Zwingli: The Swiss Reformer,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 41, no. 1 (1988): 28-29, 33. Stephens locates several similarities between the Swiss reformer and Erasmus such as foci on God as Spirit, Platonic views of the human being as body and soul, and an emphasis on inward as opposed to outward piety. Zwingli testifies to the influence of Erasmus In his own reformation development in *An Exposition of the Articles of Faith* (1523) where he cites the influence of one of Erasmus poems and also *A Friendly Exegesis* (1527) In addition to Erasmus, he attests to the influence of his exegesis on John (the gospel), Paul’s Epistles and the writings of Augustine. For primary sources Stephens cites Z, 2:217.8-14; 2:219.14-17. See also, W. P. Stephens, “Zwingli and Luther” *Evangelical Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (1999): 52-56 for an evaluation of Luther’s influence on Zwingli or lack thereof in contrast to the aforementioned influences. In this same article Stephen’s highlights three major influences in Zwingli’s development; the two cited and a third (see pg. 30 of the footnoted text) stemming from his relationship with humanism and the writings of Augustine and the Church Fathers.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 28-29.

another impetus, Zwingli's patriotism, had inspired him from a very young age.⁷⁰ These influences combined to provide the pulse for Zwingli's reformation agenda.

Some Reformation Ideas. . . Again

As some historians have noted the importance of the Word of God to the reformers of the sixteenth-century was a common theme.⁷¹ For Zwingli and Conrad Grebel the situation was no different. They saw the same abuses and offered a similar solution, preaching the Word of God. Just as with Karlstadt this meant changing worship practices. Again we see no variance between the Swiss and the Saxon reformers in this regard. Therefore, in terms of Reformation ideas we will not explore anything new in this chapter.⁷² Instead we will look at how the implementation worked out for the Swiss context, particularly with Zwingli and the Anabaptists.

In order understand the relationship between the Anabaptists and Zwingli a bit of historical review is in order. Currently, it is generally accepted that the initial Anabaptists or Swiss Brethren were former members of Zwingli's own Reformation group in Zürich.⁷³ Their relationship has been characterized as that of action-reaction. However,

⁷⁰ Ibid, 27-28. Stephens highlights a writing in 1526 where Zwingli recounts his zeal as a youth (He cites Z, 5;250.6-11). Evidence of this can also be found in two of his allegorical works, *The Ox and Other Beasts* (1510) and *The Labyrinth* (1515) both of which show his objections against the use of paid Swiss soldiers to fight foreign battles. *The Labyrinth*, as Stephens points out, is observably more religious than his earlier work.

⁷¹ Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991),136-137. See his larger discussion 136-144.

⁷² Ibid. This does not mean there were not different nuances or that the Swiss Reformation was altogether unoriginal only that all of them recognized that a return to the Word was needed as a responses to the problems they were seeing.

⁷³ ARS, 5-64, 121-130. However, this evaluation was held much earlier as well, see Harold S. Bender, "Conrad Grebel, The Founder of Swiss Anabaptism" *Church History* 7, No. 2. (June 1938): 157-178.

John Yoder in his work on the two groups concludes that the break between them was more fluid and thus has been one of the contributing problems for scholarship in its attempts to determine who truly was Anabaptist.⁷⁴ Analyzing the fracture between Zwingli and the initial Anabaptists, particularly Conrad Grebel, gives us a starting point from which we can gain insight into how their Reformation ideas and implementation of reform played out in their relationship with one another thus revealing tensions and agreements.

Implementation

In this case the city was Zürich between 1522 and 1525. Zwingli himself had come to Zürich in 1519 after being asked to leave from Glarus (1506-1516) because of his hard stance on the use of Swiss mercenaries. He had also done a short stint at the monastery of Einsiedeln from 1516-1518. On his arrival at Zürich he became parish priest at one of the city's well-known churches, Grossmünster (Great Minster).⁷⁵ By the time he had arrived many of his thoughts on reform had already been formed and he began preaching only according to the Scriptures. Like Luther and Erasmus, Zwingli was convinced that the solution for the abuses he had seen was a return to the Word of God.⁷⁶ After several years disputes arose between him and the Bishop of Constance. This angst

⁷⁴ ARS, 135-136.

⁷⁵ Ulrich Gäbler, "Huldrych Zwingli and His City of Zurich," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 23, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 143-160. Gäbler suggests that the unique role Grossmünster played in the community as both a political, economic and educational resource yet in economic subjection to the city council put Zwingli "at the boundary between the secular city and ecclesiastical institution." Consequently Zwingli was called upon to play many roles in the Zürich community.

⁷⁶ W. P. Stephens, "Huldrych Zwingli: The Swiss Reformer," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 41, no. 1 (1988): 34-37.

was initially a result of his preaching against and the cessation of Lenten practices.⁷⁷

Later Zwingli's rhetoric became an overtly concentrated and pro-protestant criticism of Catholic and economic abuses. This disgruntled both the bishop and others in the community who profited from the current economic situation, particularly those invested in the mercenary system and the mendicant orders. This restlessness would finally result in a disputation called by the Zürich City Council. In April of 1522 the Bishop of Constance sent a delegation to the City Council to protest against Zwingli's preaching. Yet they did not move to settle the issue immediately per the Bishop's complaints. Instead they gave Zwingli the opportunity to present his teachings. This would lead to a major disputation early in 1523 where Zwingli was asked to address the Council directly. At the behest of the Bishop of Constance, the Swiss Confederacy was also putting pressure on the City Council to reject Zwingli's preaching and to control the medium through which his doctrines were being published. Gäbler summarizes the situation well,

Consequently, by the close of the year 1522 there were several different elements or constituencies involved in the conflict surrounding Zwingli's preaching: The Grossmünster itself must resolve the internal conflict concerning its priest, Zwingli; the City Council, in view of its responsibility for quiet and order in the city and countryside, had to make a decision for or against the outspoken parish priest; the bishop, who saw the existing ecclesiastical authority and institutions in jeopardy, could not but enter the fray, unwilling to accept the solution that was surfacing; and, finally the case had become one on the federal level, inasmuch as the other members of the Swiss Confederacy feared that by means of Zwingli's preaching, the Lutheran heresy would obtain a foothold on Swiss soil. Indeed, these four domains — the Grossmünster, the city of Zurich, the diocese and other Roman-Catholic institutions, and the Swiss Confederacy — remained till the end of Zwingli's life the most important spheres of influence impinging upon his activity and demanding his attention.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ ARS, 6-7. In addition to his preaching he wrote *On Choice and Freedom in Matters of Food* in which he stood by the side of two who had eaten sausages in his presence during the Lenten season although he did not eat them himself. Yoder attributes Zwingli's own reticence to his own understanding of the office of a pastor in contrast to the role of civil authorities. His evaluation is found in.

In the addition to these pressures another source of unrest was coming from within Zwingli's own Reformation group. It is perhaps Zwingli's response to all these external challenges that gave reasons for those in his own party to part ways.

To really understand the significance of these events it is important to point out that what the City Council did was in many ways unprecedented. As we will see their actions were perceived as presumption because for a city council to judge for themselves what the Scriptures said and how changes should be implemented was unexpected in a Catholic city.⁷⁹ With both Luther and Zwingli their local political authorities showed some ambivalence towards allowing one of their own to be extradited and judged at a foreign court. This in part was a constitutional struggle between local autonomy and imperial power. Here, the difference was that the City Council was serving akin to a church council, deciding the quality of Zwingli's orthodoxy and allowing him to air his ideas. It is very early then, even earlier than in Saxony that we see the role of political entities getting involved with the reforms of the Church.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 148-149.

⁷⁹ Ulrich Gäbler, "Huldrych Zwingli and His City of Zurich," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 23, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 146-151. There is some question as to the significance of this meeting and whether it was a 'set-up' or somehow outside the normal protocol. Gäbler evaluates three interpretations of what happened at the first disputation and then offers his own. Gäbler goes against the meeting as a set-up and recognizes the foundational role of the assembly but highlights that this, at least for Zürich, was "a new system of making ecclesiastical decisions . . ." and one that bore its full implication later in 1525. At the very least, what is important is that his evaluation highlights how what the Zürich City Council did in calling for a disputation was in fact unusual for a typical Catholic city, especially in light of the Bishop and the Swiss Confederacy's request to reject Zwingli. This situation thrust the city and eventually the region into reform. For more on the various views see Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: , 1975): 125, 36; Bernd Moeller, "Zwingli's Disputationen: Studien zu den Anfängen der Kirchenbildung und des Synodalwesens im Protestantismus," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 87 (1970): 275-324 and 91 (1974): 213-364; Heiko A. Oberman, *Masters of the Reformation: The Emergence of a New Intellectual Climate in Europe*, Translated by Dennis Martin (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 195-196, 210-239, 229-230 and Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*, Translated by Ruth C. L. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 68-71.

In the interim between April 1522 and the first disputation in January 1523 Zwingli wrote to the Bishop in a work called *Archeteles* or *Beginning and End* hoping that it would ease the stressed relationship. The tone was one of assurance that he was attempting to instruct his followers towards patience, particularly in matters that were *adiaphora*. At the end of the writing, however, there was included a short poem by Conrad Grebel that celebrated the reestablishment of the Gospel “over angry bishops.” As Yoder observes there is a clear difference in tone between the two writings and yet both were sent to the Bishop.⁸⁰ Zwingli maintained that he was not telling people to leave Catholic cloisters; meanwhile that same summer, Grebel and others were brought before a session of the City Council and asked not to speak against monks from the pulpit at which point a disruption apparently ensued during the meeting.⁸¹

The first disputation was held in January 1523. Zwingli had prepared sixty-seven articles to present. Some of these stated that the City Council should be allowed to exercise their decision-making skills to judge his preaching. An open invitation was given so any who wanted to protest against Zwingli had their opportunity. Then the Council would make their decision based on the arguments presented and the Bible. By the 29th as many as six hundred people were in attendance including a delegation commissioned by the bishop and headed by Johannes Fabri. This delegation adamantly denied that the City Council had the right to do what only a church council should do:

⁸⁰ *ARS*, 6. One does get a sense from Zwingli’s interactions that he feels he is trying to instill patience into his reform-minded colleagues in Zürich. See also *SSA*, 178-186.

⁸¹ *Ibid*. There are apparently several translations of these passages that render the nature of the commotion somewhat ambiguous. See *SSA*, 177.

decide issues of doctrine. Fabri refused to respond to Zwingli's theses directly.⁸² In the early afternoon of that same day the Council determined that no one had shown sufficient evidence that Zwingli's preaching was heretical and in fact gave him permission to continue while advising other ministers would do well to emulate him.

The Reformation party under Zwingli perceived that it had scored a major victory when the Zürich City Council decided only to adhere to the Scriptures at the first disputation in 1523. However, by June of 1523 little else had been changed in the city and its worship. Many were calling for the end of Catholic practices, particularly usury and the paying of tithes. At the end of June the City Council upheld the church's right to collect interest. Still, Grebel and other close colleagues trusted in Zwingli's leadership despite their own strong criticisms against the Council's decision. Zwingli responded to both City Council and those calling for the end of usury and tithes with his work *On Divine and Human Justice, and How They Appear to Stand Together*.⁸³ Impatience grew and some residents of Zürich began attacking images and the Mass. A commission of Zwingli and others suggested that another disputation should be held. He offered his proposal for a change of the Mass in August under the title *An Attempt Regarding the Canon of the Mass* and again in September in *Apologia*. This last work answered the criticism of some of his followers but apparently not those who were later to become

⁸² Ibid., 148. See also *ARS*, 6-7.

⁸³ *ARS*, 9, 151-154. According to Yoder, Zwingli posited that divine justice reigns over the inner life and demands (concerning the topic of interest) that a person give freely but because of humanity's sinfulness there must nevertheless be civil authorities instituted by God. See also the explanation provided in *SSA*, 210-213.

Anabaptists.⁸⁴ By then the imprisonment of some iconoclasts prompted the City Council to act. Since they did not want to decide the issues themselves and having not heard from the Bishop of Constance regarding the first disputation, they called for another disputation and it was held in October of 1523. It is during this transition that we begin to see the tension build within the Zürich Reformation camp.

Tensions

At the center of the tension between the early Anabaptists and Zwingli was the issue of implementing reform and consequently the relationship between the church and secular powers. Who should enforce whose rules? What is the Church and how is it distinguished from the larger community? Out of these questions were birthed the topics of which so much was argued: non-violence over violence, infant baptism over believers baptism, usury and the role of the local city council. Early on one can find, in the attitudes of Zwingli and those of his followers who would eventually be Anabaptists, an initial discontent at the pace of reforms in their local communities.⁸⁵

The importance of the role of the City Council, however, was particularly important for practical reasons because whatever reforms that were to be done were implemented by the Council. At issue then was the role Zwingli would allow the City Council. It would seem that Zwingli's position had changed. Before 1523 he seemed willing to implement reform regardless of the City Council's acceptance of such reform. After the decision in January 1523 he regarded the City Council as a group of Christians

⁸⁴ Ibid., 5-13. Yoder tediously shows that Grebel and others still supported Zwingli amidst criticism and perceived defeats until the later part of the second disputation in October 1523.

⁸⁵ SSA, 177; 178-186.

who had decided to yield to the Spirit and Scripture. Since they were Christians and therefore a part of the Christian community, they could and should judge what was scriptural.⁸⁶ Also because they were magistrates and therefore were in charge of keeping order, they should decide how reforms should be implemented. Underlying both the actions of the magistrates and Zwingli's acceptance of their decision was the basic belief that the magistrates' role was two-fold: to allow the preaching of the Gospel according to the Scriptures and to uphold order and peace. Christian and magistrate in his mind had become one, therefore their decisions were valid and implementation should be wrought through them.⁸⁷ Conrad Grebel and others, mainly Simon Stumpf and Felix Mantz, seemed to see the magistrates only as persons exerting worldly power. Consequently when reform was delayed they saw the primary problem in the role that the magistrates were allowed to play in the implementation process. Like Zwingli before 1523 they rejected that those who hold any worldly power should be allowed a role of leadership in the reforms of the Church. To compound the issue Zwingli's understanding was not fully articulated and obvious misunderstandings occurred which contributed to the break

⁸⁶ W. P. Stephens, "Authority in Zwingli—In the First and Second Disputations," *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, no. 1 (June 1999): 66-70. In the disputations Stephens cites Z, 1:486.11; 2:680.11-15; 2:683. 18-21; 2:783-784. Stephens emphasizes that Zwingli saw the Council as a local representation of the universal church and that this difference was the main difference between him and his opponents. This can be seen in how he addresses the council. For example during the first and second disputation he refers to the council not only as 'my lords' but also 'brothers in Christ' and begins the second disputation with the quotation of Matthew 18.19-20. He also contrasts Zwingli's view of a legitimate council and the view of the Bishop's delegation where Zwingli seems fairly confident that any council that does not include the local church and is only called by Pope's and bishops has little likelihood of being faithful to Scripture and the Spirit. Part of the disputation is translated in SSA, 196-203.

⁸⁷ See for example his defense of this ability at the second disputation; Z, 1:680.24-32. See also, Harold S. Bender, "Conrad Grebel, the Founder of Swiss Anabaptism," *Church History* 7, no. 2 (June 1938): 166-167.

between them and Zwingli.⁸⁸ From their perspective Zwingli had switched sides and had compromised with worldly powers.⁸⁹ In Zwingli's mind the City Council had made the necessary alignment to allow them an influential role since they had decided to allow the Gospel to be preached according to Scriptures. They were Christians and therefore part of the church.⁹⁰

From the second disputation onward the situation between those who supported Zwingli and those who supported Grebel grew increasingly tense. Grebel, like many others in Zürich, was frustrated with the pace of reform and Zwingli's constant appeal to spare the 'weak' and keep order. Grebel's sentiments toward Zwingli had changed drastically as was evident in a letter to his mentor, friend and brother-in-law Vadian in December 18, 1523. In the letter he criticized Zwingli's consent to the decisions of the City Council and questioned his ability to be a shepherd.⁹¹ Still Grebel, Mantz and Stumpf proposed to Zwingli a way to challenge the Council hoping to polarize those who wanted to follow Christ and those who did not. Zwingli rejected the proposal. It would be during this time that Grebel would write to Thomas Müntzer, Martin Luther, and Andreas

⁸⁸ See for example the exchange in the second disputation after Conrad Grebel asked that the priests be instructed about how the mass was to be observed since many wished that it would not continue in its Roman Catholic form. Simon Stumpf, a member of Zwingli's own group, interrupts when Zwingli addresses the council with, 'My lords will decide how the mass should be henceforth be properly observed.' Z, 2:783-784. See Yoder's evaluation also in *ARS*, 11-16. Yoder sees this as the first noticeable "verbal exchange" that highlights the growing divergence of views between Zwingli and some of his followers. In W. Peter Stephens, "Authority in Zwingli—In the First and Second Disputations," *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, no. 1 (June 1999): 63-64. Stephens also notes how at the second disputation an obvious divide seems to form.

⁸⁹ *ARS*, 259-299. Yoder sees the crux of the problem in Zwingli's inconsistency and unconscious compromise. One of the differences between Yoder and early Anabaptists is that Grebel and his companions are convinced that Zwingli was aware of his compromise and ignored it and them, whereas Yoder gives a more reserved evaluation.

⁹⁰ *SSA*, 198.

⁹¹ *SSA*, 275-276.

Karlstadt for support. He would receive no formal reply from Müntzer or Luther.

Karlstadt would visit but would not, for unknown reasons, stand with Grebel and his group. Nevertheless Grebel and those around him would meet in Bible studies for almost a year before the first believer's baptism in January of 1525.

What is notable about this period is that they began to form their own theology past that which they had received from Zwingli. Already by the time they wrote to Müntzer on September 5, 1524 their ideas on community, though sharing the same trajectory as Zwingli, nevertheless went beyond where Zwingli was willing to go.⁹² The community must always be suffering and must be willing to submit to community discipline, they would say. This is accomplished through a willful baptism; therefore, infant baptism is to be rejected.⁹³ On reading of Luther's condemnation of Müntzer's revolutionary tendencies they swiftly submitted another letter further giving their stance on Christian passivity. Although the Christian community may suffer they must not use the sword to cause others to suffer.⁹⁴ These letters show just that they thought certain reformers were still in error. It also revealed that they were growing apart from Zwingli. After several failed attempts at dialogues with Zwingli the break went public and at the end of 1524 Zwingli wrote *Those Who Give Cause for Rebellion*.⁹⁵ In response Felix

⁹² ARS, 21. Yoder notes similar themes are found in Zwingli's *On the True Shepherd* (October 1523).

⁹³ SSA, 290-291; 284-292.

⁹⁴ SSA, 292-294. These events; the writing of both letters and the reading of Luther's tract against Müntzer were all within the timeframe of a day.

⁹⁵ In this writing Zwingli blames both Protestant and Catholic groups for the harried situation. He actually spends more time criticizing those who caused the uproar over paying tithes and interest than he does in dealing with the issue of infant baptism. See ARS, 22-24. These dialogues were private but were attended by members of the clergy, the city council and Zwingli and were held in October and December

Mantz wrote his *Petition*.⁹⁶ Inflamed by still further unrest, the City Council called a public disputation in January 1525. Their decision was that infant baptism must be done, unauthorized meetings were banned and any leaders from the Anabaptist group that were not from Zürich were to be deported by January 21. The same day Grebel baptized Jörg Blaurock.⁹⁷

What becomes apparent from the dialogues and history of the Anabaptists and Zwingli are several things. First, as with Luther's reforms in Saxony, it revealed the precarious tension between political authority and ecclesial authority especially in the area of reform implementation. These events in Zürich preceded those of the German Peasants War of 1525. While Luther was disputing with revolting peasants and Thomas Müntzer over what reform was and how it should be implemented, Zwingli and the Anabaptists were at the end of a similar debate over the involvement of the City Council in the reform of Zürich churches. They were similar in that the involvement of political entities in reform had become a reality. If ever the Reformation really was just about theological reform it was now also about social and political participation.

It would seem that even if the City Council had not backed him early on, Zwingli still would have been concerned about the "weak" and old believers who had not yet been persuaded by Reformation preaching. In these cases he still would have wanted to appropriate reforms in an orderly and tentative manner. His core method for this approach was stated in several of his writings to others who were attempting reforms in

1524 with the result that Zwingli assumed the issues were settled while Grebel and his group felt it was an utter disaster.

⁹⁶ *ARS*, 25. Mantz's basic protest is that their group was never adequately heard, especially since Zwingli had the tendency to dominate the discussions. This argument would be reiterated often.

⁹⁷ *SSA*, 297-298; 338-342.

their own cities.⁹⁸ His delineation that so much of what the early Anabaptists wanted was an obsession with outward piety (such as baptism) begins to challenge the idea that Zwingli held rigidly to his principle of *adiaphora*, that all that was not directly commanded by Scripture should be rejected. This leads us to a second observation, that there was no fundamental agreement as to what was *adiaphorous*.

This revealed yet another and more encompassing problem. These reform-minded groups, despite their vocal assertions that they would listen to the clear Word of God, did not always agree on specific interpretations of Scripture.⁹⁹ This comes out all the more clearly in the dialogues between Zwingli and the early Anabaptists between 1524 and 1525. Many of these disputations were held in an attempt to come to a clear and convincing understanding of the issues brought up and many times they lacked agreement. This quandary would repeat itself later in the more well-known disagreement between Zwingli and Luther over the Eucharist.

Two other areas also come to the fore. The first is over how the Christian community should be constituted. Should it be visible and separate from society or invisible and part of society?¹⁰⁰ As was the case with Luther and the peasants we see a disagreement over how reform was understood and should be implemented. Again the problem showed a basic misunderstanding or disagreement over the interface between

⁹⁸ ARS, 17. His position is stated explicitly in a letter in 1527 to the Bern city council where he advises them to follow his example in how reform was implemented in Zürich. It also is implied in his *On Divine and Human Justice* as seen in the opening quote.

⁹⁹ ARS, 197-209. Also see Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 136-139.

¹⁰⁰ ARS, 266-299.

the Church and society. Ultimately for the Anabaptists this made them reflect on the nature of the Church and how it was to be distinct from the rest of the world.

Lastly, an important development takes place here that is of social significance. Even though the role of the City Council was nuanced in Zwingli's understanding, its involvement meant that the use of political means in order to establish an orderly reform was acceptable. Similar instances of this could also be found in the German Reformation as princes increasingly became an avenue of reform, especially after 1525. As the reform spread throughout the Swiss cantons the formulation found in Zürich prompted increasing political tension between the other Swiss confederate states. In addition, the increased involvement of political entities meant that the classes associated with those entities became more involved. As mentioned in the introduction, the result of the rise in international trade was the emergence of the burgher class. They had already begun to increase before the sixteenth century resulting in a swell of participation by burghers in territorial and city developments, particularly the city council.¹⁰¹ For the Reformation in general, and in our case in Zürich, that meant that non-clerics, particularly burghers had an increased influence in the activities of the church. As Oberman notes, this "symbiosis" between Zwingli and the various political entities in Zürich was short-lived. These events, however, foreshadowed what would happen throughout the rest of Protestant Europe.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ *RPC*, 140-155, 177.

¹⁰² *RRR*, 212-213.

PART II

CONFESSIONALIZATION IN THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (1525-1648)

As one scholar notes, “it has always been a curious phenomenon that the post-Reformation period of Protestant theology is one of the least known in the history of Christian thought and, at the same time, a period in the interpretation of which are many hidden agendas.”¹⁰³ Asselt is referring to the hidden agendas of those who would seek to find “the return of medieval dialectic and Aristotelian logic to the Protestant classroom and, therefore a distortion or perversion of Reformation theology.”¹⁰⁴ In recent years a broader picture has been offered of the Post-Reformation that has sought to include not only theological development but also the social and political changes that occurred.¹⁰⁵

Before we start some definitions need to be made. First, the Post-Reformation for this thesis will include the years between 1525-1648. Due to constraints in space there will be no thorough treatment of the Thirty Years War. The compromise of the First Diet of Speyer in 1526 that “every State shall live, rule, and believe as it may hope and trust to answer before God and his imperial Majesty,” was the first part in a long process of reordering society according to loyalty to a particular confession. This process is what

¹⁰³ Willem J. van Asselt, “Protestant Scholasticism: Some Methodological Consideration in the Study of Its Development,” *Dutch Review of Church History* 81, no. 3 (October 2001): 260.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ *RPC*, 206-207.

will be called confessionalization and it is recognized as both an effect and agent of reform.¹⁰⁶

For the sake of clarity and brevity we will divide the Post-Reformation into two distinct periods according to confessional developments. Chapter 5 will cover *Lutheran Confessionalization* and Chapter 6 will look at *Reformed Confessionalization* as it developed within the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Although these periods overlap they tend to follow a chronological order. Finally to truly understand this entire time frame we must keep in mind that Charles V was Catholic and as such saw his duty to maintain unity within the empire. Although he compromised with the Lutherans numerous times for political expediency in the years spanning 1525-1555, he also continued to try and conform the empire to Roman Catholicism. The second activity we must keep in mind is that of the Roman Catholic Church. The Council of Trent which took place from 1534-1545 would eventually spur the Counter-Reformation. The impetus for this was maintained by a new order that was initiated under Ignatius of Loyola, the Jesuits.

This section carries a two-fold importance for this thesis. The first reason it is important is because confessionalization was a social effect of the Reformation. It is arguably one of the foremost developments that became the solidifying agent of so many other effects that began with the reformers. The second reason it is important is because it

¹⁰⁶ *RPC*, 209; 271. Schilling notes, “‘Confessionalization’ signifies a fundamental process of society, which had far-reaching effects upon the public and private life of the individual in European society,” (209). He also states that, “[confessionalization is] a phenomenon that is understood to be, on the one hand, the emergence of a confessional church whose theology is defined by a formal confession and, on the other, a process affecting all of society,” (271). Here we may also want to note that the first “confessions” as documents and declarations of faith did not actually occur until 1530 with the presentation of the Augsburg Confession at the Diet of Augsburg along with those offered by Zwingli and Martin Bucer (*Confessio Tetrapolitana*).

helps us understand the transforming social environment of the Holy Roman Empire in the Post-Reformation. Confessionalization, then, will be important in understanding our last section which looks at various effects thematically.

Chapter 3

Lutheran Confessionalization

“Oh, my God! We have gone astray! I was born and bred a Lutheran. When the Calvinist and Zwinglian religion arrived in the Palatinate, I had to change my faith. Now the Papists have come too, saying their religion is the true one because it is the oldest. We have really gone astray!”

– Blacksmith in the town of Waldeck interrupting a church service in February 1627¹⁰⁷

The timeframe of 1525-1555 is punctuated by various diets, colloquies and political events that we cannot detail in this thesis, however, several stand out which show the development of confessionalization for Lutheranism and would later prepare the way for Calvinist confessionalization.

German Peasants War & Imperial Diets of Speyer

Our first events surround the German Peasants War of 1525. For many scholars this event, or Luther’s reaction to it, ended the Communal Reformation and began the Princely Reformation.¹⁰⁸ Luther’s appeal to the princes to stomp out the revolting

¹⁰⁷ Bent A. Kümin, ed., *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470-1630*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History, (Aldersgate: Scolar Press, 1996), 149.

¹⁰⁸ In the last 30 years several “reformations” have been posited in the larger Reformation period so much so that some are questioning the idea of an overarching category of the Reformation in favor of plural reformations. For a short overview of this see the introduction in Bent A. Kümin, ed., *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470-1630*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History, (Aldersgate: Scolar Press, 1996), 1-17. For other examples see Petegree’s history of the Reformation which attempts to draw on many of these developments naming his chapters accordingly: ‘The German Peasants’ War and the Rural Reformation’, ‘The Princely Reformation’ in *RW*. Others would also include a reformation of the cities or urban areas. For examples see, Steven Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) and Bernard Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, Translated by H. C. Erik Midelfort & Mark U. Edwards, Jr., (Durham: Labyrinth Press, 1982). What is gaining agreement is that the Second Reformation can be seen in the rise of Calvinism in the Holy Roman Empire. See especially, Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Vol. 27, (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1991); Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, Vol. 40, (New York: E. J. Brill, 1992) and Robert Kolb, *Luther’s Heirs Define His*

peasants sanctioned the use of princely power. The First Diet of Speyer, which was called by the absent Charles V, was partly a response to the German Peasants War and the spread of Luther's teaching. The absence of the Emperor was prompted by a Turkish invasion and its surprising victory over the King of Hungary at the Battle of Mohacs.¹⁰⁹ Tending to the Hungarian crisis not only distracted Charles V, but also occupied his armies making it untenable to confront Luther's followers by force and allowing for an interim concession. The concession allowed the coexistence of Lutherans and Catholics. Under this development a ruler decided how to deal with religious issue according to his conscience before God and the Emperor.¹¹⁰ This concession was to be in place until a church council could be called.¹¹¹ The end of the German Peasants War began a transition from a more communal and grassroots Reformation to one guided by magistrates.¹¹²

In the intervening three years between the First Diet and the Second Diet of Speyer, Luther's reform strategy was played out in Saxony. This included the reorganization and standardization of the Mass as detailed in Luther's *German Mass* (1526) and the institution of a visitation process by which instruction provided by Melancthon in *Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony* (1528)

Legacy: Studies on Lutheran Confessionalization, Variorum Collected Studies Series C539 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1996).

¹⁰⁹ *LBio*, 359.

¹¹⁰ *RW*, 140.

¹¹¹ *AR*, 255-256.

¹¹² Tom Scott, 'The Common People in the German Reformation,' *The Historical Journal* 34, no. 1 (1991): 183-184. Here again we have an instance where several 'reformations' are posited. Scott's article reviews several works on the reformation from the 'common man's' perspective. As he cites the work of Bernd Moeller and Peter Blickle focus on the communal nature of the peasant's appeal both in values and in governance.

was utilized to insure proper instruction and the spread of Reformation teaching.¹¹³

Changes were also made at the University of Wittenberg to ensure reform-minded individuals and subject matter were aligned with the burgeoning Reformation agenda. Along with the reforms of Saxony both Luther and Melancthon advised other leaders and territorial princes on how reforms could be accomplished.

Seeing that the political solution of 1526 only served to spread Lutheranism, the Second Imperial Diet of Speyer (April 12, 1529) was called by Charles V. His representative the Archduke Ferdinand who had presided in the First Diet of Speyer, would repeat his role. By now the Reformation had gone through a tumultuous period among the lower classes but was increasingly being adopted by the princes of various territories. In addition to dealing with the Lutheran problem there were calls for support, particularly financial support, for the conflict with the Turks. The dual problem of France, now in its second conflict, and the Turkish invasion into Vienna prevented Charles' attendance again. However Catholic estates outnumbered Protestant estates and their influence led to a reversal of the previous compromise and threatened the progress made by the Reformation by imposing an imperial ban (*Reichsakt*) on its activities. Again mention was made of a future church council. As a result of the decision the Lutherans entered a legal appeal against the recess by submitting a "Letter of Protestation" signed by the Lutheran reformers, fourteen imperial free cities and six princes. Thus the name "protestants" was first used and attached to the Reformation.¹¹⁴ As suggested previously

¹¹³ *RW*, 153-154.

¹¹⁴ *LBio*, 236. Their basic argument was that the unanimous decision of the all the estates achieved at the First Diet of Speyer could not be overturned except by another unanimous decision. See Mark

we begin to see the increased involvement of princes and magistrates in the process of the Reformation.

Marburg Colloquy, the Diet of Augsburg of 1530 & the Formation of the Schmalkaldic League

In this subsection we will observe the continued efforts by the reformers to gain the right to exist within the empire without being harassed.¹¹⁵ These efforts were displayed in two areas. The first was the attempt to consolidate the Reformation by bringing together Luther and Zwingli's followers. An example of which was the Marburg Colloquy in October 1529. Both political and Reformation leaders sought to accomplish this in order to present a unified front.¹¹⁶ It was not to be. Luther and Zwingli could not agree on the article concerning the Eucharist. Politically this meant that the cities where Zwinglianism had taken hold were now estranged from Lutheran princes. The Diet of Augsburg would be held in the spring of the next year (April-September 1530), called by the Emperor and promising to give a fair hearing to the Evangelicals.¹¹⁷ Several confessional statements were offered as a defense, but all were rejected and the Protestants were told to abandon their heretical views within a year's time or suffer persecution. The failure of the Colloquy to establish unity and the Emperor's decision at the Diet of Augsburg made them politically vulnerable. The result of the threat was the formation of the Schmalkaldic league by Philipp of Hesse and John Fredrick of Ernestine

Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to The European Reformation c. 1500-1618*, (New York: Longman, 1998), 60-61.

¹¹⁵ This was only attempted by Lutheran, Zwinglian and several other Protestants supporting Martin Bucer. Noticeably absent were the Anabaptists.

¹¹⁶ The most notable figures were Philipp Melancthon and Philipp of Hesse.

¹¹⁷ The term "evangelical" in this thesis is used synonymously with the term protestant.

Saxony to serve as a way of protecting the Lutheran evangelical estates. In December of 1530 seven princes and the cities of Bremen and Magdeburg would draw up troops and adopt the Augsburg Confession.¹¹⁸ In February of 1531, leaders of Strasbourg and other southern cities also became part of the league. In April of the same year Luther wrote his *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen / Warning to the German people* where he grudgingly conceded that political resistance against Charles V may be justifiable based on the concept of self-defense.¹¹⁹ Later in June (26-28) theologians and jurists met in Torgau to address whether or not political and military resistance was justifiable and their answer followed Luther's concession.¹²⁰

These events are important because they show another step in the process of confessionalization. Now reasons had been laid for the formation of political and military bodies around confessions. These bodies would be used to serve as protectors of Lutheran Protestant estates and therefore the Lutheran evangelical movement. The unfortunate events of the Marburg Colloquy meant that Luther and Zwingli were not only geographically apart but theologically and politically at odds. These activities were not without critics.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Mark Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to The European Reformation c. 1500-1618*, (New York: Longman, 1998): 62.

¹¹⁹ Neal Blough, "The Uncovering of the Babylonian Whore: Confessionalization and Politics Seen from the Underside," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 75, no. 1 (January 2001): 41-42. See especially note 22.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid., 37-55. The Anabaptists had probably fared the worst from the growing involvement of political entities in the Reformation. An anonymous tract, *Aufdeckung der Babylonischen Hurn and Antichrists/The Uncovering of the Babylonian Whore and Antichrists*, was likely published sometime in late 1531 to early 1532. Here scholars have identified the hand of Pilgram Marpeck, a prominent Anabaptist who had worked in Strasbourg and had been against the city joining the Schmalkaldic League.

After the formation of the Schmalkaldic League the Peace of Nuremburg was signed in 1532 with vested interests on all sides. The Emperor gained the support he needed for the ongoing war with the Turks and the Protestants were allowed to exist in relative peace. The next ten years were scattered with various colloquies between Protestants and Catholics. The last of these would be interrupted by the first Schmalkaldic War provoked by Maurice of Saxony who betrayed the League. He made a deal with the emperor and incited war by invading the neighboring Ernestine Saxony. The rest of the League would respond, but disagreements and poor implementation would eventually lead to their defeat. Some northern cities, particularly Magdeburg, successfully staved off the siege. The Emperor took advantage of the defeat by attempting to force a compromise between Catholics and Lutherans. The Augsburg Interim, which highly favored Catholics, was decreed in 1548 but was rejected by Magdeburg as an unacceptable compromise.

Magdeburg's unwillingness to accept the Interim was predicated on a perceived compromise by some of Luther's heirs, particularly Melanchthon. Melanchthon's willingness to work with both Catholic and Zwinglian representatives at both the Marburg Colloquy and the Augsburg Diets drew criticism. Splits began to shown within

It is likely he feared that such developments would mean tougher times on Anabaptists throughout the Empire.

¹²² For a thorough review of these debates and their relation to confessionalization see Robert Kolb, *Confessing the Faith: Reformers Define the Church, 1530-1580*, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991), Robert Kolb, *Luther's Heirs Define His Legacy: Studies on Lutheran Confessionalization*, Variorum Collected Studies Series C539, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1996), Robert Kolb, "Dynamics of Party Conflict in the Saxon Late Reformation: Gnesio-Lutherans vs. Philippists," *The Journal of Modern History* 49, no. 3 On Demand Supplement (September 1977): D1289-D1305 and Robert Kolb, "Altering the Agenda, Shifting the Strategy: The Grundfest of 1571 as Philippist Program for Lutheran Concord," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 3 (1999): 705-726.

the Lutheran camp. Three controversies would ensue over the next seven years. The *adiaphora* controversy revealed frustrations over the fact that so many Catholic rituals were allowed to persist.¹²³ Melanchthon's stoic formula of *adiaphora*, which was applied to what he considered non-essential church practices, was seen as a thin veneer by which the old practices could be reinstituted. The second controversy was over the central tenet of justification. Georg Major, a student of Melanchthon's, unwittingly made statements that were construed by another professor to mean that good works were necessary for salvation. Melanchthon while wanting to avoid the fray, attempted to defend Major and soon the battle lines were drawn between the Philippists and the Gnesio-Lutherans.¹²⁴ Meanwhile the long promised church council would begin in Trent on December 13, 1545. Two months later Luther would breathe his last in Eisleben.¹²⁵

The last major fracture would be over accusations that Melanchthon had moved toward a Calvinist understanding of the Eucharist.¹²⁶ This had its roots further back during the colloquies of the early 1540's. During these colloquies Melanchthon had offered the *Augustana Variata* as a base document. It was a variant version of the Augsburg Confession and it showed a noticeable shift in Melanchthon's thought concerning the Eucharist. Although the colloquies failed, they provided fodder for another up and coming Swiss reformer, John Calvin. Calvin had agreed with the *Variata*

¹²³ Here we can note, Nikolaus Amsdorf, who was a refuge in the city of Magdeburg and adamantly rejected the Interim Compromise. See *RW*, 389.

¹²⁴ *RW*, 389.

¹²⁵ *LBio*, 8; 342.

¹²⁶ *RW*, 390. Here Petegree cites the Hamburg pastor Joachim Westphal the main agitator against Melanchthon. See also Robert Kolb, "Georg Major as Controversialist: Polemics in the Late Reformation," *Church History* 45, no. 4 (December 1976): 455-468.

and continued to work to unite the Swiss Reformation around it. He sustained irenic correspondences with Melancthon and when the unification of the Swiss Reformation took place in 1549 under the Zürich Consensus, it was Calvin's hope that they could easily unite with the Lutherans, thus gaining the protection of the Nuremburg Peace.¹²⁷ In 1551 the Consensus was published and it became the motivation for another attack on Melancthon. Thus the Crypto-Calvinist controversy was born and suspicion against Reformed irenicism was slowly growing. The Gnesio-Lutherans would engage in fierce polemics against any perceived efforts to compromise with Zwinglian/Calvinist or Catholic representatives.¹²⁸

This all had political implications. The staunch Gnesio-Lutherans, most of whom were in Magdeburg and other northern cities, actively defied the Interim policies and promoted resistance against the Emperor. In 1552 Maurice of Saxony would betray again. He turned against Charles V and with the support of Henry II of France and the remaining members of the Schmalkaldic League nearly captured the Emperor. At the Peace of Passau the Emperor released both Philip of Hesse and John Frederick and promised peace until a diet could be held in 1555.

The promised diet was held in Augsburg. A political compromise was agreed upon that allowed Lutheranism to exist alongside Catholicism without harassment. In secular territories and cities the ruler had the right to determine the religion, *cuius region, eius religio*. Provisions were also made for allowing Catholic minorities to exist within

¹²⁷ Mark Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to The European Reformation c. 1500-1618*, (New York: Longman, 1998), 249. The uniting of the Swiss Reformation after Zwingli's death through Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger around the Consensus affectively tied Calvin and Zwingli named to the Reformed tradition.

¹²⁸ *RW*, 390.

Protestant Imperial cities. Also instituted was the concept of *reservatio ecclesiastica* which basically established that all Lutheran lands that existed before the Peace of Passau were to stay Lutheran. All princes that decided to become Lutheran thereafter would forfeit their positions, lands and rights.¹²⁹

The toleration was based on acceptance of the Augsburg Confession which meant that any other reform-minded groups would either have to ascribe to this confession or return to Catholicism. All other reform activities were illegal. The continued efforts by Lutheran reformers to gain the right to exist within the empire without being harassed had succeeded. Although attempts to consolidate the Reformation had failed, the Lutheran evangelicals now had both political authorities to provide protection and legal status in the Empire. Already we have seen how the reformers used the apparatus of the State to accomplish certain goals of reform, whether they be peaceful reforms, visitations, or to provide protection. The age of confessionalization was in full swing.

¹²⁹ Mark Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to The European Reformation c. 1500-1618*, (New York: Longman, 1998), 63-64. Ferdinand, Charles V's brother and the overseer of the agreement, also made a "secret declaration . . . to protestant estates in ecclesiastical principalities that they would, in practice, not be molested during any future changes," (64).

Chapter 4

Reformed Confessionalization

"We live in a time of great religious division: . . . Papists oppose Lutherans. . . , Lutherans fight Papists and Calvinists, and all three are against the Schwenkfelders and Anabaptists. . . . No wonder people get discouraged and know no longer what to believe,"

-Aegidius Hunnius (1550-1603), 1592, a Wittenberg professor after the failed attempt to convert Saxony to Calvinism.¹³⁰

Three forces would impinge on the religious peace achieved at Augsburg in 1555.

The first was the efforts of the Catholic Church through the decisions made at the Council of Trent. The main purveyors of Catholic reform were the Jesuits. Initiated by Ignatius of Loyola, their ardent loyalty fed into Rome's agenda to recatholicize Europe. The second was the growing exodus of Protestants caused by the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands and France. Included also in this group were Philippists who were increasingly squeezed out of Lutheran territories as Lutheranism attempted to deal with its internal controversies. The third would be the conversion of the Palatinate effectively announcing the presence of the Second Reformation.¹³¹

The same year that Calvin founded his Genevan Academy in 1559 Frederick III became the new Prince Elector of the Palatinate, a German and Lutheran territory of the Empire. His predecessor Otto Heinrich had successfully transitioned the territory into

¹³⁰ Bodo Nischan, "Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization," *Archive für Refomationsgeschichte* 88 (1997): 199. Nischan takes this quote from Aegidius Hunnius, *Postilla / oder außlegung der Episteln und Evangelien auff alle Sontag / Fest und Feyertage / durch das gantze Jahr* (Wittenberg: Johann Spiess, 1592), 1:1007.

¹³¹ *RPC*, 262-264 but see the larger context, 259-301. The Second Reformation is the rise of Reformed/Calvinism within the Holy Roman Empire. Schilling posits four phases of the second reformation, 1) the pre-confessional state in the late 1540's to the early 1570's, 2) the crisis of Philippism and the pressure for confessionalization in the 1570's, 4) confessionalization and the introduction of the Second Reformation and 4) after the confessionalization (259-271). In addition because the Second Reformation coincided with the confessionalization process Schilling suggests that the terms Second Reformation and Reformed Confessionalization are interchangeable terms (271, 300-301). *RW*, 396-403. Petegree actually starts the Second Reformation with second conversion of the Palatinate.

Lutheranism, yet at Heidelberg University Heinrich had hired professors with various religious standings. The mixed group of Calvinists, Philippists and Lutherans would explode during Frederick III's reign. Several disputations were held. Frederick III would mediate but he also searched the issue out for himself. The sum affect was frustration with Lutheran polemics and his conversion to Reformed views. This would be confirmed at the Naumburg Convention (1561) which was held for the purpose of bringing unity among German Protestants. All that changed with Frederick's revelation.

Frederick III's activities would turn to transforming the Palatinate according to Reformed doctrine and practices.¹³² In 1563 the Heidelberg Confession was offered and the Empire was on edge. At the Colloquy of Maulbronn Frederick III was accused by Emperor Maximilian of trespassing the arrangements of the Peace of Augsburg. The Heidelberg Confession was not considered legal. Lutheran Protestant estates were uneasy. At the Diet of Augsburg (1566) the German leaders strongly rebuked Frederick III yet they would not exclude him from the protection provided by the Peace.¹³³

From this point we can simply state that Frederick III saw the incident as concession and attempted to spread Calvinism throughout the empire. Meanwhile the Counter-Reformation was making headway in France, Spain, and the Netherlands. With recatholicization being felt on all sides, Frederick III and his Calvinist colleagues saw the need to provide a united Protestant front. This was initially attempted with irenic advances towards various courts, particularly those of Elector August of Saxony where

¹³² *RW*, 392-393. Petegree states that Frederick III removed all Lutheran pastors and professors replacing them with reformed theologians. In addition he took on the iconoclastic practices and reorganized the church according to the models provided by Geneva and Zürich.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 393. Petegree suggests that this was because they were led by the Elector August of Saxony who wanted to maintain peace so he could "consolidate recent political gains."

supporters of Melanchthon were eager to establish ties. This immediately came under criticism by the Gnesio-Lutherans. August, unlike Frederick V, responded to the growing Catholic pressure by trying to bring together a fractured Lutheranism. This meant cleansing his court of Crypto-Calvinists and giving the cold shoulder to any advances by non-accepted confessions. Frederick III would die in 1576 and the Palatinate would return to Lutheranism. With support of other princes August went on a determined mission to bring a vote on an official interpretation of the Lutheran confession. The process was finalized in 1580 with the Formula of Concord. The Book of Concord included the Augsburg Confession, the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian creeds and other authoritative documents. Cries could still be heard from irenic voices. They despaired that disunity would make the evangelical movement weak against the papists.¹³⁴

While unity in Lutheran Germany was being restored, the spread of Calvinism had continued to the territories of Nassau-Dillenburg where Philippists and Calvinists were welcome. In 1578, by princely decree, Johann VI brother of William of Orange declared a Second Reformation. The Nassau Confession was used and he clearly saw the reform as a continuance of the Wittenberg reform and a rebuff to the Counter-Reformation. From here the spread of Calvinism can be seen primarily as project of princes.¹³⁵ Several examples show how throughout the empire territories went back and forth between Calvinism and Lutheranism, most notably Saxony, Hesse-Kassel and

¹³⁴ Bodo Nischan, "Reformed Irenicism and the Leipzig Colloquy of 1631" *Central European History* 9, no. 1 (March 1976): 6-7. Nischan cites here a pamphlet that warned of the consequences not uniting.

¹³⁵ *RPC*, 214.

Brandenburg. In numerous provinces the people rejected the change and the situation became violent.¹³⁶ The territory of Anhalt, however, became a place of refuge for many fleeing Philippists and Calvinists.¹³⁷

With the adoption of Calvinism by the Palatinate, the Second Reformation or the Reformation of the Refugees had begun. In the span of fifty years 21 territories and four free cities within the Empire would become Reformed.¹³⁸ While the Formula of Concord (1580) had healed the divisions within Lutheranism, debates still continued to perpetuate suspicion and polemics against Calvinism. This suspicion was confirmed for many Lutherans by the events of the Palatinate, the Netherlands and France, which demonstrated that Calvinists were ready to use the arm of political and military power.¹³⁹ The increasing pressure of the Counter-Reformation in areas such as Bavaria, Cologne and Münster increased the stakes. Some Reformed areas attempted to cleanse their churches of Lutheran practices because they perceived them as Roman Catholic residue and wanted to prevent any nostalgic conversions back to Rome. In the years before 1618 the

¹³⁶ RW, 400. Petegree cites Hesse-Kessel.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 399.

¹³⁸ Mark Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to The European Reformation c. 1500-1618*, (New York: Longman, 1998), 6.

¹³⁹ For a discussion of the activities in the Netherlands and France see Bob Scribner, Roy Porter & Mikuláš Teich, *The Reformation in National Context*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 67-79. Netherlands had achieved independence by 1609 but not after continue battle with both France and Spain. Meanwhile Calvinists, Anabaptists, Lutherans and Catholics all vied for the right to exist. By 1600 the Reformed church had gained ascendancy in the north while Catholics, Anabaptists and Lutherans continued to coexist in the south. Many people chose a neutral stance on religion rather than participate in confessional polemics. Unlike the other countries of Europe the Netherlands never adopted a state church thus allowing for the continue coexistence of all confessional groups. France suffered through 35 years of civil war in the Wars of Religion fought primarily between the Catholic aristocracy and monarchs and the Huguenot minorities. However the managed to survive gaining pacification at the Peace of Nantes (1598).

polemics between the three confessions had reached an all time high. Calvinist and Lutheran irenicism could not be found, only accusations. Shilling describes,

In place of the pragmatic protection of peace now there was more readiness to gamble with peace. Politics dominated by a willingness to use every possible means, legal and coercive, even including military force, to gain personal advantage. . . . At the end of the sixteenth century Germany was overwhelmed by a veritable flood of controversial theology in the form of pamphlets and combative works using every polemical tool, which sought to close confessional ranks and to destroy the intellectual and moral position of those who were loyal to the other confession. When one adds this to the political and social conflicts that were going on at the same time in numerous territories and cities,^[70] the contours of an enormous battle for public opinion emerged, which shook the Empire and many of its territories.¹⁴⁰

This willingness to gamble would set the stage for some of the most destructive years known on European soil, The Thirty Years War. Throughout the war the same tactics would apply. It would only be after utter exhaustion and destruction that all sides would call for peace resulting in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

This short history of confessionalization in the Post-Reformation period shows us that despite the early reticence by many of the reformers to use political authority to institute reform, many of them would nevertheless grant it an important role. As Schilling explains,

Regardless of their long-term impulses for the secularization of politics, the Reformation and the confessionalization of the second half of the sixteenth century intensified the interplay and close connection between church and state – between religion and politics- for an additional century, after it had already been loosened decisively by the political theory of the Renaissance and early Humanism. Until the seventeenth century, it was the link between religious and political positions and not – as has been maintained sometimes- the modern

¹⁴⁰ *RPC*, 229-230. Schillings note [70] cites Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Vol. 27, (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1991) and Robert Kolb's chapter, "Perilous Events and Troublesome Disturbances, the Role of Controversy in the Tradition of Luther to Lutheran Orthodoxy," in Kyle C. Sessions & Philip N. Bebb, eds., *Pietas et Societas, New Trends in Reformation Social History: Essays in Memory of Harold J. Grimm*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, Vol. 4, (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1985), 181-201.

dissociation from the confessional dispute which triggered off the social and political dynamism, and which correspondingly and decisively influenced the discussion of matters of law and order in state and society. Indeed, one can almost speak of a literary genre of a 'political theology.'¹⁴¹

Indeed the situation demanded that all parties involved develop a sort of political theology consciously or unconsciously. Since the relationship between government and the Church was so intricately tied it also required a development in ecclesiology. This literary genre of which Schilling writes can be seen as early as the initial reformers.¹⁴² But it was precisely this situation, the presence of the Church within an existing political culture and the existence of a political culture within the Church that had the explosive effects of confessionalization.

Confessionalization in turn became a courier of religious reform and confessional strife. Such was the experience with Zwingli who initially had success convincing

¹⁴¹ Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Vol. 27, (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1991), 71.

¹⁴² This literary genre of which Schilling writes can be seen as early as the initial reformers. See for example, Martin Luther, *On Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should be Obeyed*; Philipp Melancthon, *Loci Communes* (Ch. 7-8). Hydrich Zwingli, *On Divine and Human Justice, and How They Appear to Stand Together*; John Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion* (Book 3 Ch. 19, Book 4 Ch. 20), Pilgram Marpeck, *Uncovering of the Babylonian Whore and Antichrists*, Balthasar Hubmaier *Concerning the Sword*. Both Zwingli and Luther wrote about the relationship between spiritual and temporal realms. Luther tried to refrain from the sword unless the division of the two realms was compromised. Zwingli was willing to allow reform via the city council as long as it adhered to the Word of God. Later Calvin would contribute his own thoughts that pulled from both Melancthon and Luther but nevertheless displayed as synthesis beyond both. Thomas Müntzer theocracy would be rejected. The Anabaptists, despite accusations to the contrary, saw the importance of civil government similarly to Luther but with one major exception; since the government uses coercive measures many believed that a Christian cannot participate in it without compromising the Gospel. For Anabaptist examples see Walter Klassen, ed., *Anabaptism in Outline: Selected Primary Sources*, (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1981), 244-246, also see larger section 244-281. For an exception read Balthasar Hubmaier's *Concerning the Sword* (246, 248). For more on Calvin's views see Oliver O'Donovan and Joan Lockwood O'Donovan, eds. *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999): 662-666, see also the larger section 662-684. For Calvin's positive use of natural law in the context of the two kingdoms see David VanDrunen, "The Context of Natural Law: John Calvin's Doctrine of the Two Kingdom's," *Journal of Church and State* 46, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 503-525. VanDrunen argues that Calvin was able to see a positive view of natural law because while it achieved nothing for salvation in nevertheless could be very valuable to the civil kingdom (524).

political leaders (the Zürich City Council) of the need to reform according to the Word of God. Yet once the Council was persuaded, their political structure and influence had direct bearing on the implementation of reforms in the Church. Their actions would not just be related to spiritual things but could and would be interpreted as political activities. As the dynamism between the development of ecclesial polity and civic polity played off of one another from the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century, many who wanted reform without political overtones were caught in the middle.

Despite efforts to keep human government and divine government into clean categories and well-defined roles, the Late Medieval question of the Church's place in society was still answered with "a symbiotic relationship with political powers." Here it is better to reserve judgment according to Western formulations of democracy and the modern versions of separation of Church and State. The difference between sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Late Middle Ages was that multiple confessions, all attempting to reform according to their own readings of the Scriptures, were thrown into the caldron of the debate. From here it is little wonder why political thinkers and philosophers began to investigate formulations that separated Church and State, eventually secularizing society and marginalizing the Church's influence in the public realm.

Confessionalization was an expedient solution to the problem of multiple confessions as can be seen in the various attempts by Charles V to deal with the Lutheran problem. Yet it was also one of the major effects of the Reformation. This can be tied to some of the reformers' thoughts on the relationship between Church and State. Had Luther taken the stance of Müntzer, it is likely that the German Reformation would have

been crushed. If all had gone the way of the Anabaptists it is hard to tell the outcome.

Confessionalization seemed to many a readily available and workable solution. It became not only an effect but a solidifying agent to the presence of the Reformation and its reforms in Holy Roman Empire and therefore European society.

PART III

SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION ON CHURCH & SOCIETY

After reviewing the interactions of the initial reformers and giving a short history of the confessionalization and the Post-Reformation we are now in a better place to observe some of the social effects of the Reformation. Whereas the previous section documented confessionalization as both a social effect and solidifying agent of reforms, here we will take a more thematic approach. Chapter 8 will assess the educational effects of the Reformation and confessionalization. Chapter 9 will review how the Reformation and confessionalization shaped changes in theology, piety and morality. Chapter 10 will analyze marriage and family while Chapter 11 will focus on socio-economic issues. The last theme to be examined in Chapter 12 is socio-ecclesial relations.

Chapter 5

Educational Effects

In a variety of places the reformers emphasized the importance and responsibility of both spiritual and temporal authorities to maintain a system of education that taught the Word of God.¹⁴³ Overall, both Protestant and Catholic sides reemphasized the importance of education. For Protestants this was especially the case not only for the rising bourgeois and those training toward specific professions but also for the poor. Education was as an initial area of reform and an essential avenue by which reform could take place. For many, the educational institutions were not just places for imparting information but for the formation of the will. Schooling for the young was important. Evidence of this was the development of German girls' schools in some Lutheran cities including literature written especially for them.¹⁴⁴

Not everyone held the same views on education and there was a considerable array of purposes and goals. For example, most parents wanted basic skills for their children and had less interest in higher education.¹⁴⁵ At the same time, clerical and civic leaders seemed to agree there was a need to provide skilled leaders for professions such

¹⁴³ Bent A. Kümin, ed., *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470-1630*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History, (Aldersgate: Scholar Press, 1996): 178-179.

¹⁴⁴ *SDR*, 111-112. Strauss suggests that the educational attempts by Luther and Melanchthon were initially oriented toward heads of household and the Church; however, by 1524 Luther seemed discouraged by the results and further doubted the ability of the laity to accomplish their goals. The tumultuous events of 1525 also seemed to discourage them and began to transfer the responsibility of schooling to the local government. This change brought about compulsory attendance and institutionalization. See Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 4-7.

¹⁴⁵ Bent A. Kümin, ed., *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470-1630*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History, (Aldersgate: Scholar Press, 1996), 203.

as ministers, lawyers and physicians. Such training could only be found in higher education which was found mostly in Latin schools located either in Reformation cities or existing as Catholic universities.¹⁴⁶ Various communities dealt with this challenge differently. Some sought to convert old Catholic universities and others created academies for specific subjects, all the while trying to gain a reputation by attracting well-known faculty. Still others were able to adapt their current system successfully.¹⁴⁷ There is considerable debate as to the success of these pre-university attempts at catechizing the young and old.¹⁴⁸

As educational goals and hopes were found amongst the initial reformers so they also found a place in the process of confessionalization.¹⁴⁹ At the university, the agendas of Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic confessionalization resulted in an organization and

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 204.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 204-205. Maag gives the examples of the Universities of Heidelberg and Basel which eventually changed to centers of Protestant education. Some princes even began founding their own universities in order to established a school of Evangelical persuasion. Examples of academies are seen in Geneva and Nassau-Dillenburg although Maag cites that many struggle to gain the educational standards and reputation of the major universities. Naphy highlights that in Geneva there was a struggle even with the purpose of the academy because the rising bourgeoisie wanted them to focus primarily on providing for the educational needs of the local community while Calvin sought to expand its influence as a seminary to other Reformed communities (202).

¹⁴⁸ Gerald Strauss's work is the most comprehensive in this regard. After reviewing the visitation records of many parishes he concludes that Lutheran attempts at diffusing the Lutheran confession were unsuccessful. See Gerald Strauss, *Enacting the Reformation in German*, Variorum Collected Study Series, (Aldersgate: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1993) and Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978). Strauss' view has been challenged. See James M. Kittleson, "Successes and Failures in the German Reformation: the Report from Strasbourg," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 73 (1982): 153-175. Hsia suggests that in lieu of their apocalyptic fervor, there was indeed a sense among Lutheran pastors and leaders, even Luther himself that these attempts were not successful and this played into a general *Untergangstimmung*. See *SDR*, 111-114.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 113-116.

clarification of doctrinal and theological issues so as to be presented in response to one another.¹⁵⁰ For many, scholasticism was useful.

Interestingly, the birth of Protestant scholasticism can be tied to several impulses. One that is often overlooked was the Protestant desire to tie their theology to the early Church Fathers to combat the accusation of theological innovation.¹⁵¹ A second impulse was the attempt to rearrange theological themes and topics according to the ideal of *sola scriptura*. This entailed both the integration of exegesis refueled by the humanist impulse to get back to the original languages but also by Aristotelian and Agricolan influences.¹⁵² More important was the process of confessionalization that was sparked first by attempts to answer the Roman Catholic polemic as embodied in the disputes at various Imperial Diets during the initial Reformation push and in attempts at unity as seen in the Marburg Colloquy. In tandem was the development of literature and curriculum for schools and universities. We can also take into consideration the events surrounding the Second Reformation, where we found Tridentine Catholicism gaining ground and the development of confessions in order to win the right to exist without Imperial or Papal persecution. In addition to these were the intra-confessional problems within Lutheranism following Luther's death and the inter-confessional attempts by Lutherans and Calvinists which were received for a time but then only treated with suspicion. All this activity prompted massive amounts of theological literature and attempts to refine and clarify

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 116-121.

¹⁵¹ Willem J. van Asselt & Eef Dekker eds., *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*, (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 62. Muller for example cites how Protestant theology was the first to use the term 'Patrology' for the study of Church Fathers.

¹⁵² Ibid., 62-63.

what it all meant. In order to do this, many turned to already available scholastic methods to formulate and codify their confessions, educate their young and spread their faith.

As Protestant Scholasticism coagulated so did confessionalization. In turn, however, suspicion between Lutherans and Calvinists was heightened despite some irenic voices.¹⁵³ Educational structures developed out of this confessionalization as more Church leaders sought to train their congregants in their respective confessions and universities began to train leaders. But it was not only Church leaders. Since confessionalization had wed Church and political interests, particularly in the Holy Roman Empire, more and more universities had to make room for the influence of territorial states.¹⁵⁴ The Catholic educational program was birthed out of the reforms that came from the Council of Trent and was lead primarily by the work of the Jesuits.¹⁵⁵ This development would become a staple in Catholic missionary work overseas. Another affect of the reforms of Trent was the requirement that clergy be educated, which in the time ramping up to the Reformation was not a necessity especially since many bishoprics and ecclesial positions were bought and sold with very little regulation.¹⁵⁶ So both Protestants and Catholics reevaluated and invested in an educational plan. To protect against heresy and accusations leveled against one another these educational structures, especially the universities, became places of high-powered polemics. However, with the

¹⁵³ Carlos Gilly, "The 'Midnight Lion', the 'Eagle' and the 'Antichrist': Political, Religious and Chiliastic Propaganda in the Pamphlets, Illustrated Broadsheets and Ballads of the Thirty Years War," *Dutch Review of Church History* 80, no. 1 (2000): 46-47.

¹⁵⁴ SDR, 118-121. A good example was the intra-confessional conflicts where rival universities were given political and financial support.

¹⁵⁵ Mark Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to The European Reformation c. 1500-1618*, (New York: Longman, 1998): 192-193.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 217-218.

Peace of Westphalia a new age had finally been allowed to blossom on the stage of Europe.

Overall schooling became increasingly important in both Protestant and Catholic communities, especially when it came to clergy. In both communities education became an important way of implementing reforms and passing on the faith. The process of confessionalization served to insure the importance of educational institutions and in many cases increased its availability. While some studies have shown that literacy during the Reformation did improve, it seems unclear which contributed most: the increased availability of printed material due to the innovation of the printing press or more available and better schooling.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ *RW*, 541-544. Some studies have suggested that literacy reveals the social class of a particular group.

Chapter 6

Theology, Piety & Morality

Like many changes brought about by the Reformation, piety, theology and morality would be both positively and negatively affected. It would be nearly impossible to cover every instance of how the Reformation and confessionalization affect this triad but here are some areas that stand out.

Personal Piety

Mysticism, shortly after the Reformation suffered if not by disparaging portrayals of it as a left-over of Catholicism, then by the fact that the hardships brought on by wars and the confessionalization process focused attention to outward matters.¹⁵⁸ In addition, the desacramentalization of church life took away some paths toward mystical experience. This is particularly so with mysticism centered on the Lord's Supper.¹⁵⁹ The formation of confessions in tandem with Protestant scholasticism put emphasis on the content of faith and perhaps rightfully so given the impinging influence of a renewed Roman Catholic Church and the ever eminent threat of being destroyed by imperial influences. The interim between the Marburg Colloquy and the Peace of Westphalia was probably the hardest and most testing time on people's faith and on the faith of people in the role of religion. Perhaps this is why during the aftermath of this era we see increasing trends towards the secularization of public life.

¹⁵⁸ This does not mean it vanished. It continued in various strains. For our subject matter the German strain via *German Theology* and the works of John Arndt were important in the formation of Pietism. See Dale Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, Revised Edition, (Nappanee: Evangel Publishing House, 1996).

¹⁵⁹ *RRR*, 87.

The spiritual crisis brought on by the problem of many popes and the conflict between Church and empire seemed to have been exacerbated in the Reformation and even more so in the Post-Reformation. Having to choose between several competing confessions and the complete reorientation of the concept of unity with the Church put an even higher emphasis on the role of personal conscience in relation to the Word of God. Whereas before the Reformation, one was usually only questioned about his or her beliefs when accused, in the age of confessions people were required to make a public display of their loyalty by their choice of where to live.¹⁶⁰

Scripture

Paradoxically, this external focus on one's faith did not entirely extinguish the subjective side to religious belief.¹⁶¹ The problem of interpretation between the reformers was just a taste of the sort of subjectivity that was opened to a Bible-reading populace. Not everyone shared or even understood the exegetical and hermeneutical methodology that guided the reformers. These methods, at least to them, appeared to curtail the problem of interpreting the Scripture according to one's own personal preferences. For many of them the attendance of the Holy Spirit played a superintending role in this

¹⁶⁰ In some situations this simply meant that belief went underground. Examples of this can be seen in areas where territories changed from Lutheranism to Calvinism.

¹⁶¹ Robert Glenn Howard, "The Double Bind of the Protestant Reformation: The Birth of Fundamentalism and the Necessity of Pluralism," *The Journal of Church & State* 47, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 91-108. Glenn argues that a similar paradox in his article suggesting that the Reformers' activities birthed both the subjective views of which resulted in pluralism but also a fundamentalism because the Scriptural truth was viewed by Luther to be 'self-evident and incontrovertible' (96). Howard's analysis does not seem to take into consideration how Luther himself actually viewed history and how the reformers sought to ground their interpretations in the Patristic age but nevertheless his point is well taken that pluralism became a fundamental reality that political bodies had to take seriously and fundamentalism, according to his definition, occurred whenever "an individual came to believe that his or her interpretation of God's Word was the only true and acceptable one. Individuals empowered by such beliefs could and did have the ability to challenge state authority. In extreme cases, those challenges impeded the state's ability to avert violence among its citizens," (107).

process. Consequently, it is not surprising that Luther's judgment that Zwingli was "not of the same spirit" was a common accusation when people disagreed over Scriptural interpretations. Additionally, not everyone understood the reformers' views on tradition. For virtually all of the early reformers, the writings of the Church Fathers and the perspective they brought on the Scriptures were valued even though they may not have agreed with them wholesale. In this way they attempted to show that the Evangelical faith was a continuance of or returning to the early faith of the Church against the innovations of the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁶² Yet among the general populace their exegesis in historical context was not always carried over and so a more historical/communal hermeneutic was truncated. The communal aspect was limited to one's own time or, even more myopically, to one's own contemporaries who agreed. Generic recitations of history only served to propagate how Rome had gone wrong. At some level this development opened the doors for the fulfillment of Erasmus' dream of critical Christianity and Luther's/Zwingli's exaltation of the Word to a primary authority because it allowed each person to test things according to the Word of God and the life of Christ. This further validated a search for the *ecclesia primitiva* that existed in the Late Middle Ages even though some of the reformers had more generous and nuanced views of Church history. However, it also opened the doors for a level of subjectivity that would continue to play a role in Protestantism until the current day.¹⁶³ It is not as if this sort of subjective use of

¹⁶² A common accusation against the reformers by the Roman Catholic Church was innovation and Luther, Melancthon, Calvin and many others delved into the literature of the Patristic period that was available to combat this charge.

¹⁶³ Scott H. Hendrix, "In Quest of the Vera Ecclesia: the Crises of Late Medieval Ecclesiology," *Viator* 7 (1976): 376. In relation to ecclesiology Hendrix notes that the reformers, especially Luther, were not interested in establishing "how the individual Christian could survive apart from the church, but in how

history and exegesis did not exist otherwise, but the Reformation validated this practice over and against the understanding of authority provided by the Roman Catholic Church.

An example of this enigma would surface at the Marburg Colloquy. The consequence of this disagreement would spread to areas of scriptural interpretation, particularly when it came to the areas of the sacraments and practice. The subsequent result was a growing suspicion between Reformed and Lutheran parties. For Zwingli and the Anabaptists the issue would be over baptism as a result of their view of the relation between Church and the temporal realm. For Calvinists it would be iconoclasm and music. These disagreements would in turn bring up the issue of *adiaphora* which was very rarely agreed upon.

Ecclesiology

The changing conception of the sacraments and Scriptural authority created another unintended consequence. The Reformation contributed to a long-forming crisis of ecclesiology which affected not only church ritual but also changed how people considered the nature and purpose of the Church. Consequently, it also changed the way people conceived of the nature and role of spiritual leadership. Spiritual leadership no longer served as a source of sacrament and mediation of grace, at least not for Calvinist and Anabaptist churches. Membership to the people of God depended less and less on the visible participation in those sacraments as much as it did on the basis of believers' baptism, response to Church discipline and personal faith. Here a movement can be discerned. Luther's Reformation according to Scott Hendrix, "is best explained as an

the church properly conceived could feed the Christian faithful the word of life in the midst of crisis and uncertainty," (376).

ecclesiological response to the last great medieval crisis of the church's identity and authority."¹⁶⁴ The existence of the church for Luther was not based on loyalty to geopolitical entities but rather existed where the word of God was preached and adhered to. This formulation along with the continued importance of the Eucharist helped provide an understanding of the Church. As the confessionalization process followed and the Reformation matured this simple formulation would become complicated. Now ecclesiology was bound up once again with an interdependent relationship with the State. Disagreement over interpretations of Scripture, particularly in the areas of baptism and the Eucharist, shifted the emphasis of participation in ritual and adherence to the Word, to personal vow and distinction from society. As Hendrix notes, "With the advent of the Reformation, the crises of medieval ecclesiology may have ceased, but the quest for the true church continued."¹⁶⁵

Sermons & Religious Literature

Robert Scribner argues that the most influential force in the spreading of Reformation ideas was the sermon. The importance of preaching the Word is an obvious theme in many evangelical communities and Scribner suggests that preaching itself was changed because it was often done outside of the church building and often challenged its audience. A higher premium was put not only on preaching according to the Word but in a certain level of participation from the audience.¹⁶⁶ Additionally, the increased

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 377.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 378.

¹⁶⁶ Robert W. Scribner, "Oral Culture and the Diffusion of Reformation Ideas," *History of European Ideas* 5, no. 3 (1984): 237-256.

importance of preaching for all the reformers also resulted in changes to church architecture to accommodate this concern.¹⁶⁷

Confessionalization would also become an important part of parish life since the themes that were debated between confessions were often elucidated to congregants through the sermon. A good example of this was the internal debate between the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Philippists. During the controversy, we see a focus of parish pastors on the issue of regeneration, a particularly problematic topic that came out in Weimar Disputation of 1560.¹⁶⁸ Although the Formula of Concord brought uniformity among Lutheran leaders, nevertheless, these issues were often rehashed before congregations in order to bring them into confessional alignment.

In addition to sermons vast numbers of pamphlets, tracts and woodcuts were distributed. These were meant more often than not as propaganda either for or against Reformation ideas, but this was not their only use. They also were the source of all kinds of expressions; guidelines for reform, confessions, poems and complaints.¹⁶⁹ After researching a wide variety pamphlets Vogelstein suggests:

One all-pervasive connecting link is clearly discernible: it is the essential pursuit of salvation—a notion for which the primary sources offer eloquent testimony. And, notwithstanding censorship and persecution, one is bound to come away from delving into the pamphlet literature convinced that the early Reformation

¹⁶⁷ RW, 520, but see the large section 505-520.

¹⁶⁸ Patrick Ferry, "Confessionalization and Popular Preaching: Sermons against Synergism in Reformation Saxony," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 4 (1997): 1152. Ferry's reviews the sermons of those closest to the debate and how many parish preachers taught on issues of conversion, particularly the process of regeneration and the state of the human will before the Adamic Fall to congregants who, according to Lutheran theology, were already converted (1157-1158). See also Bodo Nischan, "Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization," *Archive für Refomationsgeschichte* 88 (1997): 199-216.

¹⁶⁹ To see the variety of genre see Ingeborg Berlin Vogelstein, "Reformation Pamphlets: Expressions of A Society in Search of New Moorings," *Philosophy & Theology* 10, no. 2 (1997).

was a time not only of anxious soul-searching and religio-socio-political turmoil, but also of burgeoning ideas confidently proclaimed, not only by prominent reformers and magistrates but by a wide spectrum of citizens of all stripes.¹⁷⁰

It seems an odd circumstance that scholarship has questioned the issue of literacy when trying to determine the influence of this media. Regardless of how many people could actually read the mere volume of material and the variety of topics and authors suggest that they viewed it as an important way to communicate ideas.

The literature in these media, however, did become more propaganda-like and even more apocalyptic in the ramp up to and during the Thirty Years War. Here chiliastic expressions would be used and cast into confessional and political polemics. One example is a prophecy concerning the Midnight Lion and the eagle which was apparently an interpretation of a vision found in the fourth chapter of Ezra. In his examination of this pamphlet literature, Carlos Gilly notes how both Lutheran and Calvinist polemicist used this chiliastic prophecy against one another.¹⁷¹

The diffusion of ideas was not always a matter of polemics it was also a matter of understanding one's faith. The early reformers often lamented the lack of access to religious works that were available in the people's own vernacular which encouraged an appropriate understanding of core issues regarding their faith. Therefore literature for religious education was produced alongside sermon material. Luther himself wrote several pieces meant to be memorized and taught to the faithful.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 506.

¹⁷¹ Carlos Gilly, "The 'Midnight Lion', the 'Eagle' and the 'Antichrist': Political, Religious and Chiliastic Propaganda in the Pamphlets, Illustrated Broadsheets and Ballads of the Thirty Years War," *Dutch Review of Church History* 80, no. 1 (2000): 48-53.

¹⁷² Such was the case with the aforementioned literature written for girls' schools see *SDR*, 111-112 but also the Greater and Shorter Catechism. See also, Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*:

Moral Policing

With the imposition of confessional standards also came the imposition of moral expectations. This was seen as early as the Saxony implementation of reform by Luther and Melancthon. The institution of visitations was predicated on practices perceived by Luther in the activities of biblical persons like Paul and Samuel who visited various communities in their travels to evaluate their spiritual condition. Visitations to parishes not only determined what parishioners and pastors knew of the faith but also their moral life.¹⁷³ The monitoring of moral life both in the church and community, whether by visitations, public policing or inquisition would be continued in Lutheran Germany, Catholic communities and Calvin's Geneva. Ironically, the more concerted the attempts were the more problems they uncovered. This was not always the case, but considering the accounts given by various reformers and the moral and social degradation of the Thirty Years War, it is not unlikely that many of the accounts were not that far off base.¹⁷⁴

Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 4-9; 151-202.

¹⁷³ Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 250; James M. Kittleson, "Successes and Failures in the German Reformation: the Report from Strasbourg," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 73 (1982): 157-158.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. Strauss cites a letter from Luther to the Elector John of Saxony on the October 31, "... the common man shows so little respect to his preacher and pastor that, unless your Electoral Grace will agree to undertake a great housecleaning, ... God's word and divine service will be soon vanished from the earth." Oberman cites a similar sentiment concerning the perceived failure of the Reformation in 1549 by Calvin, "we can see that in all of Christendom religion has all but collapsed. ... even among those for whom true religion has been restored, very few really embrace the Gospel," in Heiko A. Oberman, "Europa Afflicta: The Reformation of the Refugees," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992): 102. James M. Kittleson, "Successes and Failures in the German Reformation: the Report from Strasbourg," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 73 (1982): 153-175. Kittleson's article is a good example of the success of these attempts in the community of Strasbourg.

The consequence of this was that social discipline became the province of both Church and State as Hsia observes,

Internal church discipline was not synonymous with state coercion. Nevertheless, in territorial states, the official church and the government worked hand-in-glove in enforcing moral and social discipline through legislations and sanctions. Confessionalization brought together state coercion and church discipline, and created an intersection between the history of sin and the history of criminalization.¹⁷⁵

The spread of Calvinism and the Counter-Reformation gives us examples of how the general populace responded to the enforcement of confessional regulations. As Calvinism spread into traditionally Lutheran territories such as Hesse-Kassel there was resistance by many people seemingly anxious of having to change from Lutheranism. The presbyter polity of the church was integrated with social discipline and here again a system of visitations was set up.¹⁷⁶ The Thirty Years War intermittently interrupted these sorts of activities as entire communities were destroyed or occupied by looting soldiers.

Our investigation has helped us see how some Reformation ideas, particularly those surrounding the Word and the relationship between Church and State has effected later developments of piety, theology and morality. In general, tensions and problems along with more constructive themes were solidified by confessionalization.

¹⁷⁵ *SDR*, 123, see the larger section 122-142. For the effects of confessionalization on social discipline in other parts of Europe see James r. Farr, "Confessionalization and Social discipline in France," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 276-319, Allyson M. Poska, "Confessionalization and Social discipline in the Iberian World," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 308-319 and Wieste de Boer, "Social Discipline in Italy: Peregrinations of a Historical Paradigm," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 294-307.

¹⁷⁶ *SDR*, 135-42.

Chapter 7

Marriage & Family

Despite removing the sacramental status of marriage and its redefinition as a civic institution, it was nevertheless important in Protestant communities. This was partly due to the renewed importance the early reformers placed on the responsibilities of heads of households to educate their families in the faith. Even prior to confessionalization, family life was being redefined by the theological implications of the Reformation. There are three ways in which this was prominent.

First was the consolidation of the family to living and nuclear members.¹⁷⁷ No longer were the living obliged to pray and buy indulgences for dead members in hopes to shorten their time in Purgatory. Such practices were seen as idolatrous innovations of the Roman Catholic Church and consequently were to be rejected. Whereas before, concern for this process made daily religious life keenly aware of the dead and their relation to the living, these practices became increasingly shunned.¹⁷⁸

A second area was provided by stripping away celibacy as a requirement for clergy. Even though there was evidence that celibacy was not always followed by Catholic clergy, by and large it was still the rule and expectation in many Catholic communities coming into the sixteenth century. The relinquishing of these requirements allowed for the first time in many centuries clear examples of marriage by clergy. No

¹⁷⁷ Susan C. Karant-Nunn in her essay, "Reformation Society, Family and Women," argues that other relationships that were often seen in familial terms like monastic orders, confraternities and guilds saw their relatedness to individuals 'cropped' by redefinition or dissolution. See *RW*, 434. Hsia, however, suggests that patriarchal and paternalistic attitudes became increasingly dominant and "Luther and Calvinist princes called themselves fathers to their people," in *SDR*, 148.

¹⁷⁸ This included a literal distancing of the dead by the placement of new cemeteries outside the community whereas before they were usually a centerpiece. *RW*, 433-434.

longer was it a hidden practice or a cause of shame but was something that could be celebrated and more importantly could become a visible example of sacred marriage. This was not immediate and was even met with some suspicion by parishioners.¹⁷⁹ Zwingli, the first to marry in 1522 did in fact keep his marriage hidden but Luther's marriage was much more public. Eventually the practice was accepted, yet the new development transferred the high expectations for celibate clergy to the pastoral family. As confessionalization produced a new social elite among Protestant clergy the acceptance of marriage allowed for despotism and "clerical dynasties." In many communities this was accepted and even resulted in the reserves of money set aside for the education of their children.¹⁸⁰

A third way marriage was affected was uncovered by confessionalization studies which have shown an increased interest in describing societal roles using patriarchal language. This was shown in the increased literature linking the *Hausvater* (head of household) with the *Landesvater* (political ruler).¹⁸¹ An example is seen here by a quote from Melanchthon's *Catechismus*,

We have two objects in mind as we learn to give honor to those whom it is due [the fourth] commandment. One is that we must respect our parents, magistrates, and teachers in their persons; the other is that we must revere the political order itself, for it has been created by God to help us keep our burger society safe, sound and in good working condition.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ RW, 438.

¹⁸⁰ RW, 439.

¹⁸¹ Joel F. Harrington, "Hausvater and Landesvater: Paternalism and Marriage Reform in Sixteenth-Century Germany," *Central European History* 25, no. 1 (March 1992): 53.

¹⁸² Philip Melanchthon, *Catechismus, das ist ein kinderlehre Herren Philippi Melanchthonis aus dem Latein ins Deutsche gebracht durch Casper Bruschen* (Nuremburg, 1543): Gv r. Translation take from Joel F. Harrington, "Hausvater and Landesvater: Paternalism and Marriage Reform in Sixteenth-Century Germany," *Central European History* 25, no. 1 (March 1992): 52. Citation taken from Gerald Strauss,

While they are not synonymous, there is a connection between familial obedience and obedience to the political order. Such literature affected society in three ways. First it was used as a way to link the head of household to confessional responsibilities such as religious education. Another use, as we can see from the previous quote, was to encourage a positive attitude towards civil government. This literature also gave increased authority to the head of household over the activities of his family.

This last avenue of use came to bear particularly on marriage. Although there is little room to discuss the understanding of marriage from the perspective of the Roman Catholic Church and the surviving traditions of the various social communities in Europe, suffice it to say that they were at variance. The definition of marriage by the time of the sixteenth century for the Roman Catholic Church allowed for it to be viewed as a sacrament, but it had also managed to allow sons and daughters to bypass parental approval resulting in many “secret marriages.” This drew criticism from all corners of sixteenth-century society, including Protestant and Catholic leaders and the common pamphleteer.¹⁸³ The solution for many was to reinstitute the legal requirement of the *Hausvater*’s approval and to emphasize the *Hausvater*’s authority as divinely ordained and binding.¹⁸⁴ Laws in some Protestant lands thus required the consent of parents and resulted in various marriage codes which, taking its cue from the reformers, increasingly

Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978): 239, 370.

¹⁸³ Joel F. Harrington, “*Hausvater* and *Landesvater*: Paternalism and Marriage Reform in Sixteenth-Century Germany,” *Central European History* 25, no. 1 (March 1992): 56.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

saw secret marriages not only as a violation of honor but as a violation of property.¹⁸⁵

However, it was not just secret marriages upon which the secular authority had a role. In addition to parental consent, it also became both a witness and regulator of marital arrangements.

With its demotion from a sacrament, the understanding of marriage, while still God-ordained and valuable for society, moved towards “the secular assumption of legal jurisdiction over marriage, replacing Episcopal courts with various combinations of ecclesial and governmental bodies.”¹⁸⁶ Additional results were the introduction of divorce and remarriage which had been impossible under the Roman Catholic understanding of marriage and the already discussed lifting of the celibate regulations for ministers.

Lastly, the new genre of *Hausväterliteratur* emphasized that the family was the key to building a healthy society framed in patriarchal terms. In the milieu of the sixteenth century the familial language was used increasingly for political rulers. Thus the activities of the Reformation tended to boost the State’s power, fitting it not only with the ability to govern even the most intimate of relationships, but infusing its activities with theological import. Harrington observes:

Together with the *Gottesvater*, or God the Father, the *Hausvater* and *Landesvater* formed pillars of what Protestant reformers commonly referred to as “the three orders of Christian society” — *ecclesia* (church), *politia* (state) and *oeconomia* (household).^[29] General social order and stability were only possible if each of these paternal authorities ruled his respective society well.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 59. Harrington includes a translation and explanation of Luther’s comments where he uses an analogy that portrays secret suitors as thieves and children as property. There were also laws put into place to curb abusive parents and forced marriages (62-63). These laws had mixed results (62, 72).

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 61.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 58. Harrington’s note [29] cites Luther, “Ein Sermon von der Tauge” (1519), WA 2:734 and Calvin, “Commentaries on Genesis 2:18, I Timothy 5:16ff.,” in Baum et al., eds., *Ionnis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia* (Brunswick and Berlin, 1863ff.).

The Reformation through its theological breakthroughs and the subsequent confessionalization process thus reached into the most intimate aspects of social life. While it is debatable that any of these new understandings had immediate success in curbing secret marriages, they nevertheless had a long-term impact on society as a whole through the formation of law and by setting new precedents for marriage and family.

Chapter 8

Socio-Economic

In general, society was upset and reorganized based on confessions but the confessionalization process and the Thirty Years War produced changes among the classes. Even without the Reformation the booming international trade was birthing a class whose economic base had gained some independence from both ecclesial and imperial influences. Already the feudal system was beginning to change because of developments of the previous century. The Reformation gave voice to peasants' displeasure with feudal practices and helped the already restless city councils to wrest more freedom from territorial influence, that is, until the confessionalization process began.

The feudal structure of society had already been weakened by such environmental affects as the plague, famines, trade and the ecclesio-political wrangling between the various monarchs and the papacy of the Late Middle Ages. The Reformation allowed virtually every level of society the opportunity to use the Word of God as an avenue to express frustration over real and perceived injustices. In this way it showed an egalitarian effect. Here we can track a progression as the protest moved from the monastic realm to the peasants, the princes and burghers. Geographically we can see a move from a mixture of urban and communal effects, to a focus on urban communities and then finally territorial effects as confessionalization set in.¹⁸⁸ Often times the protest was heard from the Protestant voices of one class to the Catholic adherents of another class.

The class structure throughout the Reformation and Post-Reformation was by and large conserved: there were still peasants, the burghers and the elite; however the elite

¹⁸⁸ Heiko A. Oberman, *Impact of the Reformation*, (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1994), 180. See also *RRR*, 201-220.

structure seems to have been stratified over a larger portion of urban and rural society. As early as the Swiss Reformation something like this could be observed. Since the city council became in essence the apparatus by which Reformation ideals were spread in both city and territory it allowed increased participation of people from that level of society in religious matters. More often than not these people were burghers.¹⁸⁹ Initially this new participation did not result in automatic transformation into an elite status. Hsia sees three developments in this regard. The first was rise of a confessionalized official elite, a consolidation of rural elites and the formation of a new bourgeois clerical elite.¹⁹⁰ As confessionalization took hold the rise and consolidation of the territorial state went in tandem with the implementation of religious reform specifically because territorial princes saw the implementation process as not only a secular responsibility to the agreements established between the confessions to keep the peace, but also as a religious responsibility as a member of the Church. This meant that their territorial power was absolutized over local interests in order to accomplish confessional conformity. Therefore the leaders of communities became branches of the confessionalization process. In other words the elite of many communities, even down to the household level, were seen as instruments of the confessionalization program.¹⁹¹ This of course led to tension and conflict between traditional understandings of localized estates.

The formation of a new clerical elite coincides mostly with Protestant communities where church leadership and pastors were chosen from leaders within the local community who were usually the bourgeois. This meant that bourgeois values also

¹⁸⁹ *RRR*, 201-214.

¹⁹⁰ *SDR*, 176.

¹⁹¹ *SDR*, 144, 177.

became the standard for many communities.¹⁹² In Imperial cities, however, Hsia cites that many burghers were viewed simply as employees by the ruling patrician class. Their advantage, however, was that they could break into the higher class.¹⁹³ Therefore the complex of power within Protestant churches was often the same complex of power in the larger community. Within Catholic bourgeois communities, Hsia cites that a similar trend could be found but shows that the German Catholic Church leadership was more open to the lower strata via the Jesuits whereas in places like Spain the leadership was by and large nobility. This changed as more concessions toward nobility eventually resulted in the aristocratization of the Imperial church toward the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁴

Where these developments really hit home for the vast majority of the populous, however, was how it affected land and residence. In Catholic territories lands still belonged to bishoprics and various church dignitaries, whereas in Protestant territories land was secularized and ultimately became the patronage of the Prince. This was fine as long as various territories remained the same confession but when areas changed many bishoprics refused to give up lands since the land was often passed within their families. Already this issue had come up after the political compromise of the First Diet of Speyer. Some converting bishops refused to relinquish lands to the Catholic Church which is part of what prompted the Recess of 1529. The problem would continue even after the Peace of Augsburg as Calvinism spread and various wars were fought by Catholic canons to preserve their land. Additionally, although the empire was technically biconfessional,

¹⁹² Ibid., 184.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 179.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 179-180.

patronage and positions of power were often given to Catholics since the Emperor's family, the Habsburgs, was ardently Catholic. These conflicts and stratagem served to prepare the ground for the Thirty Years War.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ *SDR*, 180-182.

Chapter 9

Socio-Ecclesial Relations

In many ways all the social effects in Part III of this thesis could be placed under this label. The goal of this section, however, is to review how the Reformation may have answered the question as formulated in the Late Middle ages concerning the role of the Church in Society. As we have reviewed it, the validity of the role of the Church in society was not really the issue. Instead the real question was how it would relate to the State and other aspects of society. Following a short section on secularization, which is an important note in the development of the relationship between Church and society, we will look at the larger rubric of society, Church and state.

Secularization of Public Expression

It is often posited that the secularization of society began during the Post-Reformation. It would be disadvantageous to explore all the ways secularization may have entered through the Reformation, so here we will look at very empirical examples. Already, we have noted how this trend was seen in marriage. Here, however, we will look at an example of secularization as it occurred in public expression. At this point we can turn to certain Protestant features and confessionalization as major contributing factors to the secularization of the public realm. We will turn, specifically, to examples of artistic expression.

Particularly in Reformed communities, iconoclastic tendencies stripped from the church and community various expressions of religiosity in art and music.¹⁹⁶ This was not

¹⁹⁶ *RW*, 484, 497 see the larger section 483-488. Ironically Zwingli is said to be the most talented musician out of all of the reformers, yet he saw no place for it in worship.

the case in Lutheran territories were a strong musical tradition stemming from Luther and his view of art as falling in the realm of *adiaphora* contributed to a continued relevance for these expressions.¹⁹⁷ In Lutheran churches art and music served an instructional purpose. Catholic communities also continued to produce religious art. During the earlier years of the Reformation it was possible to conceive of the civic community in terms of a sacral corporation both by Protestants and Catholics. This allowed for open religious expression in both art and music often with confessional overtones.¹⁹⁸ As conflicts persisted between confessions, the viability of such a concept seemed damaged. Early confessionalization reinforced the sacral idea but the inevitable result of having biconfessional communities resulted in an avoidance of public religious expression in hopes that it would curtail interconfessional conflicts. The result as Hsia notes was “the internalization of discipline, based on decorum and piety, and the suppression, or at least, the redirection of violence and anger.”¹⁹⁹

Despite Reformed iconoclasm and religious tension, artistic expression did not cease in Protestant or Catholic communities.²⁰⁰ Instead it stirred artists to explore and focus on genres that lacked explicit religious ties in order to avoid violence and anger.²⁰¹ As a sign of the times art and music were examples of how the secularization of society

¹⁹⁷ *RW*, 461-477. A good example is Lucas Cranach's art (470-477).

¹⁹⁸ *RW*, 477-483. Petegree gives the examples of Hans Holbein, Hans Burgmaier and Hans Baldung Grien but cites that they were sensitive to the changing environment showing little loyalty to any one confession. This was not necessarily the case for those printing tracts and pamphlets however.

¹⁹⁹ *SDR*, 184, see also the larger section 183-185.

²⁰⁰ *RW*, 461-477. In Reformed churches some music eventually became permissible in worship. Especially because of Calvin's influence, Psalmody became important although noticeably without instruments.

²⁰¹ *RW*, 489. Here it is suggested that this actually opened up art to other non-religious genres for both Protestants and Catholics.

was becoming increasingly prominent. Within the Empire, this would especially be the case. It would be left to others to take this conception further to formulate secular government but with the reasons that were similar: religious tolerance and a desire for peace.²⁰²

Society, Church & State

The Reformation heightened to a greater degree the Late Middle Ages' question of the Church's role in society. Three trends can be seen in this regard. The first was a continuance of a symbiotic relationship between Church and State. At first nearly all the reformers showed some reserve when it came to this relationship. For Luther, Zwingli and Calvin both the Church and State had their own role and realm in which to be responsible. Yet several issues seemed to cause problems with this formulation. The first was the call by the peasants for social reforms and justice according the Word of God and the second was the urgency shared by followers of these reformers. Some of these followers saw the involvement of temporal authorities or old spiritual authorities as a hindrance to and compromise of the logical consequences of the evangelical message. By and large the most adamant voices against the symbiotic relationship were those who were persecuted by other reformers and those who could not find a voice in the confessionalization process.²⁰³

²⁰² Practically the only example of this on a large scale is in the Netherlands which had gained independence from Spain and therefore the Empire and became refuge for a large number of marginalized religious groups even though it had strong ties to Calvinism. See Bob Scribner, Roy Porter & Mikuláš Teich, *The Reformation in National Context*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 67-79.

²⁰³ As mentioned earlier the confessionalization process had its critics, for example see Blough's review of Pilgrim Marpeck's critique in Neal Blough, "The Uncovering of the Babylonian Whore: Confessionalization and Politics Seen from the Underside," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 75, no. 1 (January 2001): 37-55.

The problems this relationship caused once the confessionalization process ensued could be described as worsening the problem experienced during the Late Middle Ages. Now instead of one church and one empire battling it out, there were multiple confessions and political entities vying for power and survival. The average person had to trade in the problem of multiple popes and an absolutist empire with multiple reformers and a manifold selection of increasingly absolutist states. The late sixteenth century person had to again experience what happened when political and church forces were aligned. If you were perceived as a heretic you were also a traitor and, by the mid-sixteenth century, there were numerous ways to be both.

The second trend was perhaps birthed out of a response to the aforementioned situation. There were more and more voices calling for the Church to deal differently with those who disagreed with it. The Anabaptists are an important example. According to their formulation, the relationship between the Church and State should be viewed as a relationship between the Church and the world. Rarely will the two agree and the Church should not seek to implement its reforms through the apparatus of the State. Practically this meant that heretics should not be treated as traitors and should not have their blood spilt by either Church or State. The Church community should not seek sanction and protection by the State. It is a suffering community. With this formulation even Luther initially seemed to agree, however after the events of the First Diet of Speyer, then Augsburg, it seems like the fate of the Reformation and the vying princes were bound. Distrust between all confessions led to easy betrayals and sordid alliances in the Thirty Years War. Here we would find the most severe social impact. The Peace of Westphalia granted freedom of choice amongst the three confessions of Catholicism, Lutheranism

and Calvinism, but the war had left Europe an utter mess. The Anabaptists still never managed to make the list. Although estimates are hard to come by, some suggest the population of twenty-one million in 1618 was cut down to thirteen million by 1648. The social landscape had deteriorated in the conflict between nations and confessions. In some places the geography of the Empire had changed and resentment between northern territories and southern territories would set in.²⁰⁴

The third trend was the use of religious reasons for political entities to war with one another. This was nothing new but with the development of multiple confessions gave even more opportunity for this to take place. The Thirty Years War is an especially lucid example. Whatever the motivations were at the beginning of the War by the end it became clear that some political entities participated simply to take advantage of the foray.

A fourth trend also emerges. Like many other human crises, the Reformation and confessionalization revealed a level of ethnic/national tension. It should not surprise us that Luther, when talking to the German-speaking public, was not averse to citing the abuses by a foreign power on the German people. Such reasoning was compounded by the confessionalization brought on by the Post-Reformation. Distrusts and misgiving of foreign powers, while perhaps justified, still revealed a muddled back-history of ethnic/national tension to the more ennobled activity of nationalization and state-building. In this light it should not surprise us, disturb us perhaps, but not surprise us that within many national consciousnesses was a mixture of nationalism and religious zeal.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 485-506.

CONCLUSION

By the 16th century, there was little doubt that reform needed to take place. It had become a common concept even centuries before the Reformation, but when it had come time to institute reform an immediate problem became clear.²⁰⁵ Not everyone agreed with what reform should look like and how it should be implemented. This resulted in misunderstandings and confrontations even between reform-minded individuals. These strains would eventually create problems at all levels of society.

Peasants interpreted the reformers' activities as permission to seek better social situations predicated on the Evangelical message. Some would ask for these with reverence, others would ask by force. People in places of power saw an opportunity to break away from the restrictive requirements of the Catholic Church and the absolutist Holy Roman Empire. The result would be a variety of alliances between people in power and reformers or between peasants and reformers in order to overthrow, at times by force, what they felt was the oppressive rule of the Catholic Church and temporal authorities. Meanwhile reformers sometimes backpedaled or asked for caution and order, all the while trying to make an intelligible distinction between entire societal upheaval and spiritual renewal which could eventually lead to societal change. This distinction was rarely understood.

This misunderstanding regarding the nature and implementation of reform would even birth another set of reformers, the Anabaptists. Their protest and persecution showed clearly where understandings of reform would have its biggest social impact: mainly, the relation of the Church to the world. To fully understand this, we must

²⁰⁵ Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 38-48.

remember that, at the First Imperial Diet of Speyer, the agreement that was reached allowed rulers to align their region's allegiances with Lutheranism or Catholicism. This new development would formally tie politics with the reform of the Church despite Luther's reticence. A similar integration would be found earlier in Zürich despite Zwingli's reserve. Again, a similar synthesis was made by Calvin and was carried over into Calvinism.²⁰⁶

This would entail a reorganization of society based not only on confession but geo-politics. Whenever a ruler changed, so must the religious affiliation of his subjects, otherwise they might suffer relocation or persecution. Strict adherence to these policies ensured a level of peace, but soon it would deteriorate. A Lutheranism weakened with internal conflicts, the influx of Calvinists and Philippists fleeing persecution and a rejuvenated Tridentine Catholic Church all exerted pressure on the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. Although unity was restored in Lutheranism through the Formula of Concord (1580), these other pressures remained and suspicion sank in. The Thirty Years War would show the worst of all sides and result in the moral, societal and political degradation of Europe. Roaming bands of mercenaries and national armies devastated cities, towns and the countryside. As utter exhaustion set in and a lack of resources followed, all sides began to look for ways to end the conflict. The Peace of Westphalia would finally come but memories of war seemed cast in the minds of all the confessions resulting in continued polemicism and apathy. Reform and revolution are seen in the various phases throughout the Reformation and Post-Reformation period each having its affect on European society.

²⁰⁶ Bob Scribner, Roy Porter & Mikuláš Teich, *The Reformation in National Context*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 47.

The social effects of the Reformation can be distinguished more clearly when seen alongside confessionalization. The earliest reformers all wanted a return to Scripture but very rarely did they agree on how to implement reforms. This revealed tensions that would have lasting impacts. Nevertheless real reforms did take place and they affected virtually every area of life. In tandem with this mixed bag of disagreements, reform and squashed insurgency was also the inability to resolve varied interpretations of Scripture. In the crux of political pressure these confessions served as rallying points and eventually would be adopted by churches, territories even armies. In many ways the confessionalization process solidified Reformation impulses and tensions, making them part of the geo-political structure of the society. In this environment disagreements were solidified into confessional suspicion and/or overt political conflicts eventually coalescing into the tragedy of the Thirty Years War.

Ideas have consequences both unintended and intended and new research in the last thirty years has helped us understand how the theological ideas of the Reformation made their impact upon European society particularly within the Holy Roman Empire. Our review of the history of the Reformation and Post-Reformation illustrates that wherever there was reform it affected society. Confessionalization was one of these effects, yet also was an agent that solidified, codified and regulated other reform ideas. Despite attempts to keep the spiritual and secular realms distinguished it proved to be very difficult to establish a clean break. This revealed an enigma prompting the question: is it possible to have a Christian Society or just Christians in society? If Christians cannot expect a *Corpus Christendom* how does the Christian participate in society? And finally, is it truly possible to formulate an ecclesiology that completely extricates the Church

from its resident community? These are provocative and sobering questions. As our investigation has revealed, much good came from reform (i.e. theological revolution, improvement of the human social condition), but much bad also came of it resulting in frustration, spiritual apathy, heresy and a degradation of the human condition. Even in the best situations some disruption was unavoidable. It is, after all, reform.

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